Curating the self:
Media literacy and identity
in digital video production by young learners

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I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made,

the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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Signed____

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July 2009

ABSTRACT

Digital video production in schools is often theorised, researched and written about in two ways: either as a part of media studies practice or as a technological innovation, bringing new, "creative", digital tools into the curriculum. Using frameworks for analysis derived from new literacy studies and theories of identity, this study proposes that digital video production by young learners is worthy of investigation as a new media form in its own right. Fieldwork was carried out in two schools among children taking part in video projects on themes of self-representation and identity; evidence was collected in the form of production notes, video interviews and the media texts themselves. The findings suggest that this new media literacy practice can be metaphorically conceived as a form of "curatorship" in the uses of multimodal editing tools for the intertextual organisation of digital media assets and their subsequent exhibition.

The study begins by describing the development of the central research question, namely: "What forms and organising structures are used by young learners when negotiating and representing identity in digital video production?" This formulation is set out in theoretical, pedagogical and self-representational contexts before a subsequent chapter reviews some key contributions in the field to date in both formal and informal sites of learning. A transdisciplinary set of frameworks drawn from socio-cultural and media literacy theory is used alongside an adapted form of multimodal analysis to investigate a new set of skills and dispositions around identity, memory and voice, which, as suggested, merge in the concept of the producer as curator. The discussion leads to a set of proposals for teaching and learning with digital video in the primary school arising from a description of the key self-representational possibilities inherent in the medium and framed by the concept of "curating the self" as an essential skill and disposition in new media.

In memory of my mother, Bernie Potter,
born Bernadette McManus,
1928 – 1990

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The scope of the study: Towards the research question

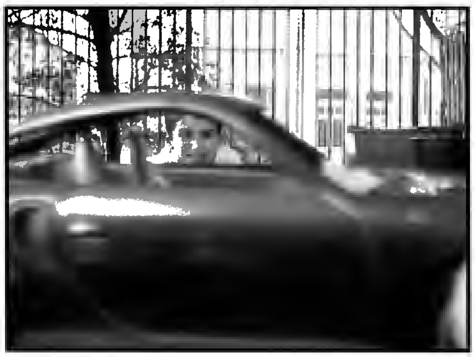

Fig.1 Opening of Raymond and Keiron's video

From across the playground I watch two eleven year old boys with a small digital video camera, a tripod and some props setting up the opening shot in their production. The larger, fair-haired one is holding a small blue toy car at lens height, right in front of the camera and lining up his friend's face in the driver side window, a foreshortening effect which makes it look as though his friend is inside the car (see Fig.1). The smaller dark haired one is crouched down over by the fence looking straight back at him. The dialogue begins:

Oh hello Keiron
Oh hello Raymond
That's a lovely Porsche Boxster
Beautiful innit? Beautiful!
Er...how much was it?
About three quid.
Where'd you get it from?
Round the sweet shop. It's a fakey.
Nooooooooooo...

Since the production was completed I have watched the video many hundreds of times. In the course of the work, my family has also seen this video at home and when someone says, "Where did you get it?" they now inevitably utter it in the strange high-pitched quasi-Irish accent used in the movie. The boys in the production, created some four years ago in a primary school in London, have invented a catchphrase, which, in this house, rivals the many pouring out of our screens every day. In media terms, adding part of your production to everyday conversation is something which many production companies employ teams of scriptwriters and editors to do. It was just one measure of the success of this piece in communicating adroitly in media language, and from a position of relatively low experience of production. As a measure of other successful moments of communication, screenings at academic conferences and seminars, where youth media production has been under discussion, have seen participants hailing the sophisticated manipulation of the varied modes of meaning making from the boys' choice of soundtrack, their visual play, their gestures and speech and their performance of often bizarre sketch material.

This, and nine other videos by classmates, were made during the final weeks of primary school as part of a project which was intended as a celebration of the children's time at the school, a set of recollections in a variety of forms, which would ultimately be placed in a "memory box" alongside physical mementos of growing up and other artefacts in the style of the artist Joseph Cornell[1] and taken home at the start of the summer of transition from primary to secondary school. These videos, and two others produced in a different school, are both the starting point and the centrepiece of the arguments contained in this thesis about literacy, identity and new media. In each school in which the videos were made, I was present as a facilitator in the project whilst, simultaneously, conducting my own unfunded, qualitative research for the thesis.

At the time these productions were made, in 2003 and 2005, large scale video sharing sites were only just beginning to appear and had not yet exploded in popularity in the wake of new ways of tagging and relating collections of media artefacts to each other. However, one of the boys has subsequently, like many of his age group, gone on to represent aspects of his life as remixed media content created for consumption and communication in online social sites such as 'MySpace'[2]. Nevertheless, the significance of this study lies in the opportunity not only to see the antecedents of new modes of self publication so much as to show an alignment between theories of media production, learner agency, voice and identity in a new formation around the concepts of curatorship, representation and exhibition.

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[1] *Joseph Cornell was an American artist (1903 - 1972) whose main medium was collage, usually presented in boxes and usually consisting of memorabilia or found objects and/or figures from the world of entertainment. Further details at Guggenheim collection website http://www.guggenheim.org*

The evidence gathered during the study, and the use of frameworks and tools of analysis drawn from a range of contemporary media and socio-cultural theories, will enable an understanding of how self-representational forms of new media production may be conceptualised as a process of assembly of aspects of the self into a whole. The children in the study are not merely producing work which, in a relatively uncomplicated way, borrows from, quotes from and appropriates popular media culture which they have consumed. Curatorship emerges as an active practice in itself; one which involves complex, focussed and intentional media re-appropriation and remixing.

Using the increasingly accessible tools of media production alongside spaces for exhibition and distribution, users, in the form of adult consumers or, in this case, younger learners, are able to take an active, agentive role in new media, as authors of re-purposed and remixed media texts. They are simultaneously engaged in activity which allows for different media assets to be arranged and presented as artefacts for different purposes, different audiences. Each time a production is made, users can assemble and recombine material that they have collected, produced and remixed into a curated work ready for exhibition. In 2009 from their own homes, community centres and libraries this could conceivably be a display within the folksonomy[3] culture of YouTube[4] or similar. In 2003 and in 2005 in these projects, created in quasi-formal arrangements within school settings (see later sections for a much fuller description of this environment) the distribution was to peers, teachers, parents, siblings and carers. In all cases the purpose is to say something about the self at a specific moment in time, to make something that will stand in place of the producer when the producer is no longer there but has moved on.

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[2] *See http://www.myspace com as an example of user curated self-representational media content*

[3] *Folksonomy n. defined as "a type of classification system for online content, created by an individual user who tags information with freely chosen keywords; also, the cooperation of a group of people to create such a classification system" Webster's New Millennium™ Dictionary of English, Preview Edition (v 0.9.7) available online at http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/folksonomy (access date 14.01.08)*

[4] *Youtube is a reference to the video tagging and sharing website at http://www.youtube.com*

The children in the two projects which are the focus of the thesis were engaged in self-representational production as part of a transitional process in one case and a more openly expressive process in another. The detail of the environment and task is provided in a later section.

A factor in the study, which was common across all productions, was the way in which the videos themselves made aspects of the children's past lives and current development beyond the curriculum visible where previously they had been invisible. In representing identity at the moment in time in which the production was shot and edited the learners were also, in addition to responding to the commission to curate an aspect of their lives, putting down a marker of their changing identity.

One of the contentions of this thesis is that active, agentive curatorship of media resources in production enables previously invisible processes around growing up to be represented in media remixes and reformulations. It is a further contention that there is a degree of accordance with aspects of theories of identity as well as with those of learner or student voice. In addition to observing changes and reflections of the self in relation to the surrounding spaces of school, home and neighbourhood, it was an aim to see if, within some of the productions, it was possible to hear versions of learner or student voice which were not previously audible. The authenticity of these voices may be difficult to prove and highly contested but, allowing for these debates, a key aim was to find a way to analyse carefully the video productions, as well as the associated interview responses, to see if activities and artefacts close to the lived culture of the learners were permitting control and curatorship of media assets. In this, it was important to adopt the view of active assimilation of such assets as derived by those working in the field of new media literacies (Robinson and Turnbull, 2005). However, I aimed to investigate this active assimilation in terms of a kind of "curatorship" of media assets, implying collection, assembly and exhibition. I wanted to position the curatorship of media assets, self-produced (as in the actual shots in the video) or collected from other sources (the music, other images) as an active skill and disposition which bridges *literacy practices* and *identity representation* and is both evident and inherent in children's media production.

Whilst an adapted form of multimodal analysis was used to unlock the modes in the productions, there were further frameworks drawn from media literacy and socio-cultural theory which enabled a rich account to be constructed about the purposes, skills and dispositions of the learners as they represented their identity.

Before going into the formulation of the research question it is important to recognise a further framing influence which emerged, namely, that of the settings themselves. The productions took place in school but off timetable and out of any specific curriculum context (though possibly in the contested space reserved for "creativity" – of which more later). In other words they were in the halfway house between formal school settings and more informal social arrangements. In essence, the study allowed the exploration of pedagogy with new media and with digital video in particular. With minimal initial input into the aesthetics and techniques of production, discovering what the makers said and what their videos attempted to say could be useful in describing future pathways into production in the future. What worked and what did not work in these videos, which were made with minimal adult input could lead to an enhanced understanding of how media production may operate in the future with young learners in projects attempting to teach media literacy but also attempting to reveal and hear learner voice.

The research question embraced both the organising structures which were evident in self-authored video production and the inherent practices of representation of identity in such production by children in the later years of primary education. The "organising structures" deduced from a media literacy frame of analysis of the productions are used to apply a theoretical model back into educational practice. The "practices of representation" will be described and analysed in the thesis in such a way as to produce a socio-cultural model of the phenomenon, based on a series of frames derived from theories of identity in new media which can be applied both to the texts themselves and the children's thinking about their part in them. The research question which underpins the thesis and which provides the basis for the structure of the study is therefore in two inter-related and interconnected parts and emerges as follows:

- What forms and organising structures are used by young learners when negotiating and representing identity in digital video production?

1.2 Structure of the thesis

The thesis as a whole grew out of an attempt to understand the processes of media production by young learners when they were given as much authorial control as possible in making videos which were self-representational. The work took place within the temporal and organisational constraints of school and against the background of various curriculum strategies as well as debates about media literacy which in turn led to the formation of the question discussed in the previous section. Nevertheless, attempts were made to create as informal a set up as possible to promote authorial and directorial freedom.

The literature around media production in schools forms a centrepiece of the review in chapter 2, "Digital video production by young learners", the aim of which is to locate the thesis within the context of other studies in formal and informal sites of learning. It reviews research into digital video production by learners which has successfully used different models to account for technological factors in video projects, alongside others that have considered the properties of the medium and its relationship to wider filmmaking activity. Those studies which have specifically looked at outputs and relationships to identity and literacy issues which are related to them will also be considered in the review. There will be an attempt to locate the thesis on the basis of contributing further understanding in the interstices between these earlier versions of media production analysis.

In seeking a theory of consumers, producers and, as will be seen in later sections, *curators* in self-representational new media production, it became important to consult a wide range of writing concerned with identity, agency and voice. Chapter 3, "Frameworks", discusses these theoretical sources in two main sections, one on "Forms and organising principles in production" and the other on "Identity: negotiation and representation". The aim here is to examine relevant theory in the fields of media literacy, cultural studies, identity and new media in order to refine and develop the central argument of the thesis and frame the methodology to be used.

Chapter 4, “Methodology”, provides an account of how the projects were set up for investigation, including the development of the research design and a discussion of issues relating to case-study analysis. In particular, attention is given to the development of a tool which allowed multimodal analysis of the production to be contextualised within an overall aesthetic and affective response to the texts.

Chapter 5, “Analysis”, provides step-by-step descriptions and commentary on a selection of the video productions, using the tools derived from the theoretical discussion. A further section examines the interview data itself using the adapted multimodal techniques of video analysis.

Chapter 6 applies the framework derived from the theories outlined in chapter 3 to the data and presents a discussion of emergent themes, whilst chapter 7 provides some theoretical conclusions in response to the research question.

1.3 Autobiographical context: A personal rationale

Having outlined the scope of the study and described how each of the chapters will operate, I would like to use this section to elaborate further on the rationale for the investigation using an autobiographical account of how it came to be a field of study for me. In doing this I am conscious of the fact that the piece as a whole addresses questions of learner voice and identity and I am including this section in order to provide a further background frame to the methodological and theoretical work which follows in later sections.

My interest in self-representation through literacy practice or media production (and the space between them) by learners has been a dominant theme in more than twenty years in education. For the first decade of that time, I worked as a classroom teacher in primary schools in inner London, predominantly in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets and for six of those ten years in a school on the Isle of Dogs. During this time I held joint responsibility for Literacy and for Information Technology (as it was styled at the time) along with a management role in Assessment and Record Keeping.

The school where I worked, in inner London, was in an ethnically and economically diverse community and the whole area was undergoing enormous change as the social impact of the closure of the docks a few years earlier and the rapid expansion of the building programme began to be felt. Roy Porter's social history of London at this time provides a useful context in its penultimate chapter (Porter, 1994). The classes I taught in docklands comprised – in more or less equal measure – children from working class families of former dockworkers, Sylheti-speaking British Bangladeshi children moving East from host communities around Brick Lane, Chinese and Vietnamese speaking children moving down from Limehouse and Poplar, African children, some of whom were refugees from conflict zones, Caribbean children, and small numbers of children from new communities moving into the new accommodation and using the new Docklands Light Railway to commute.

During this time my teaching was influenced by two major interests which, it only became obvious later, were in tension with each other. The first of these was an interest in the range of languages and cultures in the school community and what these could contribute to teaching and learning. The school was an inclusive place which fostered the different languages as a positive resource. Conversing in more than one code and being able to switch between the two was viewed as a positive marker and neither a hindrance to understanding nor to accessing the newly devised National Curriculum. In this belief we were supported by the then Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) in its provision of additional staffing and resources. A number of staff attended in-service training (INSET) which was at the cutting edge of research into bilingualism at that time. Indeed, much of the work in the field which reported positively on bilingualism was carried out in schools like the one in which I worked and continues as a theme in the contemporary analysis of such classrooms (Gregory, 1996; Sneddon, 2000; Kenner, 2005).

At the same time through reading the work of Jerome Bruner in cultural psychology, on both narrative and culture as key influences in learning, it was possible to see ways of engaging learners through incorporating aspects of their lives, bringing them into writing and storying with positive outcomes (Bruner, 1996). Children's publishing and engagement with audience, alongside performance, was a key feature of the writer, and East End resident, Michael Rosen's work at the time, alongside a well understood need to develop oracy at a time when writing and reading targets in the form of standardised assessment tasks (SATS) were beginning to dominate the agenda in schools, through the publication of league tables. Rosen was a regular visitor to the school for workshop activities and I was lucky to take part in a "Languages in Classrooms" working party with him. Rosen's book on children's writing (1989), in which he outlined the concept of "memorable speech" as a key to unlocking children's culture and engagement with literacy, was a huge influence.

The line of development from literacy issues and children's culture into an engagement with media culture has been a feature of the work of other writers (Buckingham, 2003; Pahl and Marsh, 2003; Marsh, 2005) and these will form part of the theoretical (and methodological) background to chapters which follow later in the thesis.

The second major influence on practice and thinking (as well, as it turned out, on career changes) at the time was in Information Technology in Education. Increased numbers of computer resources developed specifically for the education market began to come into mainstream schools. The late eighties and mid-to-late nineties were a time of massive, exponential increases in expenditure on such resources. Funding streams for computers in schools were generated as result of lobbyists who identified the UK as being at risk of losing economic competitiveness through the relatively poor state of information technology in educational settings (in terms of both equipment and expertise, though the former has always held prominence in "solutions for education" in this country). The Labour Party, at that time in opposition, had commissioned a report from McKinsey & Co. which centred on these difficulties, claiming that the UK was behind its major competitors in the world (McKinsey, 1997). When the Blair administration swept into power in 1997, the report became the spur for planning and commissioning the National Grid for Learning, an enormous technology in education initiative which aimed to "connect the learning society" (DFES, 1997). It was a mixture of capital investments in infrastructure, hardware and software development with a training initiative tacked on later and it attracted, over the ten years of its existence, upwards of £2bn expenditure.

In-service training for teachers, however, was patchy and technology-focused with little emphasis on curriculum matters and more on the technology itself. It was unclear how the incoming computers would actually work in schools in a curriculum not designed for them, in buildings which were not suitable for them with teachers who were under pressure to deliver results. A lack of shared understanding of pedagogy has been identified as an early cause of the lack of significant impact of computers in schools over this period of time (Twining, 2002b). The selling of technology has become a theme for some engaged in the study of the field and is a tale well told by Neil Selwyn in the UK and, earlier, by Larry Cuban from the Californian experience of similar endeavours in the US (Cuban, 2001; Selwyn, 2002). David Buckingham brings the situation up to date with an account of the present day impact of this drift through from the technological determinism of the eighties into the nineties and beyond (Buckingham, 2007).

The impact on my own practice of these initiatives in computers in education was significant. In my last few years as a classroom teacher on the Isle of Dogs, a Docklands educational IT initiative was announced which presaged the larger government spend coming along right behind it and which flooded local schools with equipment. Because of my interest in children's writing and in incorporating their world outside school into production and publication, I had high hopes for the cultural and social aspects of the various projects which resulted. I was happy to be part of an early pilot with handheld computers, for example, early versions of the Personal Digital Assistants (PDAs) which have subsequently, years later, turned up in a variety of local and national projects (Kimbell et al., 2005). Children in my class shared the device one between two and were able to take them home. There seemed to be the possibility of employing technology in the service of closer work with the out-of-school cultures of the children along the lines proposed by the academics and writers engaged with bilingual and multilingual classrooms (see above). Certainly in working without some of the constraints of time or location, children were able to produce drafts for publication of a range of personal stories in the rich vein of curriculum experience suggested by Rosen (1989). It must be stressed strongly that although the project was essentially portrayed in the immediate area as technologically determinist ("look what the PDAs can do..."), in our school the focus was on the children as writers and publishers, making meaning from the resources around them.

Over time, however, the projects which were funded became less obviously creative and much more focused on a technologically determinist view. More significant investment and development began to go into providing narrow and atomised experiences with technology which were little or nothing to do with children's culture and everything to do with assessment. It was a stressful time to be a teacher as a series of sweeping and punitive measures centred on inspection by the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) were foisted on schools by central government, serving to develop a culture of performance and to narrow the curriculum experience for learners to the easily-measured, so-called "basics". This suited the purveyors of "solutions" for education in the Docklands Project and elsewhere and much research and development went into devices and software which would support the new emphasis on teacher talk and whole class teaching (which would ultimately lead to the widespread implementation of the Interactive Whiteboard for example, although this is not to deny that there are opportunities to engage in imaginative and collaborative work around this device in the hands of teachers concerned with learner agency).

Two years of work in East London followed as an advisory teacher for Information Technology in primary and secondary schools. At this time the funding provided by the Labour government in its National Grid for Learning (NGFL) project began to change the nature of the interaction with technology significantly through the emergence of massively funded, ubiquitous, safe connections to the Internet. Here again, however, two recurring strands reasserted themselves. The first was the lack of any idea of training for teachers which considered pedagogy to be of, at least, equal importance to technical prowess. Certainly this was a finding of my MA research into training for curriculum uses of the Internet which I subsequently published (Potter and Mellar, 2000). Secondly, the NGFL rushed into areas of expensive "content" production which positioned learners as passive recipients of chunks of information and positioned teachers and schools as consumers of over-priced curriculum material, much of it very poorly designed and of unproven worth in educational settings.

The children's author Diana Wynne Jones once wrote a book called *Archer's Goon*, in the opening section of which, she defined her titular character as follows, "A Goon is a being who melts into the foreground and sticks there..." (Jones, 2000). In some ways this is what has happened with technology in education; it has melted into the foreground of many educational settings and stuck there, uninvited, largely under-theorised as a culturally produced set of artefacts and practices, misunderstood in terms of its impact on pedagogy and sometimes even unwanted.

After working as an ICT advisor, I moved into a lecturing role in initial teacher education hoping to conduct more research and introduce more curriculum and pedagogy-focused courses about the uses of technology in education. Teaching both literacy and ICT meant that I could work in this way, although it was not really until digital video production became more easily accessible and available that the possibilities to think differently about technology and pedagogy really presented themselves.

Outside work, video production had begun to play a part in my home life. Short videos of my children growing up taken whenever I was able to borrow equipment from work allowed me to record and represent aspects of lived experience. What happened next took me by surprise and changed the way in which I was moving personally and professionally. Early home movie footage shot by my son Jack when he was aged about 4 included a self-authored tour of the house, featuring items which were criterial to him (cupboards, toilet etc.) – all at child height. The short clips filmed on a Sony Mavica camera[5] by my own children and friends of theirs contained all this and more, including greater ranges of media references, all re-purposed and re-packaged into short self-representational video texts. This activity appeared to me to be a nascent new form of literacy production which was worthy of much more detailed investigation. It was enabled by technological advances, such as portable cameras, new file formats, new playback devices and so on. Yet it was different from previous technology-enabled activities, occupying a space in the primary years between the subject domains of English and ICT. In secondary schools, as will be seen in the forthcoming chapter, the situation was different, with digital video production introduced within the context of Media Studies where its inherent possibilities as a tool for analysis and production had a ready curriculum space.

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[5] *The Sony Mavica digital camera was one of the earliest to be used in school settings; it was popular because the user could shoot stills and short clips to a 3.5" floppy disk which could be viewed and played immediately*

In the context of primary education, I began to think of digital video production as an area which represented a new way of relating to technology in education; one which privileged the texts and artefacts produced, and how meaning was made in them, over the technology with which they were made. This interest subsequently extended into other areas, including website production and hypermedia authoring. Digital video production, however, remained a key starting point for moving more into media education and research, pushing the technology into the background and foregrounding media culture. At this point, I began to introduce digital video production in both the courses I was teaching and in my own research. This led me further from the technologically determinist views of much of the ICT in Education world and into a much greater negotiation with media education, media literacy and a wider consideration of cultural texts and artefacts.

The opportunity arose, through an internal scholarship at the university where I was working, for me to gain some professional development and equipment. I joined one of the residential Apple Teacher Institutes[6] where I was working alongside people who were similarly exploring the area between ICT and media; people who were media resource officers, lecturers, teachers, advisors, workers in city learning centres and so on. The course content, spread over four days, allowed for immersion in the issues around technology use in the production of media, including digital video editing, sound editing and more. Because of the range of attendees, there were some interesting conversations and debates, ranging from the technical on one side, across to media and cultural theory on the other. I certainly experienced a shift in emphasis from one to the other.

As a result of this shift in emphasis I began to think of ways in which digital video production could be the site of exploratory research into media literacy in young learners. The projects which form the basis of this research were formulated around the process of self –representation using digital video production. This was not in order to engage younger learners with "authentic" or even "relevant" experiences. Authenticity is hard to measure and relevance harder both to prove and to provide (without risking patronising the end user). It was more about continuing to move away from a “technologically determinist” view towards a “user determining” one, centred within the lived culture, media experiences and practices of those learners. At the start of this research, on the basis of my teaching experience to date, this meant providing opportunities for self-authoring activities in digital video production and analysing outcomes using perspectives drawn from the previous work introduced above and elaborated much more fully in the theory chapter. For now, the chapter which follows this one will look at ways in which other projects and writers have, in recent years, approached digital video production in education, particularly in relation to primary education.

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[6] *The most recent of the Apple Teacher Institutes is written about here, with onward links to further information about its aims and methods: http://www.citylearningcentre.org.uk/news_detail.asp?NewsID=195 [Access date 28.04.09]*

Chapter 2 Digital video production by young learners

Whilst there are useful studies of shorter-term projects in the UK and elsewhere, much of the literature on student digital video production focuses on older children, not least because, as outlined in previous sections, there are natural subject-based constituencies for this research in secondary schools, notably, Media Studies and Film Studies.

The relevant research and writing in the field on primary aged children frequently positions them as readers of media texts, writing about and problematising children's engagement with them as consumers of popular culture across screens and settings. There are some notable exceptions to this, some projects in which digital video production has been a key part of the work, but even in these instances it will be seen that different frames were placed on the work in order to meet overarching project aims which were not centrally or exclusively concerned with authoring strategies. In this literature there are allusions to production and to an emergent understanding of what media literacy might look like in primary school in the future when it may engage more fully with children as producers but, at the time of writing, the productive element is still not comprehensively represented.

Whilst digital video production is not always pre-eminently the medium of cultural production under investigation with younger learners, there are areas which have touched on it as part of a wider engagement with media technology in education. Some writing has positioned it as an instance of "creativity" with technology whilst other intersecting thinking coming from the discipline of Media Studies has sought to connect it with literacy practices. Casting the net wider leads to literature around technology in education more generally since, as will be explained below, much of the equipment has gone into the primary phase in the UK under the subject heading of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and needs to be considered in that setting as part of the over-arching frame of technology and pedagogy which has its own literature and theoretical antecedents. Part of the issue in that subject is that digital video production has been sidelined by a whole raft of technologically determinist research around more ubiquitous devices and associated themes currently being debated, for example, on the "ICT Research Network"[7], such as "Interactive Whiteboards", "Virtual Learning Environments", "Personalised learning", "Mobile Learning", "Social software/web 2.0 for learning" and so on.

The socio-cultural aspects of video production, coupled with the ways in which younger learners first meet these cameras, other image making devices and editing spaces in primary schools make it a difficult subject to untangle and research in this context. A further problem is the fact that video appears to be a "known quantity", a medium which has a long tradition; namely that of film and screen studies and the historical tradition of interrogating and interpreting moving image texts. A senior member of a major technology research funding body once told me that projects involving digital video were not attractive to forward-looking organisations because we "know all about that" already. The implication was that moving image production was a known and well understood quantity, extensively written about in the traditions of film studies alluded to above. Forward-looking organisations were, instead, said to be looking at the items on the list in the previous paragraph, such as "Interactive Whiteboards", which, along with the other priorities mentioned above, remain undeniably important to understand and theorise. I would contend, however, that it is equally important to understand digital video production by younger learners, not least because in each of the areas listed above, in education and in the wider, lived culture around it, there are vast amounts of moving images, some of them self-produced, being made by children. Much of this has happened outside of the school system on digital video cameras, mobile phones and other devices. We need a way to understand the nature of this production and its immediate impact and effects on younger learners as they develop in the emergent media literacy curriculum. This thesis regards moving image production in the younger years of schooling as an instance of new media production with its own set of precedents, opportunities and intersecting theoretical dimensions which are not yet fully considered in the literature.

This review of some of the existing texts on digital video (DV) production outlines some previous ways of understanding the field which were consulted in developing the research, as well as offering some reflections on further research and media texts which have emerged subsequently.

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[7] *The ICT Research Network is a mailing list open to academics, advisers and teachers maintained in the UK by BECTA, the British Educational Technology Association, a part-government funded organisation charged with providing leadership on technology in education for schools. The topics quoted represented higher than 80% of posts in the period from 2003 up to the time of writing (Sept 2008)*

The review is arranged under the following headings:

Contexts for digital video production in education– a section which looks at the wider changing contexts for digital video, brought about as a result of changes in accessibility and affordances of the tools of production

Precedents and antecedents– a section which looks at the history of media production in schools, including its development in the secondary Media Studies curriculum and some earlier proposed models for the primary school setting

Recent projects in the primary years– a review of some key projects in the field which are relevant to the work in the thesis, alongside examples concerned with the use of video assets in classrooms

Production as research– a review of some texts which use digital video production as a tool for other forms of research; this section acts as a pointer towards issues which recur in the methodology chapter

Digital video, technology and pedagogy– a review of texts relating to the uses of technology in school as it is relevant to digital video production, particularly as it has been invoked in writing about creativity with new technology

Storying, identity and roles in production – a review of texts which consider the social worlds and social purposes of digital video production

Emergent themes – a concluding section which outlines some of the less well explored, emergent themes and positions the thesis in relation to them

2.1 Contexts for digital video production in education

In front of me is a booklet supplement from the Guardian newspaper dating from January 2008. Entitled "The Guardian Guide to Making Video" it provides detailed and accessible guidance on digital video production for anyone new to the field (Card, 2008). Scanning its content pages reveals the range of topics covered: *Gear guide, Basic techniques, Film workshops, Editing, Sound advice, Making a film, Getting it seen.* It's hard to identify serious omissions. It even includes expert advice from directors and editors of the calibre of Edgar Wright, Walter Murch and Mike Figgis. By the close of its 90 pages, a beginner would have enough information to make a start with production and, perhaps, edit holiday footage, engage fully with the online publishing and exhibition spaces of YouTube and/or even make a showreel for a pitch into professional production.

Against this backdrop, major research projects such as the three year AHRC-funded study, "Camcorder cultures: Media technology and everyday creativity" are exploring the tools of digital video production (Buckingham and Willett, 2008). The growing accessibility of user-friendly video cameras and editing resources of all kinds, coupled with the ubiquity of such tools as mobile phone cameras and bespoke publishing spaces online has seen a revolution in amateur and domestic production, even if, as is reported (Auchard, 2007), only a very small minority of the millions who visit sites such as YouTube, actually make and upload productions themselves.

Nevertheless, advertisers working on behalf of the corporations which make DV cameras, such as Canon, continually stress the ways in which these devices have contributed to freedom to create moving image texts easily. Indeed the Canon adverts introduce the term "Freecording" to suggest both affordability and ease of use. Their cartoon strip adverts depict young people in a range of settings making videos, including appropriating and re-shooting classic visual texts (such as the ending to Alfred Hitchcock's *Vertigo*). In the example shown below, two young people are making a skateboarding video. The standard "Freecording" text which appears in each advert in the series includes the following statement on ease-of-use and lack of rules "Freecording is about shooting video without rules or obstacles. It's about seeing an opportunity for some good footage and just taking it…" (Canon, 2008)

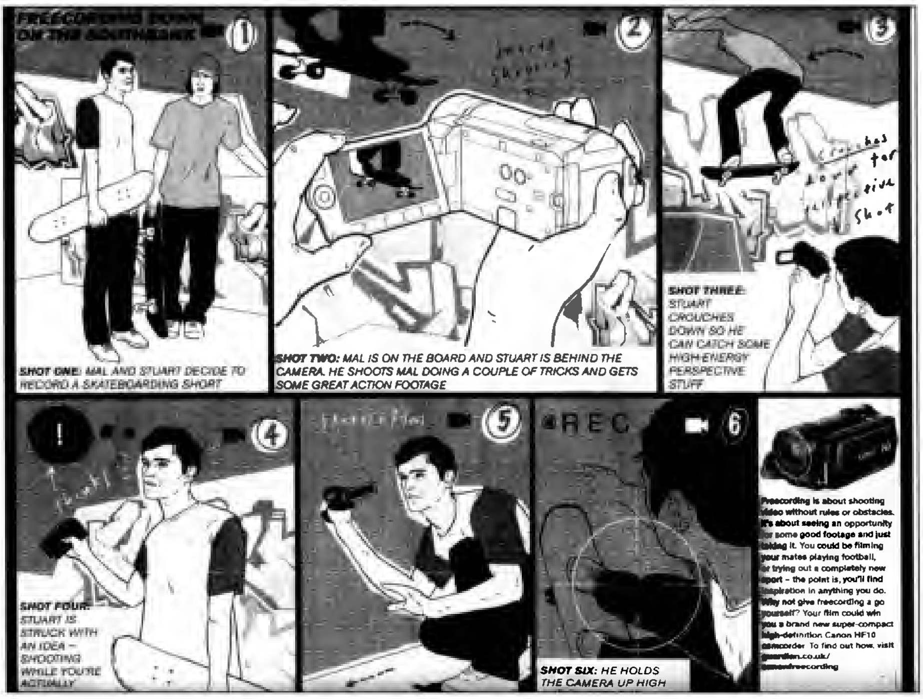
FREECORDING DOWN ON THE SOUTHBANK
1
SHOT ONE: MAL AND STUART DECIDE TO RECORD A SKATEBOARDING SHORT
2
SHOT TWO: MAL IS ON THE BOARD AND STUART IS BEHIND THE CAMERA. HE SHOOTS MAL DOING A COUPLE OF TRICKS AND GETS SOME GREAT ACTION FOOTAGE
3
crouches for low perspective shot
SHOT THREE: STUART CROUCHES DOWN SO HE CAN CATCH SOME HIGH-ENERGY PERSPECTIVE STUFF
!
4
SHOT FOUR: STUART IS STRUCK WITH AN IDEA – SHOOTING WHILE YOU'RE ACTUALLY
5
REC
6
SHOT SIX: HE HOLDS THE CAMERA UP HIGH
Freecording is about shooting video without rules or obstacles. It's about seeing an opportunity for some good footage and just taking it. You could be filming your mates playing football, or trying out a completely new sport – the point is, you'll find inspiration in anything you do. Why not give freecording a go yourself? Your film could win you a brand new super-compact high-definition Canon HF10 camcorder. To find out how, visit guardian.co.uk/canonfreecording

Fig.2 "Freecording" advert (Canon, 2008)

The advert shown in Figure 2 also contains the contradiction at the heart of the so-called freedom to make moving images without paying attention to the rules, since nearly every frame contains a reference to a convention or rule of film-making. This balance between knowing the rules of making media and applying them to a production is a recurring theme in the literature and in the reflections on the arguments in this thesis and will feature in future discussions.

In parallel with their introduction into domestic markets in the ways described above, the tools of digital video production have also arrived in schools. Although video making has a tradition within Media Studies in secondary schools going back to the 1970s (Buckingham, 2003), it is only in recent years, as Burn and Durran (2007) point out, that the emphasis on a theoretical *critique* of texts in Media Studies has been more easily incorporated with *production.* The increasing access to the user-friendly and affordable tools growing in use in domestic markets has been a significant factor in this shift. Whilst for some practitioners at the secondary school level the theoretical and practical elements have been bound up together from the beginning (McDougall, 2006), for others it is really only with the emergence of accessible digital hardware and software that the possibilities for production in the Media Studies curriculum have begun to be realised (Fraser and Oram, 2003). This has been further fuelled by the proponents of the emergent media literacy curriculum, since its definition and scope in the UK from the Office for Communication (OFCOM, 2005) explicitly includes acts of production (see section 2.2 below).

In schools, media literacy developments are also being led by cultural organisations such as Creative Partnerships, the BBC and the British Film Institute (BFI) all of whom fund school-based projects or professional development for teachers. Indeed, the BFI is interested in "reframing" literacy itself in schools towards a greater engagement with moving image in literacy contexts (BFI, 2008). This is a wide ranging initiative involving an attempt to influence the development of the primary and secondary curriculum to engage at a high level with moving image texts in the interests of developing all forms of literacy skills, including both critique and production.

In the earliest stages of this research in 2003, the revolution in home digital video production was in its infancy and its potential knock-on impact on media production in educational settings, whilst certainly being felt in secondary schools, was far less well developed as a practice with younger learners in primary schools. Partly this was because DV equipment was only slowly starting to permeate the primary phase in a number of different and disconnected ways. There wasn't an equivalent of Media Studies in the primary curriculum to form a natural subject-based home for these tools and practices. As a result, the digital video cameras and editing software often arrived as part of a project based within a variety of subject disciplines, most often including Information and Communication Technology (ICT), English/Literacy or Art or others. Once again, the BFI was active at that time in partnership with the more ICT-focused work of the British Education and Communications Technology Agency (Reid, Burn and Parker, 2002).

Other organisations which were keen to sell to schools the idea of simple digital video production across the curriculum included the computer manufacturer, Apple. Their "Apple Teacher Institutes" were popular and comprehensive residential staff development courses for teachers and media support officers, based around the ease-of-use and relative low-cost (at the time) of their equipment and modelled on successful versions of the same activity in the United States. The presence of other corporations providing sponsorship and expertise (such as Canon, the DV camera manufacturer) meant that a holistic "solution" was part of the offering to teachers.

When I attended an "Apple Teacher Institute" in 2004, the majority of participants were teachers, city learning centre workers or ICT advisors. The next biggest constituency were media services officers in schools and local authorities, followed by media teachers. The tutors were split between ICT advisors (such as David Baugh from the Denbigh Centre who started the DV in Education support site, aimed at teachers in all phases (Baugh and Lloyd, 2007)) and Media educators, such as Tom Barrance, who focused on film language and produced teaching materials which attempted to introduce a structured way of working with formal film language with even the very youngest children (2004).

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Apple Teacher Institute, the BFI and others such as Film Education, at the time this study was beginning, digital video production by young learners in the primary phase was only beginning to be taken up and research was following it mainly from the direction of literacy and media literacy, even though it often arrived in school as an ICT subject resource.

Furthermore, as an activity, digital video production was frequently only researched in the contexts of projects with short timescales and not widely written about in the area of freely authored digital video production; indeed, many authors in the field have continued to note that more research needs to be undertaken (see, for example, Burn, 2001; Parker, 2002; Burn and Leach, 2004).

2.2 Precedents and antecedents

Even before video production became more widely affordable and accessible with the advent of digital technologies, moving image production in education was an area of development and debate in the context of Media Studies and other, related subjects, such as English in secondary schools.

Sefton-Green (1998) describes the historical development of production in Media Studies within the context of the tension between asserting an academic status for the subject over a vocational one, whilst at the same time acknowledging the indivisible nature of the theory and practice in the field. He cites the differing levels of emphasis given to production in Media Studies examination syllabi throughout the 1980s and into the 90s as evidence of debate within the subject around its relation to production. He also looks at media production in other subjects such as Art or English where there appeared to be a greater sense of its intrinsic value[8], and where the academic status of the subjects was not contested. However, it is in his wider historical survey of the antecedents of the field that he uncovered certain themes which have tended to dominate formal and informal educational experiences in media production.

In early guides for educators published by the British Film Institute and UNESCO (Hills, 1950; Greiner, 1955; Peters, 1961), Sefton-Green finds "a protectionist element" (1998, p.22). He describes some of the early moral imperatives behind film education; teaching children about the terminology of film language and form in order to protect them from the supposedly more pernicious, dumbing-down, effects of popular culture, giving students a way of repudiating its influence over their lives by understanding more of the mechanics of its production and of identifying aspects of higher order culture within the medium. There is a concomitant protectionist stance towards the study of film itself, seeking to develop and promote its status as a higher art form, giving children the skills and vocabulary to identify moving image texts which have high cultural capital, some of which were said, at the time, to have an equivalence with other, recognisable "higher" literary forms, such as poetry and drama (Greiner, 1955).

This connection with literacy and language issues resulted in a direct link with production through working exercises which were designed to introduce the form; the practical work proposed by these writers (e.g. Peters, 1961) is concerned with using such exercises to develop a technical understanding of the subject at the expense of a wider, cultural one (see Sefton-Green, 1998, p.24). Others working in the field, however, doubted the need for any serious introduction of practical production as a tool for learning about film at all, whether centred on technical exercises or looser creative approaches. Masterman (1980), for example, argued for an emphasis on uncovering ideological structures in existing moving image texts, equipping students with the ability to analyse media and identify the dominant ideology rather than make productions themselves. Both Masterman and, later, Ferguson (1981) believed that student production was low in both quality and sophistication and barely worth the time, trouble and expense. As Buckingham has subsequently pointed out (2003), political arguments lay behind this disparagement of student work, with Masterman, Ferguson and others believing that student productions merely imitated and re-enacted popular forms and, that they were, therefore "...an inherently unthinking process through which the dominant ideologies of media products would be simply internalised and reproduced." (ibid. p.124-125)

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[8] *Interestingly, at this time, and indeed subsequently, such activities were not part of ICT practical work in secondary schools; as will be seen, the tools of digital video technology would pull ICT into the picture at primary school level.*

In the years which followed, however, the status of practical moving image work in schools began to change as a result of curriculum development, theoretical re-evaluation and advances in technology. In *Making Media* (Buckingham, Grahame and Sefton-Green, 1995), the authors situate six case studies of different forms of media production from London secondary schools within these changing contexts. They reflect on the emerging Media Studies curriculum and place it within the contexts of other subjects, including English and Information Technology[9]. However, they are at pains to point out the importance of the dialogue between theory and practice throughout, arguing that it is "only on this basis...that more effective classroom strategies can begin to be devised." (ibid. p.13) As will be seen in future sections, this dialectical relationship between theory and practice is a recurrent theme in the field in addressing areas such as media literacy, social practice and the construction of identity in media production.

One such set of strategies of relevance to the present study concerns group work in media production. The case study described in the fourth chapter of *Making Media* reflects on the claims for group work in media production, including perceived benefits beyond learning film language, namely that...

> "...A co-operative learning environment, which is based on small group work, will (it is argued) make best use of the available class time, foster students'

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[9] *Information Technology (IT) was initially part of the Design and Technology subject area in the first version of the National Curriculum in the England in 1988. After a series of reviews and changes to schemes of work it was re-constituted as ICT (Information and Communication Technology) in 2002.*

> confidence and motivation to learn, and make room for more constructive and egalitarian relationships between teachers and students"
> (ibid. p.76)

Certainly, as will be seen in the chapters which describe the fieldwork in the thesis, the emphasis on the wider benefits of group production was key in persuading schools to take part.

In examining critically the claims made for groupwork in media production, Buckingham et al reflect on a study by Lorac and Weiss for the Schools Council on Communication and Social Skills (1981). Their report claimed effects beyond the simple learning of media concepts on students' work and relationships but did not address the complex detail of democratically allocating roles and responsibilities or of decision-making in an essentially hierarchical setting. As Buckingham et al state, "effective group work obviously requires considerable support and intervention on the part of teachers". (1995, p.77) The nature of this intervention is one of the determining factors in the success or otherwise of media production.

The situation for primary aged children was not always directly addressed in these debates between advocates of production and analysis because, as noted previously, there was no direct primary equivalent to Media Studies; it was located in the margins of other subjects (such as Art or English). However, whenever it *was* addressed it was strongly influenced by the twin themes of defining and defending media education as a discipline as well as by the protectionist arguments around developing critical capabilities outlined previously.

The emergent arguments around production in the late 80s and early 90s (as video cameras became more accessible - though not, as yet, digital) came from attempts to create structured media education experiences which had the rigour, look and feel of other subjects in the National Curriculum, established in the UK in the Education Reform Act (1988), combined with the perceived flexibility and creativity of the Arts and Humanities. In these respects, the debates and positions of previous years over Media Studies in secondary schools were re-enacted for younger learners, namely, the aim to create a subject area of equal academic standing in relation to others and to equip children with critical and creative opportunities in working with moving images.

Two important texts from this time are the BFI's *Primary Media Education: A curriculum statement* (Bazalgette, 1989) and *Media education in the primary school* (Craggs, 1992).

Bazalgette notes in her introduction (1989, p.1) that primary media education had its origins in the years before the National Curriculum in a report entitled *Popular TV and Schoolchildren* which stated that "specialist courses in media studies are not enough: all teachers should be involved in examining and discussing television programmes with young people" (DES, 1983, p.27) With this in mind, and with the National Curriculum and its detailed programmes of study arriving in primary schools at this time, Bazalgette and the members of the BFI/DES "National working party for Primary Media Education" set about outlining the knowledge and understanding which might be expected of children in the primary years across a range of media, of which moving images were only a part. Production in some form, was envisaged alongside the development of critical analysis as evidenced in the opening lines of the section headed "Our view of media education" below:

> "Primary media education aims to develop systematically children's critical and creative powers through analysis **and production of media artefacts.** This also deepens their understanding of the pleasure and entertainment provided by the media. Media education aims to create more active and critical media users who will demand, and **could contribute to**, a greater range and diversity of **media products**."
> (Bazalgette, 1989, p.3, my emphasis in bold)

The document outlines six areas of understanding which are presented as interdependent and non-hierarchical, namely:

> "Media agencies (Who is communicating what and why?)...
> Media categories (What type of text is it?)...
> Media technologies (How is it produced?)...
> Media languages (How do we know what it means?)...
> Media audiences (Who receives it and what sense do they make of it?)...
> Media representations (How does it present its subject?)"
> (ibid, p.8)

These areas are addressed under two main sets of "attainment targets" pitched at level 3 and level 5, roughly equivalent to the end of the key stages of primary education.

Media production is specifically addressed under "Technologies" where the ability to operate a video camera, for example, is listed alongside a range of other skills. Performing a simple edit of video material is included as an option amongst many others. Nevertheless, as Buckingham et al point out in discussing the BFI curriculum statement, it belongs to the tradition which emphasises "the *critical analysis* of media texts..." (1995, p.3)[10]. At this stage, although clearly present in the recommendations, media production assumes a relatively small part of the process for primary aged pupils. The argument here could also be made that, purely pragmatically, there was no way in these years easily to write requirements into a putative media education document that required expensive and inaccessible equipment to see them through.

Craggs, writing three years later, built on Bazalgette's work but sought to articulate how media education at primary school level could be a distinctive experience which did not necessarily join up with later versions of Media Studies. She envisaged a curriculum offering which developed a critical media literacy which enabled children to engage with media representations of the world in order "...to provide (them) with the skills and confidence to make their own judgements..." (Craggs, 1992, p.4). This was not so very far from Masterman's view of media education as a way of identifying ideology in media texts, enabling learners to become critical consumers (Masterman, 1980). As far as production was concerned, Craggs differed from Masterman in that she sought to weave aspects of production into the experience of the critical media literacy. In the chapter on "Representations of reality" she presented ideas for writing and producing critical texts based on soap opera scripts, using media production itself as a vehicle for learning. In her concluding statement in this section she made the link back to a modern version of literacy, in a discussion about learning narrative structures, noting that...

> "...in the medium of film and television, smooth editing and technologically advanced special effects mean that the production processes are invisible. If it is our intention to unpack the techniques so that young people can consider how the world is presented as reality by the media, it is vital that we enable children to experience the construction of narrative in as many media as possible"
> (Craggs, 1992, p.133)

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[10] *Although not, the document is at pains to point out, in a reductive sense by studying only popular forms but also developing critical skills and capabilities by looking at a breadth of production (see Bazalgette, 1989 pp.79-80)*

These documents appeared at a time when the overriding issues in primary education for those working in the system were centred on the management and assessment of children within the context of evolving National Curriculum. English might have been assumed to form a natural subject-based home for media (Certainly the earliest working parties on the English curriculum referred often to media as an important element of study, see DES, 1989, p.61). However, the key debates for teachers in all phases, but particularly in primary schools in the years which followed, centred not on media education but on the teaching of the "basics" of "traditional" literacy and numeracy, in response to concerns repeatedly voiced in the press. These concerns were addressed ultimately by the national teaching strategy for literacy introduced into primary classrooms at the end of the nineties which failed to include any significant mention of either media or ICT (DFES, 1998). The situation has changed since this time with the new Primary Framework (DCSF, 2008), in which literacy at least allows for the use of texts which are not print-based. It is set to change still further in response to two reviews of Primary school education, *The Cambridge Primary Review* (Alexander and Flutter, 2009) and the *Independent review of the Primary school curriculum* (Rose, 2009) in which the newly defined version of Literacy, includes the production of multimodal texts alongside print forms, perhaps even signalling that a formal media literacy requirement in primary schools is not all that far away.

Notwithstanding all of the changes reported above, there remains at the time of writing no separate formal incorporation of any variation on the subject disciplines of Media Education, Media Studies or Media Literacy within the primary school. However, in 2005, OFCOM, the government's telecommunications regulator, given the remit of defining "media literacy", at least gave prominence to production alongside "accessing and understanding" media texts, as follows:

> "Media literacy is the ability to access, understand and create communications in a variety of contexts".
> (OFCOM, 2005)

At the same time in the UK there are differing traditions and emergent sites of knowledge and within "media education" whose definitions exert an influence over the ways in which digital video production is taught and accessed. Some of these originate in debates over the changing nature of English as a subject (often, since the introduction of classroom strategies[11] at Key stages 1 and 2, referred to as Literacy in England). This is an expansive definition which embraces media production and interpretation as part of the development of the English curriculum beyond print literacy and towards other forms of literacy practice (for instance, it lies at the heart of the campaigning tone taken by the United Kingdom Literacy Association and the British Film Institute (BFI, 2008; Marsh and Bearne, 2008)). This includes, as an example, attempts to account for the changing understanding of communicative modes in new media as explored by theoreticians of multimodality (Kress, 2003) as well as those seeking to define new literacies (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000). Sites expressing this and related views which feature reports on work in digital media production, in addition to those already mentioned, include the English and Media Centre, the National Association for the Teaching of English and the relative newcomer, the Media Education Association (EMC, 2006; MEA, 2006; NATE, 2006). The BFI has been active in lobbying for increased recognition for screen-based media texts to be included in primary phase classrooms, though this is in large part in the realm of textual interpretations and readings in literacy lessons with the emphasis on the positive effects of media resources on, for example, understanding narrative in print literacy forms (BFI, 2008)

A different but related subject tradition, and one which has been located within this domain for a number of years, is that of media or film studies, embodied in the work of BFI Education, Media Education Wales and other organisations which are highly active within the field of Digital Video Production in schools (BFI, 2006; MediaEdWales, 2006). This tradition promotes an understanding of media texts from the basis of the history of film and television constituted in curricula as Media Studies, learning the terminology of both production and film criticism. It is often predicated on an understanding of texts gained by critiquing them; serving an apprenticeship at the hands of established practitioners, learning the terminology and the socio-political structures evidenced in textual reading of the films before going on to make video productions. David Buckingham devotes sections of *Media Education (2003)* to the differing views of proponents and opponents of media production, citing traditions within the field during the 1980s who saw little point in students producing inferior media texts. They regarded the study of production and ideology within existing texts as pre-eminent and of greater importance than student production (see Buckingham, op. cit. pp. 123 – 125 for a discussion).

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[11] *See www.dfes.gov.uk for further information on classroom practice guidance within government strategies*

However, the situation has greatly altered in recent years rendering those arguments less effective for both practical and theoretical reasons. In practical terms students now have access to technologies which speed production and render it accessible on a previously unimaginable scale, fostering a critical community of their own in spaces such as YouTube and on their own social networking sites. Theory has come to embrace "amateurish" production, particularly, fan-based, as a legitimate form with its own conventions and as a field of study in its own right with its own constructs ("convergence", "textual poaching" "parodic practices") (Jenkins, 1992; Jenkins, 2006; Buckingham, Pini and Willett, forthcoming; Buckingham and Willett, forthcoming).

The more contemporary view, as it relates to students, is expressed in books which are attempting to give some sense of balance, progression and continuity to activities in the field of *both* critiquing and producing (Buckingham, 2003; Burn and Durran, 2007; Burn and Durrant, 2008). For Burn and Durran, the two are never far away from one another, and their concept of "critical interpretation as digital anatomy" at the heart of their book makes a case for more activity at the margins of the two practices. Students are encouraged to re-create, remix and re-model meanings from the original resources of films. In this activity they learn how to understand the practices of representation in the original productions. They also learn how technology has unlocked and made available some of the previously hidden resources, processes and practices and, with digital technology, put them within reach of students (Burn and Durran, 2007).

For the projects in the thesis the aim was to establish parameters that allowed an examination of how some of these hidden processes and practices play out in projects in primary school in which production is privileged over overt critiquing of existing texts. The remixing and remodelling of existing texts would be in the service of authorship which sought to represent some aspect of the self in relation to a particular place and time.

2.3 Recent projects in the primary years

With the emergence in the late nineties and early 2000s of simpler production tools in the form of digital video cameras and user-friendly software, moving image production with younger learners in primary schools began to pick up some momentum. Whilst still lacking a place in the primary curriculum within a discrete subject, digital video began to enter schools through the frame of ICT or innovative and "creative" practice. A number of projects emerged which had DV production at the centre of the research activity with a specific mission to explore the synergy between new ways of working with moving images and the primary curriculum. A number of the resulting project reports were among the earliest literature sources consulted. These came from a range of different backgrounds including ICT in education, media literacy in education, in one case, a social intervention project with a European dimension.

As has been previously explained, this technology often found its way into primary schools in the UK through an ICT in education route. BECTA, the British education and communications technology agency[12], commissioned an evaluation of digital video work across the curriculum in 50 schools in the UK (among them some primary schools) (Reid, Burn and Parker, 2002). The brief for the UK evaluation was to provide feedback on the ways in which digital video production, using tools provided as part of the project, impacted on pupil "engagement and behaviours" in a range of curriculum settings. Across the 50 project schools, the findings indicated that there were indeed benefits to be had in terms of higher pupil engagement, the range of possible learning styles which could be supported, motivational factors and "the development of other skills, such as problem solving, negotiation, thinking, reasoning and risk-taking."(Reid, Burn and Parker, 2002, p.3). In this there are echoes of the findings of Lorac and Weiss (1981), as discussed in the previous section, who found that media production activity had effects on relationships and other work by students.

However, and not surprisingly, given the input from the BFI into the project, the report concluded that there was a need for more work which focused on the distinctiveness of the medium, the notions of creativity embedded in the practice of the teachers and the longer term nature of the effects. The authors, in particular, proposed a greater engagement with film language and, by inference, with techniques which would allow for developments in this area to be framed and analysed (Reid, Burn and Parker, 2002). In this sense, the report was seeking to influence thinking about pedagogy with digital video and to re-frame it and re-align it away from the purely technological into an engagement with media across the curriculum.

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[12] *BECTA is a government quango commissioned by the UK government to research and promote effective practice in the management and use of new technologies in schools. Further information about its mission and the scope of its work is available from http://www.becta.org.uk [access date 1.10.06]*

In Australia, two years later, a report was published on a project which researched student initiated video in the primary school years (Schuck and Kearney, 2004b). It provided further useful insight into video projects located within school curricula. Like the BECTA study Schuck and Kearney were engaged in trying to examine findings across a range of curriculum areas. However, the focus in this project was on neither technological innovation nor an emergent media education programme. Instead, this project focused on pedagogy and student autonomy in relation to DV production.

The sample was smaller than for the BECTA project (only five schools were involved) and the focus, as revealed in the title, "Students in the Director's Seat: Teaching and Learning with Student-generated Video", was on moving image production in which the students had a degree of control over planning, shooting, editing and disseminating their videos. In common with the UK findings, increased motivation was held up as an outcome. Further findings of positive engagement across a range of curriculum areas were identified and attributed to student autonomy and pedagogies of what the authors referred to as "active learning" (Schuck and Kearney, 2004b). This was a report which emerged with a much lower emphasis on both technological innovation and media language than the BECTA project. The authors focused on the overarching pedagogical features which were exemplified in their findings. The conclusion remained similar to the BECTA study, however, in as much as they called for further research in the field, although the perspective of these authors was rather different, claiming significant advantages in general conceptual understanding arising from working with digital video. In their concluding paragraph they wrote as follows:

> "Findings of significance were the following: the authors saw clear evidence of student-generated digital video strongly enhancing pedagogy in the area of student engagement and autonomy. We noted ... that student voice and ownership were key factors in enhancing the learning process. A suggestion arising from the study is that more emphasis is given to the development of

> conceptual understanding through the use of DV, and that this area is researched further"
> (Schuck and Kearney, 2004b, p.8)

The CHICAM project (Children in Communication about Migration), funded by the European Commission, is a third piece of research into digital video production from around the same time as the previous two from the UK and Australia discussed above. The project report presented evidence of the uses of digital video production in a variety of informal educational settings across Europe made by young people who were in migration in European host countries (deBlock, Buckingham and Banaji, 2005). CHICAM was framed by an explicit political and social purpose in its exploration of the use of video by the students involved and maintained a different emphasis from the previous reports and their concern with technical innovation, media literacy and pedagogy. These elements were, of course, still present but because of the setting, the subject matter and the political agenda of the project, they were more subservient to the processes of representation themselves than the previous reports. Reflecting after the project, two of the team wrote that...

> "...we wanted to...know more about how children learn to use media technology and how they use the "languages", generic forms and conventions of media to create meaningful statements or representations. We also expected that this process would tell us a great deal about how these children interpreted and made use of the complex media environments in which many of them lived..."
> (de Block and Buckingham, 2007, p.x)

CHICAM had an agenda which was framed by its wider social purpose of discovering to what extent media production had a part to play in representing voices which were not usually heard. The outcomes connected to media literacy and production itself were similar in nature to the other two studies above, but more complex due to the cultural differences in the settings. Overall, however, the report recommended, along the lines the BECTA findings, that serious consideration be given, in particular, to the ways in which teachers could be made more skilled, more aware of the creative uses of technology in relation to identity (deBlock, Buckingham and Banaji, 2005). Digital video production was placed at the heart of representational practices of young people in this study and, as will be seen in future chapters, it became an important theme in the research conducted for this thesis.

"Creativity" is often discussed in relation to digital video production and features to a greater or lesser extent in all the reports discussed so far and others (Reid, Burn and Parker, 2002; Schuck and Kearney, 2004b; deBlock, Buckingham and Banaji, 2005; Pearson, 2005; Lord et al., 2007). The term is certainly problematic and the many interrelated definitions are complex and discussed in more detail in the appropriate section on theory formulation, chapter 3. For some, there is a need to account for "creativity" in terms of the special properties of the tools of production (Loveless, 2002), and of the affordances of the technology itself. In this case, the term "affordances", itself often difficult to define, is invoked to describe the latent possibilities of a medium or an environment (Gibson, 1977). Since one of the key aims of the thesis to reflect on a learner's apprehension of these possibilities in media production, "affordance' is a term which will be revisited in later sections.

The authors of the BECTA report discuss the ways in which digital video appears to free up the relationship between creativity and the curriculum. However, the case studies suggest that a new set of constraints appear which require accounting for and operating. These are accounted for as particular skills in the making of the film and learning media language (Reid, Burn and Parker, 2002), around timing and subject matter, or, following Loveless (2002), to do with possible misuse, or misunderstanding, of the ways in which the technology operates.

For Schuck and Kearney the important creative act in the productions leads them to introduce a discussion of "new literacies" (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000), of how the projects allow for the formation of new ways of being literate and operating within the curriculum. Their emphasis is on freedom from constraint. The issue of constraint versus freedom recurs in much of the literature around case studies of digital video production (Reid, Burn and Parker, 2002; deBlock and Sefton-Green, 2004; Schuck and Kearney, 2004b) and is discussed in relation to the schools in this study at a later stage. Further discussions in the field by a number of writers (e.g. Marsh, 2005; Lankshear and Knobel, 2006; Knobel and Lankshear, 2007) connecting these issues to an account of "new literacies" will be outlined in Chapter 3.

Developing media literacy in learners through an engagement with a media production is also seen as a desirable possibility inherent within developing technologies, taking children beyond their position as media consumers and enabling them to become media producers (Buckingham, 2003). The authors of the BECTA report find evidence of a gradual permeation of technical vocabulary into the projects over time (Reid, Burn and Parker, 2002, p.56), almost as a necessity to develop a meta-language in order to operate in the field.

The case studies from Australia further support the idea that digital video production has immediate benefits in the teaching of "media literacy" even if this emerged in a non-specific way during the work. Children in the project schools became able to evaluate and improve their work by reference to a range of models drawn from both their making and their watching of a range of media. In one Melbourne school…

> "…students developed rubrics so they could indicate the features of "great video" and they used these rubrics to guide their own work."
> (Schuck and Kearney, 2004a, p.59)

Whilst these self-generated rubrics are useful and interesting in their own right, there is still a gap in our understanding of how the production side of media literacy operates in a progressive way, from the work of younger children on up through the curriculum within formal settings.

One recent research project which attempted to incorporate common themes across key stages from very early learners upwards was the "Special Effects" project, run jointly by the BFI and the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) and commissioned by Creative Partnerships (Lord et al., 2007). The aim was to assess the effects of moving image work on children's learning and their general disposition towards school. It was carried out on behalf of Creative Partnerships in an attempt to provide an evaluation of their scheme to place animators, filmmakers and artists in schools. I was employed as a field researcher and member of the steering group. The project ran for a year, during which researchers made three visits to projects in schools from the reception age group up to the higher end of secondary school. In the school I visited I interviewed children before during and after an animation project centred on the local area. I took field notes and observed an animation artist working with children in key stage 2 on a number of occasions. The project found, across all projects in all age groups, that:

> "The most frequently and strongly reported effects on pupils from the moving image case studies were: enhanced enjoyment, film knowledge and skills (especially film skills and techniques), and social skills (especially teamwork)." (Lord et al., 2007, executive summary, p.ii)

Here we find echoes of all the reports discussed in this section as well as of studies mentioned previously which reported on improved teamwork and social skills as a benefit of moving image work (Lorac and Weiss, 1981). However, it is important to note that these projects were focused on specific projects and interventions by creative professionals in the context of moving image work. Certainly in the primary phase projects, the authorial voice was not necessarily that of the children themselves. They had input into the projects at a low level, but were not engaged in the choices of topics or form although they were engaged and motivated by the work as evidenced by the outputs noted above.

Two further main differences between "Special Effects" and the fieldwork in the thesis are evident. The first was that for the primary age phase participants in the Special Effects study, the work was almost exclusively animation, a medium with a related but qualitatively different set of affordances and outcomes from live video work. The second major difference was in the curriculum mapping of the work which was onto specific goals and targets in subject areas; this is not to say that other, affective outcomes were not considered, just that they were not foregrounded.

Nevertheless, the findings about the enhanced enjoyment, knowledge of media language and team working is borne out in writing about youth media practice, where the research has been conducted with older students in a range of formal and informal settings. Although outside of the scope of this study such findings are often used alongside others such as "creativity' to enhance a project bid and interest teachers and students in project settings to take part. In a comprehensive survey of the field of youth media production, Chitat Chan (2008) identifies archetypal constructions of youth media production practice in the UK and USA. These constructions position youth as finding in media production a space in which to articulate aspects of identity which appear to resist the dominant culture. For the authors of one report in the UK, for example, *Being Seen Being Heard*, produced in partnership between the BFI and the National Youth Agency, the authors found that media production projects allowed young people to develop …

> "…not only a voice but...a language that other young people are likely to be interested in and which, by their very existence, stand(s) in contrast to other representations in the dominant television culture"
> (Harvey, Skinner and Parker, 2002, p.93)

However, for Chan this and similar assertions posit further questions and responses of relevance to the thesis, in particular the linkage made between the institutions, the students and the pedagogy in the setting. Chan points out that, in youth media production, the:

> "…Respective shaping of young people's positions can also be seen to reflect discursive practices that belong to a broader socio-cultural context. However, is it justified to say that young people's voices are merely the reflection of those ideological and institutional conditions? Do young people just naively assume positions assigned to them? How do they experience and negotiate with these positions, and on what occasions? …
> Youth media is not just about youth development and media technology; it is also about power, institution and pedagogy."
> (Chan, 2008, p.78)

This and other assertions about the positive impact of video as a social tool, its motivational properties (through linkage with popular culture), its potential for celebrating diversity and inclusion and for being student-centred, were all part of the background to the thinking behind the research theme and the methods used in the field work for this thesis. The major differences from the work of Chan and others who have looked more closely at these issue in the context of youth production were to move down through the age groups to see what the nascent use of this technology was like, to work inside formal structures (albeit unconventionally and quasi-informally in the end) and to record as far as possible the socio-cultural processes in production for a different group of learners in a different setting.

Although, as previously noted, there is a lack of research into self-authored digital video production by younger learners themselves, there have been projects which consider digital video material as an asset alongside other classroom resources to be used in teaching and learning. The BECTA report into production (Reid, Burn and Parker, 2002) was followed by a project which looked at teaching with digital video assets which were not necessarily self-authored (Burden and Kuechel, 2004). This was in turn followed by a NESTA[13] funded project, New Directions in Digital Media (NDDM), which looked at the impact of DVD authoring as production by teachers in school contexts (NESTA, 2007). In these projects, amongst the many examples of repurposing video texts were sources as diverse as Channel 4 television and mainstream film, there were a small number of videos which were made by the learners themselves. In the later NDDM project, these were directed mainly by the teachers concerned and used as examples of pupils informing each other about such things as Spanish vocabulary, simple maths problems, in literacy strategy ideas and so on. A quick scan of the project DVD results in the sense that the children themselves were not actively involved in structuring the video assets. The form of the video productions is skewed towards actual interaction with the national curriculum itself, not with any articulation of the students' personal experience; neither is it concerned with the use of the technology, students learning media language, or any of the other aspects under investigation in this thesis.

In Ireland, the FIS project attempted to build connections across the curriculum as a result of sustained engagement with digital video production. From its instigation in 2000, it was concerned with some of the themes which drove the very earliest studies in the field around positive social and curricular impacts (Lorac and Weiss, 1981). The evaluation report (McNamara and Griffin, 2003), published by Ireland's National Centre for Technology in Education, approaches the subject from the direction of ICT in Education; it was not a media literacy driven agenda, but one which, at least initially, began from the perspective of digital video production as a technological innovation and which gradually moved into a more sustained engagement with media literacy issues. It was important because of its range and scope, running from 2000 to 2003 in 26 primary schools in Dublin and Cork, and driven by the idea that technological innovation based on digital video production could support curriculum innovation, particularly in the creative arts. Findings were generally positive when reported for the media literacy activities and less so on the technical side, suggesting perhaps that some form of sustained engagement around the moving image itself, its forms and principles for organisation would be the most successful model for work in this area.

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[13] *National Endowment for Science Technology and the Arts*

From the project reports considered there were a number of themes which suggested further investigation and helped to shape the study in the thesis. This was sometimes directly expressed in the reports, as in the case of the BECTA project, which concluded that more research was needed which focused on the distinctiveness of the medium, the notions of creativity embedded in the practice of the teachers and the longer-term nature of the effects on pupils (Reid, Burn and Parker, 2002). The "Special Effects" project attempted to do some of this work and certainly met the aim of working to a longer timescale. However, like its predecessor, it had a different focus and was primarily concerned with relationships to existing structures, particularly pedagogical and curriculum based ones, rather than the authoring intentions and moving image production strategies of the young learners. The presence of creative professionals, certainly from the work which I observed directly, was also a limiting factor on direct pupil input in terms of production and content. There were, however, undoubtedly benefits in terms of the other effects mentioned above, such as knowledge of film terminology and teamwork. FIS in Ireland reported some positive outcomes for curriculum based activity. The unexplored domain here seems to be the self-authored video text which lies outside the normal curriculum focus. This was where the videos which form the basis of the thesis were located and further details follow in both the theory and methodology sections, in chapters 3 and 4 respectively.

2.4 Production as research

The use of visual data in research is the subject of a number of commentaries and handbooks for researchers (Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001; Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006; Rose, 2007; Buckingham, 2009), many of which have relevance to the present study and will be discussed further in chapter 4. The distinctiveness of the moving image as a form, however, demands substantial adaptation and presents particular issues and problems for researchers (Burn and Parker, 2003a; Buckingham, 2009). Nevertheless, video exerts great appeal for those researching in educational settings, partly because of the increasing ease of use of the technology used to gather the data and partly because of its perceived usefulness in generating apparently rich and "authentic" data. One such project, involving literacy lessons and the use of digital video production concluded that

> "…It may be useful to explore teaching and learning around alternative media such as still and moving images, live theatre and storytelling, digital technology and the arts. Although some teachers are making good use of these media, the potential of these media for providing inclusive literacy experiences could be further developed."
> (Lacey et al., 2007)

The implication of such enthusiastic writing is that the moving image as a medium is inclusive because it is central to the wider cultural experience of the children; this can then be used to generate rich data and approach any number of research questions.

As Buckingham (2009) points out, however, the use video as a "creative" method, rich with possibilities, presents researchers with a series of further issues and questions which need to be addressed. Authenticity, for example, is often claimed in such techniques, but, Buckingham asks, whose voice is actually, authentically represented? Pink (2006) suggests that authentic, objective truth is not, in fact, represented in any simple way by the use of images in research but, rather, that new knowledge and critiques emerge from the process. This was certainly the aim of the projects devised in the research for this thesis and there will be a discussion of the various frames which were used to try to account for these factors in chapters 3 and 4.

An example of a project which was based centrally around video data generated by participants comes from Andrew Noyes who introduced children to video diarying in pursuit of learning more about their fears about Maths learning in transfer from primary to secondary school. In some ways this project touched on some of the same areas as this thesis. The major difference in this case was the research being guided by a question which was external to the video production; Noyes wished to learn more about maths and secondary school transfer, not about the media production itself. Although interesting findings emerged around the experience of making the videos, the major purpose of the piece was not to understand those processes of composition but to use them as a means to unlock and interrogate a different issue, namely the dispositions towards learning of the children involved (Noyes, 2004a; Noyes, 2008).

Noyes, as principal researcher, acted as an editor in the process and used the cultural phenomenon of the "video diary" as a vehicle through which to apply a particular ethnographic method, as revealed in the following passage:

> "As the editor, I have a privileged view and see the whole interplay between child and camera/audience. Furthermore, when the video diary data is compared with complementary ethnographic data the simulations of the diary room can be analysed as dispositional improvisations within my theoretical framework."
> (Noyes, 2008, p.134)

This is a research strategy which is very different in form from the nature of the engagement with video proposed for this study, where the children themselves are in control of the final, rendered outcome, navigating the virtual editing suites onscreen. There are certain similarities in the application of triangulating data and the use of other techniques but the intention is different (see chapter 4).

Of much greater relevance to this study is the work of Andrew Burn and David Parker (Burn and Parker, 2001; Burn and Parker, 2003b; Burn and Parker, 2003a). In these accounts, actual self-authored video by learners forms the basis of analysis and research. They look at how such video texts may be examined using visual semiotics as a way of understanding the use of multimodal resources to make meaning. The case studies they use involve work by older children but have potential for mapping across all stages of experience. Because their work contains a number of methodological propositions which are of central importance to the thesis, they are discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

2.5 Digital video, technology and pedagogy

As noted in previous sections, DV production has frequently been without a natural subject home in primary schools, unlike in secondary schools, where the cameras and editing software are often accessible by, if not under the control of, teachers of subjects such as Media Studies, English, Drama or Art. Instead, digital video cameras and editing software often arrive in primary schools under the aegis of the subject of Information and Communication Technology (ICT). From this point, depending on the context of the school, it might be possible to introduce the technology into other subjects and we have seen, for example, that there is a potential home for it in primary schools within the overarching context of primary English, particularly as this develops and broadens in the direction of media literacy. At the same time larger numbers of teachers in training in primary education, for example, are being introduced to digital video production as an instance of "creative" practice with technology within their ICT sessions (Potter, 2002; Allen et al., 2007). This means that many initial assertions and assumptions in relation to pedagogy involving media and technology have entered the primary phase from a different direction, outside of media literacy debates. Of course there is a blurring of this view as several disciplines overlap and interact with one another. The cameras may arrive in a primary school in a cross-curricular setting as peripheral ICT devices but, if the context is truly collaborative and up to speed with recent developments, they may fall into the hands of a literacy co-ordinator who has been working with the BFI in the ways described previously in literacy contexts (see also Marsh and Bearne, 2008) and find wider uses in the school.

Media literacy, information literacy, gaming literacy and others are terms which are being used in technology and education contexts to try to capture a range of responses to the ways in which technology is shaping our experience of the world and our understanding of learning. Theories of how children learn with, and interact with, media culture through, for example, video gaming (online and standalone) have recently begun to inform educational debate for primary aged children. Researchers are asking why do learners devote so much time, concentration and effort to gaming or social networking activities and so little time to the equivalent, traditional educational experiences (see for example Gee, 2004c; Selwyn, Potter and Cranmer, 2008).

We can trace in these questions and debates the emergence of an overlapping world of theory and practice in the wider field beyond debates about media production. Indeed as technologies converge and computers become televisions, video editing suites, library portals, gaming consoles and communication hubs, it has become possible to see similar convergence and overlap in the academic world in terms of the theoretical perspectives on offer about education and technology (though this is seldom unproblematic).

Discussing technology in education, some writers now assert that technology is part of material culture, used by learners and their teachers in many aspects of their lives

(LeCourt, 2001). Increasingly, individuals experience and interact with learning through their consumption and production of digital media. This experience, mediated by tools and artefacts and their relation to each other, changes the ways in which knowledge is produced, understood, shared and accessed in fundamental ways (Lankshear, 2003). One result of this is an apparent potential shift in the locus of control of learning between formal and informal structures and sites of learning, moving the thinking about the uses of ICT in the direction of greater learner control; sometimes this is referred to as learner "agency" (by, for example, Cuthell, 2002) although, for this thesis, a key central theme is the production of identity, rather than agency or control.

Avril Loveless discusses technology in the context of the learner's experience of pedagogy (2002). She argues that problematic issues and key differences in learner experience with technology arise from the varied ways in which teachers frame their understanding of children's learning itself. Loveless explores ICT related pedagogy as a learner experience following several observations of children and their teachers in primary classrooms. She writes about technology in relation to the curriculum as it is described and structured, in schools in England, retaining a focus on the learner as the centre of activity. Frequently, "creativity" is a theme which engages her and for Loveless there are key properties of the medium of ICT in schools, particularly relating to productive tools, which foster creative practices by learners. These properties include those that allow learners to make and change decisions rapidly or to model a variety of hypotheses before deciding on a solution to a problem. She often invokes the concept of "provisionality", a factor which allows the user to test hypotheses and make changes at every stage, altering fundamentally and irreversibly the role of the teacher from that of instructor to one of mentor-facilitator. This change is not always easily accomplished and sometimes not recognised as necessary, particularly where the overall rationale for the use of technology in places of learning is so diverse and diffuse.

For primary educators, thinking about digital video production through the ICT frame positions it as one example of pedagogical change brought about by technology itself rather than through a wider and changing engagement with media and cultural production which is, in fact, simply enabled by the technology. This is further complicated in education systems with no clear pedagogical consensus on the uses of technology more widely in schools (Cuban, 2001; Selwyn, 2002; Twining, 2002a; Twining, 2005).

In *ICT and Literacy* (Gamble & Easingwood, 2000), the authors turn to literacy, and our changing understanding of the term[14], as a hook on which to hang a series of interlinked arguments and discussions about pedagogy with technology. These discussions are collected from a variety of writers in the field including school librarians, teachers and researchers. Many argue that digital tools make it possible for learners to produce differentiated work in a range of media which take account of viewpoint, needs and interest. This changes our understanding of the role of the teacher in similar ways to the arguments raised by Loveless, moving further in the direction of learner input and control of aspects of the activity. Notwithstanding the need to educate about film language acknowledged above, the idea that moving image production should be connected to notions of "agency" and creative practice is made often in the available literature (Sinker, 2000; Schuck and Kearney, 2004b; Potter, 2005). These are discussions to which chapter 3 will return in an attempt to secure usable definitions with which in part to frame the research.

Turning to another aspect of the pedagogical context for digital video production, it is important to consider specific subject traditions and cultures within schools as a result of the introduction of new technology. Peter John for example sees the issues as bound up as much with identity formation and self-perception amongst teachers as it is with any technological matters (John, 2005). The argument here is about how technology influences an identity, which a teacher has formed over many years through teaching a particular subject. Something is lost and something is gained in a process equivalent to trading aspects of identity – surrendering expertise in technology whilst asserting subject expertise. This may become important as an issue in relation to subject teachers themselves working with the technology in situations of digital video production. Certainly it has been found to be significant in the meta-studies which have taken place looking at a range of projects (Reid, Burn and Parker, 2002; Schuck and Kearney, 2004b).

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[14] *Though not in relation to Kalantzis and Cope and the New London group, 2006 – Gamble and Easingwood are using an older, reductive, print literacy model*

Whichever perspective is chosen, a number of factors are interdependent on one another – learner experience, teacher experience and the differing rationales for introducing the technology in the first place (which Twining (2002c) following Larry Cuban (2001) indicates is a key reason why there is a gap between the rhetoric and the reality of technology in schools). It may also explain the lack of joined-up thinking in relation to digital video production where use is so patchy in schools; there is no simple match between the ICT frame of reference and the (media) literacy frame. The answer may lie in looking for social and cognitive theory which brings the tools of technology into the cultural frame and this will be discussed in chapter 3 in more depth in the section around play with technology.

2.6 Storying, identity and roles in digital video production

Representation of learner identity has been aligned with new media and digital video production by a number of writers (e.g. deBlock, Buckingham and Banaji, 2005). The socio-cultural dimension of this activity and how it has been accounted for in "new literacy studies" as an engagement with "affinity spaces" (Gee, 2004b; Lankshear and Knobel, 2006) will be addressed in Chapter 3. For now, it is useful to note additional perspectives drawn from Bruner and others which allow the discussion to move further in the direction of identity in new media (Bruner, 1987) and into issues of pedagogy. Of particular interest here is the idea of new media as a social practice through which identities are represented in more compelling and complex ways than with traditional forms, in particular, relating the issue to the previous section, how the medium allows for this to occur through the control by learners of a variety of media resources in production. This is not unproblematic and there is much more to say in theorising and discussing it in later chapters.

A number of different authorities have commented on work which sees representational practice as being important in the reproduction of identity. Hepp, Hinostroza and Laval see new media as a way forward for a whole society, using it as an organising principle for a national project in Chile (Hepp, Hinostroza and Laval, 2004). Also in South America, Lucia Grossberger-Morales lists the properties of digital media which match her requirements in creating a multimedia representation of her identity:

> "The need to tell my personal history in my own (bilingual) voice
> The ability to take advantage of every aspect of multimedia technology: digitisation and integration of moving and still images, video, sound and words..."
> (Grossberger-Morales, 2000)

The idea that the control of multimodal properties of the medium, in particular the mode of sound, could be important is prevalent in many project reports on identity and digital video production, in particular the CHICAM project where music is cited as a key marker of authorial intent in self-representation (deBlock, Buckingham and Banaji, 2005). The CHICAM project was set up to...

> "...explore the ways in which media production and communication might allow refugee and migrant children to share, compare and express their experiences of migration."
> (deBlock and Sefton-Green, 2004)

The medium of digital video, combined in CHICAM with communication between project members over the Internet, was used by the project workers and the children with whom they worked, to make short representational pieces of video connected to themes of daily life, school, friendships, family and peer relations. As noted previously the project had a socio-political objective; the use of the media would be a form of political activism, giving voice to marginalised groups. Liesbeth de Block (2004) introduced the project as being about children...

> "...creating their own representations of themselves and their lives...Technology now makes it so much easier for them to be in control of the image and the message...they can bring new voices to debates that concern them, their own voices."[15]
> (CHICAM, 2004)

These aims notwithstanding, the team later reflected on the project in more qualified and cautious terms, in particular the idea that there was a simple mapping of one set of experiences onto another, rendered universal by the properties of the medium of digital video. In fact, in appraising each other's productions in the early phases of the project, children...

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[15] *Reports and samples of the work produced are available from the CHICAM website www.chicam.net CHICAM. (2004), CHICAM website. [Online]. Available at: www chicam net. Last accessed 10.12.04.*

> "...were looking for information about the other places and children involved in the research. Here again the film did not speak of their lives in the present or connect visually or aurally with any shared culture: it felt too distant, too much like somebody else's narrative"
> (de Block and Buckingham, 2007, p.162)

This idea of complicated reception and disconnection would become important in the study for this thesis, even though the project videos in both schools featured later were made within an apparently shared space and shared culture. In spite of the problems which the project raised, the authors found in the "participatory media work" that there were "possibilities ... less easily available using other methods" and that such activities could...

> "...begin to equalise the power relationships between us and permit young people to represent themselves in their own terms."
> (ibid. p.176)

The act of storying, or taking control of a self narrative, is further theorised in relation to contemporary notions of identity by a number of writers concerned with power relations in self-representation (Finnegan, 1997; Kearney, 2003). The media texts in the case studies in the thesis will be seen to have – to a greater or lesser extent - aspects of storying or narrative about the self. In the case of all the learners, whether younger or older, this is negotiated within a number of defining parameters, including their position in the curriculum and their social position in the class or group. This is a topic for lengthier discussion in the "Frameworks" chapter (Chapter 3 below).

There is a growing interest in the ways in which learners use storying as an active method of constructing their identity, not merely representing it. Hall, Bruner and others are quoted in this regard in "Consumption and Everyday Life" (Mackay, 1997). The latter, in particular, sees autobiography as an active, constructive process and there are other examples of writing about self-representation in this constructive mode, making the self with each re-telling of the self (Bruner, 1987; Kearney, 2003).

For the "cyberkids" about whom Holloway and Valentine (2002) write, negotiating their use of the spaces from the physical, embodied use of the computer in the home through to the spaces on the Internet involves repeated engagement with the concept of identity. At the same time, they are in tension with adult perceptions of childhood which seek to both romanticise it and then direct and control processes in areas which they perceive to be potentially harmful. In their research, Holloway and Valentine found that nowhere is this truer than in the area of new technology. Adults in their study often direct children towards activities in new media which are academic and "improving" in nature, using online encyclopaedias or focussing on reference material which helps them, on one level, to understand their place in the world. Production, interaction and play are seen as essentially lower level activities. Increasingly, of course, both adults and children are at play in the worlds of identity online and many of them are using video and images to represent versions of themselves in online spaces (Garfield, 2006).

Other writers who have researched ICT, digital media and identity include Chris Abbott and Julian Sefton-Green who, along with Rebecca Sinker has proposed a way of seeing and evaluating children's creative output in new media as requiring a new language in order for it to be fully appraised and understood (Sefton-Green, 2000b; Sinker, 2000; Abbott, 2001). Its relationship to wider concerns of identity in the context of digital cultures will be explored more extensively in chapter 3.

Several studies have identified that digital video production occupies the space between formal and the informal settings of education and even between these worlds and the home (Sefton-Green and Sinker, 2000; deBlock et al., 2004; Schuck and Kearney, 2004b). The difficulty emerges when these worlds share some sort of space and the tensions are felt between the demands of the formal legal elements of the taught curriculum and the informal curriculum. Some writers characterise this as a clash of cultures, of school cultures with home or popular cultures and move the debate towards a definition of popular literacies (Haas Dyson, 2006).

From Australia, a different source points out the misunderstandings generated by home conceptions of school practice and culture when hostility and suspicion greet the introduction of movie-making in an early years setting (Nixon and Comber, 2005) For some writers this is symptomatic of wider gulfs between the understanding which children have of popular culture and that which adults attempt to project onto it (Tobin, 2000).

Digital video production is a social activity, requiring organising principles based on teamwork and the allocation of roles, in front of and behind the camera, and including, more distantly from the finished product, specialised forms of input at the briefing and designing stage. Orr Vered (2008) found, while investigating informal settings, that children are prepared for some of these roles, in particular what it takes to be "a star" in front of camera through their consumption of popular culture. Only by sustained engagement with the process over time do other, technical roles consciously enter the social worlds of production. As she writes of this issue:

> "Children also have more generic experience with performance, through make-believe and other forms of play, than they do for scripting, camera operation, editing or any other aspect of movie production. It is not surprising then that initially they would be inclined to participate in a way that is familiar to them....While acting may seem to restrict participation to one area of production, the children do learn about production through their participation in performance. The time that the first actors spent on set now informs their activities in crew capacities."
> (Orr Vered, 2008, p.154)

One immediate follow up to this observation in the informal setting is to examine how these roles play out in the quasi formal setting of the school and this forms the basis of one of the main strands in the thesis.

2.7 Emergent themes

The literature reviewed for each of the preceding sections contributed to the shape of the study in different but related ways. The first section, *Contexts for digital video production in education,* described the ways in which digital video was emerging as a form in primary schools, either under the aegis of ICT, as a technological innovation, or as a tool for literacy and the creative arts. The theme emerging here is the need for some research which examines its place in the curriculum which is cognisant of the structures and changes in primary school education.

Precedents and antecedents, which followed, traced at the history of media production in schools, including its development in the secondary Media Studies curriculum and some proposed models for the primary school setting from previous years. A number of models of media literacy were outlined which employed a variety of methods, giving weighting to both analysis and production in the acquisition of skills and knowledge about media. The most salient emergent theme for the study here was the need to examine critically how self-representational video work in primary school years could contribute to the development of a critical, reflective approach to production and, perhaps more significantly, to an overall pedagogy with the moving image.

The third section - *Recent projects in the primary years*–reviewed some key project reports from recent years to describe how the field of digital video production was being mapped. The intention was to look at the kinds of further, structured research which may be suggested by the authors of these reviews, having elaborated the contexts within which they were working and the major findings they produced. Almost all the project reports called for some sustained, longitudinal engagement with moving image production in the primary school, particularly into how it related to the curriculum offering (thereby linking with elements of the previous sections). Others raised questions about how identity was being represented within the context of out-of-school projects based on a social change agenda. This research aimed to provide a sustained focus on self-authored video text within the school setting as a starting point for an engagement with identity production and representation in new media.

Production as research, the section which followed, looked for relevant models where digital video production had been used as a tool for other forms of research; this section acted as a pointer towards issues for further exploration in Chapter 4, the methodology chapter.

The fifth section, *Digital video, technology and pedagogy,* identified areas in which digital video had been identified as a key example of technological change when it was introduced into primary schools, particularly in relation to creative practices. The emergent theme here was the lack of an easy match between the frame of reference provided by subject ICT and that provided by a media and cultural inflected frame.

The final section, *Storying, identity and roles in production,* considered the social worlds and purposes of digital video production. This was important to the shape of the whole project given the location of the work within the realm of self-representational media texts.

Against the backdrop of increasing access to moving image production this thesis aimed to explore younger learners' self-representational practices and organising principles in digital video production. Gathering some of these emergent themes together helped to structure the approach to theory and, ultimately, to methodology; these gatherings are set out below...

Firstly, much of what the production process means for the learners themselves in the primary years goes into the margins of the various studies when other concerns come into focus, such as curriculum innovation or technological change. One of these largely unreported aspects is the reflective response of pupils in terms of organising practices and principles in production. In other words, what aesthetic and affective judgements of their own work do pupils make relating to their own critical experiences of media texts and what does this reveal about their knowledge of organising systems in video production?

Secondly, an area touched on but not explored fully for younger learners in the literature, is an account of the spaces, social worlds and circumstances in which digital video productions arise, based on a detailed understanding of the setting. As a consequence, one aim for this study is an account of the part played by memory and association in choices of location, music, performance. How were these aspects organised in production such a way that they represented the social worlds and identities of the performers and producers at specific moments in time? What are the reasons behind the choices of multimodal assets in particular moving image compositions and how do they contribute to making the meanings that the children wish to convey?

Thirdly, given that the tools of moving image production are becoming ubiquitous in many children's lives inside and outside formal settings, and that so much of the available literature in the field focuses on older students, more needs to be done to understand the place of production in the earlier years of education. What do younger learners know already and what do they need to know about the language of the moving image? What is the innate, but unrefined, nature of their media literacy as revealed in composition and where this might be taken in the future?

These identified areas led to the construction of both the research question and a supporting set of frameworks. Chapter 3 describes these theoretical frameworks and Chapter 4 describes how they shaped the methodology in the study.

Chapter 3 Organising forms and representing identity

Introduction

The research question which forms the basis of this study is in two parts as follows:

- What forms and organising structures are used by young learners in negotiating and representing identity in digital video production?

In approaching this question, the thesis seeks to problematise children's video production beyond the formal aspects of media text construction, in order to incorporate a parallel but wider engagement with media and cultural theory in the ways suggested by Burn and Durran (2007) and other writers included in the "antecedents and precedents" section above (e.g. Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 1994; Buckingham, 2003).

These problematising factors encompass intersecting theoretical frameworks, each of which is important to the understanding of the whole. They are used in supporting an account of media production within the structures of the school and the curriculum, as well as within the context of the wider aspects of young people's identity in pre-adolescence.

This is not a study which is celebratory and uncritical of children's work. In terms of the research question, it is as important to understand what appears to go wrong for some children engaged in media production as it is to record positive outcomes for others. Where there are inconsistencies and difficulties of either a technical or a personal nature, these will be considered useful in providing a way of understanding more about the practice in the setting.

The digital video productions for this study were to be made in formal school settings. However, the projects were designed to render these spaces more amenable to child-centred production, taking place within the school day, in the school setting, but outside timetable constraints, not carried out with their teachers and not explicitly related to the subjects of the curriculum. In all cases, across the two sets of projects, the subject of the production was to be the learners themselves, and a concerted effort was made to ensure that the locus of control of the production and creation was as close as possible to the children at all times.

With structures to support the children's own authorial intentions in place, two overarching theoretical frameworks were identified, each of which contained further distinctive and discrete elements explored in the analysis and concluding chapters. The first of these was concerned with issues related to "media literacy", to the forms and organising principles which lay behind the videos as texts. The second framework was concerned with theoretical approaches to identity in order to establish how this was negotiated and represented within the videos.

3.1 Media literacy: forms and organising structures

This section theorises the forms and organising principles of the children's moving image texts and how they make meanings. Beginning with changing conceptions of "literacy", it moves on to specific fundamental definitions drawn from theoretical accounts of "media literacy", including an emphasis on intertextuality. It concludes with a proposal that links literacy to a concept of curatorship in the changed social arrangements and practices which follow Lievrouw and Livingstone's definition of "new media".

Changing conceptions of literacy

In recent years, "literacy" has been defined in a number of different ways and claimed by a number of different disciplines within education and related theory. "Literacy" is prefixed by words which reflect different educational movements, controversies, debates, and, occasionally, attempts to 'sell' an educational solution in response to rapid societal and technological change. Thus it is possible to find examples of any or all of the following in press, web pages, journals and books of all kinds from the latter phases of the twentieth century through to the present day, from academic theory through to teacher and parental guidance: *digital literacy, computer literacy, visual literacy, film literacy, information literacy, cultural literacy, games literacy, emotional literacy* and more, up to and including *media literacy.* Aligned to this at a meta-level are ways of grouping and conceptualising "literacies" and later sections will address examples of these, namely: *Multiliteracies* and *New literacy studies.*

One key aspect which all the areas share, even within their various different theoretical perspectives, is an attempt to describe a process by which meanings are both transmitted and received, as well as a sphere in which competencies are developed, demonstrated and measured. This is because the term "literacy" itself is inextricably linked with competency and, therefore, with learning. Literacy is something to be acquired; a set of skills and dispositions which lead a person to be "literate". The Concise Oxford English Dictionary (6th edition) defines "Literacy" as "the ability to read and write" (ed. Sykes, 1979). To be a "literate" person is to be "educated" and "learned", these meanings originating from Latin derivatives and in use in these senses since the fifteenth century. From the eighteenth century onwards, "literacy" becomes further connected in its meaning to the processes of learning itself, the step by step acquisition of knowledge of letters and how to use them (Hoad, 1992).

For the many newer forms of literacy listed above these competencies come in different forms for different purposes. Thus apologists for "information literacy" propose teaching programmes which place a high premium on reading, networking and interpretive skills (November, 2001). All of them, however, suggest a developing competence within the fields which precede the word "literacy", although some go well beyond competency and emphasise the mastery of empathy and other life skills (as in "emotional literacy" for example).

In recent years further direct evidence of the connection between literacy and pedagogy came when "Literacy" began to supplant the term "English" as a subject in English primary schools. In 1998 a specific pedagogy was imposed by the government on primary schools in England, namely the step by step acquisition of a set of skills proposed in the National Literacy Strategy (DFES, 1998). The "Literacy" hour prescribed teaching methods in primary schools which were intended to build sequentially, skill by skill, concept by concept, effectively atomising learning about the processes of exchange and meaning making in all the constituent parts of National Curriculum English, namely: *speaking and listening*, *reading* and *writing*. The result, although intended to be a comprehensive literacy programme was a greater emphasis on skills and meta-level analysis of text at the expense of publication by children.

Definitions of literacy are, therefore, inextricably linked to schemes for teaching and learning. They propose sets of processes which inform pedagogy and the development of learning in children and adults in specific ways towards taking full part in the exchange of meanings in daily life.

The burgeoning number of literacies listed in the opening to this section reflects many changes, not least among them technological and societal changes which result in increased production and distribution in a variety of media. Alongside printed matter, across the developed world and in increasing areas of the undeveloped world there is greater access to text, music, speech, video, and film on screens from televisions to computers to phones. There is more to be literate about and, because of the connection with pedagogy, more to educate about and more to be educated by.

In the late nineties, the "New London Group" proposed a collection of responses to the changing nature of literacy under the heading "Multiliteracies" (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000), an attempt to describe and discuss the way literacy was moving in a world of accelerated change, together with plans for pedagogical responses to those changes within our education systems. They joined the tradition of linking literacy to pedagogy in their initial set of proposals:

> "If it were possible to define generally the mission of education, one could say that its fundamental purpose is to ensure that all students benefit from learning in ways that allow them to participate fully in public, community, and economic life. Literacy pedagogy is expected to play a particularly important role in fulfilling this mission."
> (NewLondonGroup, 1996)

Appropriately, these discussions, proposals and hypotheses by Kress, Gee, Fairclough, Cope, Kalantzis and others in the group were published as a collection in the millennial year, further underlining newness, change and movement. The subtitle of the collection revealed the scope of ambition of the writers concerned, nothing less than describing "Literacy Learning and the Design of Social Futures". The focus throughout the collection was on establishing a semiotic basis for pedagogy and literacy, combined with a set of proposals to understand the impact on teaching and learning of new social arrangements brought about by significant changes in socio-economic conditions. As a whole, in the introduction, the New London Group specifically addressed how changing conceptions of literacy were shaped by political factors. Some individual accounts in the *Multiliteracies* book (edited by Cope and Kalantzis, 2000) privileged a role for technology, particularly networked technology, in the process (see chapter 2 by James Paul Gee). Others had a vision of practice in response to these changes which was rooted in social constructivism and social psychology, of which more will be said in later sections. Overall, the book proposed a theoretical and pedagogical re-formulation of literacy as the major anticipated change in relation to the new conceptions described in *Multiliteracies.*

A further important near contemporary movement in the field, grouped under the term "new literacy studies" attempted to locate literacy within a socio-cultural and anthropological frame. Preceding *Multiliteracies* by a few years, and similarly seeking to widen the definition of literacy, it was developed by a number of writers (Heath, 1983; Street, 1985; Street, 1995; Barton, Hamilton and Ivanic, 2000). These early definitions have subsequently been elaborated and developed alongside "multiliteracies" in the context of new media forms (Marsh and Millard, 2000; Gee, 2004a; Larson and Marsh, 2005; Lankshear and Knobel, 2006) and this will be discussed later in this section.

For now, looking back at the beginnings of "new literacy studies", Street (1985) proposed two operational models of literacy, the "ideological" and the "autonomous". He defined the *autonomous* model of literacy as one in which active engagement with "literacy" has naturally positive impacts on other social and cognitive practices; in other words, simply taking part in literacy activities confers enhancement of life chances and economic prospects. Literacy is seen as fixed and neutral in this model, operating outside of social and cultural factors and essentially immune to changes over time. In contrast to this he defines the *ideological* model of literacy as one which...

> "...offers a more culturally sensitive view of literacy practices as they vary from one context to another. This model starts from different premises than the autonomous model--it posits instead that literacy is a social practice, not simply a technical and neutral skill; that it is always embedded in socially constructed epistemological principles. It is about knowledge: the ways in which people address reading and writing are themselves rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity, and being."
> (Street, 2003, pp. 77-78)

"Literacy practices", as referred to here not only mean taking part in an exchange of meaning but to the participants' concept of the process itself. In relation to reading and writing, Street defines literacy practices as...

> "...not only the event itself but the conceptions of the reading and writing process that people hold when they are engaged in the event."
> (Street, 1995, p.133)

The ideological model is, therefore, a reflexive account of engagement with literacy events in which participant self-perception of their engagement in a practice are as important as their actual contribution. For learners engaged in the video productions, it will be a feature of the analysis to trace this reflexivity, however limited this might necessarily be; in other words, to discover in what senses they undertake digital video production practices as reflexive, media literate participants.

The social definitions of literacy derived by Street were used by Buckingham (1993) in *Children Talking Television* to support the contention that social and cultural forces are significant in shaping "television literacy". He employed the definition of ideological model of literacy as important in shaping a "social theory of television literacy" which would:

> "...begin by acknowledging that children's use of television is an integral part of the fabric of their daily lives...it would acknowledge that that the competencies which are involved in making sense of television are not equally available, but socially distributed, and that they are intimately connected with the operation of social power..."
> (ibid, p. 34)

Furthermore, Buckingham invokes the culturally dependent model of literacy as a way of accounting for changes in definitions of what it means to be literate through time:

> "As media languages and technologies evolve, so do definitions of what it means to be literate – a process which is arguably accelerating at the present moment..."

> (ibid.)

In response to the proliferation of new media forms and technologies in subsequent years, others have invoked the socio-cultural theories of Street and others to account for changes in literacy practices. For example, Marsh and Millard (2000) argued the importance to teachers and learners of an engagement with children's popular culture in literacy activities, in the context of new and older, print media; Haas Dyson (1997) proposed a method for engaging children in sustained literacy practices around their interaction with the superhero genre; Nixon and Comber (2005) looked at how two teachers worked with small-scale media production projects in early years classrooms in a popular culture context.

These examples have been followed by accounts which incorporate newer forms of media, including online activity, within "everyday practices" as well as classroom contexts (Lankshear and Knobel, 2006). In turn, these follow formulations and develop concepts derived from the work of Gee (2004b). one of the most frequently cited concepts is the "affinity space", an online or offline space in which end-users are sustained by a common purpose and, as a result, experience a high level of engagement and achievement. In this formulation of literacy and cultural activity, Gee raises the prospect of learner disengagement from traditional schooling with the attraction of new media forms as spaces for collaboration and "situated learning"; he writes that:

> "...(learners) confronted with more and more affinity spaces...see a different and arguably powerful vision of learning, affiliation, and identity."
> (ibid, p.89)

The degree to which the productions under investigation in the thesis represent an "affinity space" and how much that is important to the outcome will be a matter for discussion at a later stage. For now, I want to focus more specifically on literacy in relation to moving image texts.

Media literacy

Media literacy, as will be seen below, is proposed as a central site for the re-organisation of theories of meaning-making and pedagogy (Burn and Durran, 2007) and it is this which forms a major part of the theoretical underpinning to the thesis. The definition of media literacy is contested in official government documents, academic papers and books in this country and others. In Australia, one writer in the field has found the debates unhelpful and has even side-stepped the issue, preferring the term "media competence" to "media literacy" (Orr Vered, 2008), although ultimately this notion risks a functional reductivism in practice, however subtly argued and nuanced it may be.

As previously seen in the literature review in chapter 2, the term "media literacy" is often defined in relation to developing a critical understanding of the media. However, other important definitions are more expansive and explicitly include production. This is encapsulated in the definition by the UK government regulator OFCOM, (which in its wording recalls definitions from the early 1990s from North America[16]) namely, "...the ability to access, understand and *create* communications in a variety of contexts." (OFCOM, 2005, my emphasis in italics). In this thesis the aspect of the definition of "literacy" which is represented by the word "create" is central; this is a piece of research into the processes around production.

The version of media literacy described by Burn and Durran (2007) widens the scope from OFCOM's focus on communication and its disinclination to encompass both semiotic and cultural theory. They detail a programme which encompasses both of these aspects and propose a "cultural-semiotic model" - an understanding of the processes of meaning making which attempts to bring together three central sets of principles. Firstly, the work of Williams from the field of cultural studies in *The Long Revolution* (1961) is evoked in the conception of lived, selected and recorded cultural contexts. Alongside this they propose a programme defined by a conception of the "cultural, creative and critical" social functions of media literacy. Finally, they establish a third set of principles based on an understanding of semiotic processes with equal weighting in teaching and learning given to understanding "discourse, design/production, distribution and interpretation". (Burn and Durran, 2007, see esp. pp. 6 - 9). This seems to me the most holistic and useful definition to explore in relation to the videos made for this research since it allows for an interrogation of many aspects of the children's lived experience in the setting as presented in their media texts.

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[16] *Specifically, it is modelled on the 1992 US Aspen Media Literacy Leadership Institute Definition, "... the ability to access, analyze, evaluate and create media in a variety of forms." Source: http://www.medialit.org/reading_room/article675.html [Access date: 27.05.09]*

The connection between literacy and pedagogy has been noted above and discussions of "media literacy" and "media education" go side by side in many key texts. In Buckingham's *Media Education* (2003), cited by Burn and Durran (op. cit. p.21), the emphasis is on establishing rationales for pedagogy which situate media literacy in contemporary cultural contexts. This book builds on earlier texts such as *Cultural studies goes to school* (Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 1994) to establish a case for the expansion of literacy pedagogy beyond the "functional" and into a productive relationship with culture and cultural theory. More recently, Buckingham has proposed that media literacy/media education should take a central role in school curricula, seeking to negotiate with the culture of its students within the contexts of new technologies, a role that ICT as subject has not been able to fill (Buckingham, 2007).

In the meantime, a further recurrent theoretical issue in media literacy is the analogy with print literacy. In setting out how a programme of media literacy might operate, this analogy is often invoked (Sefton-Green, 1998; Buckingham, 2003; Larson and Marsh, 2005; Lankshear and Knobel, 2006; Burn and Durran, 2007). This is not a comfortable or unproblematic fit and Buckingham sounds a cautionary note in pushing the analogy too far, in particular because of the lack of truly analogous grammatical terms between the two (2003, ch. 3). However, as imperfect as the analogy is in many ways, he finds that the use of "literacy" in the context of media education makes an important and distinctive contribution, as follows:

> "...the emphasis on literacy reminds us of an element that is often neglected in media education. For literacy clearly involves both reading *and* writing; and so media literacy must necessarily entail both the interpretation and the production of media."
> (Buckingham, 2003)

Earlier, Sefton-Green based some of his doctoral research into media production in secondary school settings on an examination of the "metaphor" of literacy (1998). From Barton's review of critical literacy studies he found a useful definition which expands the reductive one quoted previously, to one which envisages "literacy" as a "...set of social practices with particular symbol systems and their related technologies...to be literate is to be active..." (Barton, 1994, p.32). Sefton-Green makes the connection between activity and practice, with what he calls "...human agency – that is individual or cultural expression" (1998, p.53). He makes explicit the connections between competencies and actions. For this thesis also, production, conceived as social action, is at the centre of the understanding of the term *media literacy*.

Previously in the literature review the 'production versus interpretation' debate was described, in particular how it has been played out in primary and secondary education and how some pragmatic solutions had been developed which described stages of development through which younger learners might move (e.g. Bazalgette, 1989). For Burn and Durran (op.cit.) developing media literacy in education involves a socio-cultural engagement with meaning making in media texts, invoking two sorts of analytical frameworks to understand the process. Firstly, there is the framework represented by the tools of semiotics, in order to interpret meaning-making at a textual level; secondly, frameworks from the field of cultural studies are essential in order to situate learners within social and political contexts. Working with this in school means revealing what children already know and how this may be built on. They describe it in these terms...

> "...when children arrive at school, they bring with them highly developed forms of media literacy already. They have extensive *implicit* knowledge of how media texts work; and the semiotic approach can be used to analyse *what they are already able to do*. As importantly, however, it can be used to outline what we want them to be able to do in addition..."
> (Burn and Durran, 2007, p.20, author emphasis in italics)

Writing later in *Making New Media: Creative Production and Digital Literacies,* Burn makes even more explicit the potential for linking different frames in the analysis of popular culture with an understanding of the ways in which children engage with media texts in educational settings, as follows:

> "Kress and van Leeuwen's proposal (social semiotics) ... connects texts with the social interests of their related signmakers: those who make them, and those who use, read, view or play them. In the context of education, it offers a theory of signification ready for synthesis with the work of scholars of children's media cultures, such as Buckingham, who provides influential research in how children engage with media texts as well as proposals for how the pedagogies of media education might be influenced by Cultural Studies."
> (Burn, 2009, p.2)

Elsewhere in his opening chapter, Burn adds “interpretation” to the list of processes, or “strata”, which Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001) propose for understanding how meanings are made in multimodal communication[17]. Proposing interpretation as an active semiotic process moves the agenda further still in seeking to close the loop between the analytical approach of social semiotics and the approach of cultural studies to the understanding of the production of meaning in media texts. Both are important; formal textual analysis seeks to understand the place of each of the different modes of communication in the production and a socio-cultural analysis develops further an understanding of the affective relations between social actors, how and why particular roles in production were assigned, why certain shots were employed, why certain music was added and so on. Both analyses enable a rich description of coherence in successful productions and potentially useful accounts of disruptions and fissures in less successful videos.

Intertextuality

In children’s videos, there are, as in mainstream production by adults, quotations and appropriations from television shows and films alongside music and speech samples. In analysing the form of these productions, we can use tools which help us to unlock each of the modes in production, adapted forms of multimodal analysis which allow us to identify and discuss textual quotations and appropriations within the finished productions.

The concept of “intertextuality”, therefore, becomes an important additional frame through which to view media texts; meaning is made by the producer and subsequently the viewer from the juxtaposition of excerpts and quotations of media texts which are in dialogue with one another. In this respect, the dialogism of Bakhtin (1981) and the subsequent re-positioning of this in the light of semiotics provide ways into the apparent jumble of references and borrowings between these texts. There are echoes of the "mosaic of quotations" invoked by the semiotician Julia Kristeva to account for and define intertextuality (1980, p.66). The apparent playful assemblages of texts are designed with the viewer in mind who knows the sources and how they relate to one another and is capable of making meaning from the intertextuality of these resources.

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[17] *The others being “discourse”, “design”, “production” and “distribution”.*

Intertextuality in the context of media literacy implies what Fairclough describes as a "socially conceived" theory of media production. For Fairclough, any emergent theories of newer forms of literacy must incorporate both "language" and "discourse". He writes,

> "In analysing the language of a text one is referring the text to a grammar or grammars, and seeing it in terms of rules (for some) or systems networks (for others). In analysing the text as discourse one is referring the text to an order of discourse or discourses...an order of discourse is the set of discursive practices associated with an institution or a social domain, and the particular boundaries which obtain between these practices..."
> (Fairclough, 2000, p.170)

Negotiating these concepts of discourse is key to an understanding of media texts in the context of media literacy. Central to the design of a media text is its place in an order of discourse which incorporates the idea of quotation, re-mixing and re-purposing at its heart. Partly this is bound up in the construction of the grammar, how shot-by-shot and edit-by-edit the meaning is made. Partly it is revealed in how the collection of shots themselves reference other known examples of the discursive practices inherent in the form and then how these references work together to produce new meanings.

Fairclough claims intertextuality as the key differentiating concept in the application of textual analysis in the field of new literacy studies because it allows for the development of a method which maps properties of texts onto properties of "society and culture" (ibid. p.174). For media literacy this means mapping the properties of texts which "...express pressures towards conventions and normativity, and pressures towards difference and change..." (ibid.)

In this, Fairclough echoes and invokes Bakhtin who describes the ways in which utterances or "speech acts" have a duality within which they are in tension. The pressures which Bakhtin calls "centripetal' forces are the ways in which speech acts must be subservient to the unifying organising forces of the conventions of language systems. These are in continual tension with the "centrifugal forces" of the wider "heteroglossia", the varied and stratified wider systems in which all utterances take place. Bakhtin writes:

> "Every utterance participates in the unitary language (in its centripetal forces and tendencies) and at the same time partakes of the social and historical heteroglossia (the centrifugal, stratifying forces)."
> (Bakhtin, 1981)

If we can substitute media texts for utterances, we can begin to reveal the ways in which media texts express this tension and play against it in their construction. Media literacy borrows from this model the implication of a developed awareness of the ways in which the texts speak to other texts whilst obeying the conventions of the form.

Such a conception leads back ultimately to a semiotic engagement with media production, with the methods required to look at texts within texts, modes within production. It does, however, contain a measure of social and cultural engagement which is absent in other analytical models. Burn suggests (2009) that semiotic analysis does one kind of work on a text whilst cultural studies provides a much needed further analytical dimension. Without a socio cultural frame, a focus on the features of design for meaning leads to an analysis of media texts which, at best, de-emphasises aesthetic and affective response and, at worst, omits these aspects entirely. There are particular consequences for the study of identity in production, a central feature of the research question in this thesis, which arise from overdependence on such tools. This view is expressed in other literacy studies focused on identity, for example, in Leander and Frank's critique of multimodality as a research methodology for studying youth production in online spaces (2006), where it is viewed as unable to account for embodiment or the aesthetic affects of texts and textual production.

If the arguments about complementary frames of reference made above are true, then understanding pedagogy around production of the media texts *partly* depends on finding relevant and appropriate frames from cultural studies approaches to learning. This will be important in trying to re-establish the aesthetic and embodied aspects of the reference points, the wider "heteroglossia". Since this study is also concerned with a specific new media form, the digitally edited moving image, it makes sense to seek theoretical models and propositions from cultural theorists which attempt to embrace these media forms. Henry Jenkins, for example, proposes a list of "new skills" to consider in thinking about media education in the paper, *Confronting the Challenges of Participatory Culture: Media Education for the 21st Century.* Alongside some skills which are at the margins of relevance to this study (*simulation, multi-tasking, judgement, et al*) are several more which are central to it, namely:

> "**Play** — the capacity to experiment with one's surroundings as a form of problem-solving
> **Performance** — the ability to adopt alternative identities for the purpose of improvisation and discovery...
> **Appropriation** — the ability to meaningfully sample and remix media content
> **Collective Intelligence** — the ability to pool knowledge and compare notes with others toward a common goal
> **Transmedia Navigation** — the ability to follow the flow of stories and information across multiple modalities
> **Networking** — the ability to search for, synthesize, and disseminate information"
> (Jenkins et al., 2006, p.4)

From the list, for the reasons given in previous sections, the items of greatest relevance to the notion of media literacy in the context of this study, particularly in respect of quotation and re-purposing of media forms are the concepts of "appropriation" and "transmedia navigation". The uses of quoted and re-enacted texts lie somewhere between remixing and working with "the flow of texts across modalities" (ibid.). One consideration in setting out the methodology, data collection and analysis will be the extent to which this can be described and accounted for in the productions as a consciously applied set of skills by the younger people and how this is part of a set of skills which may ultimately inform pedagogy. The key to the deeper understanding of these issues is to amplify the word "meaningfully" in the definition of "appropriation", to explain further what it means to work with texts within texts. For this, we need to bring "intertextuality" into the frame, in the ways outlined above. We need to adapt "appropriation" as Jenkins defines it to include, "the ability to work intertextually with media content in order to make meanings".

In looking for ways to describe what is happening in the borrowings and appropriations in digital video production then, it is important to think about the purposes and practices of these new literacy skills. Firstly, they may be seen to contribute to the understanding of what it is to be a skilled media manipulator, at a surface level, revealing the most competent authors as those able to roam freely through the various media references and re-purpose them. Secondly, they propose at a deeper level that the authors are adept in borrowing the cultural capital of the original producer(s), either to signal distance or closeness to the original meaning, but in any case to align themselves with it as a reference point. Thirdly, and deeper still, the juxtaposition of these reference points suggests they are in intertextual dialogue with one another. In this area, we are close to Jenkins' concept of the "textual poacher", a fan, a consumer at play in the media assets they are obsessed with, taking them in as raw material with which to re-fashion and re-present their own contribution. In Jenkins' theory, the consumer has become the producer, not by stealth or simple quotation but by a process of re-versioning, re-combining and re-purposing their favourite raw materials to make new meaning (see Jenkins, 1992, esp chapter 4, pp. 120 - 151). Adding intertextuality proposes a mechanism that suggests a deeper engagement with the material and a richer potential account of how the meaning is made, with consequences for an understanding of media literacy and how it might be developed.

Organising intertextual spaces

The previous section showed how the selection of assets and their intertextual arrangements in the production are important elements in theorising the overall authoring and design of a media text. A key part of the process which allows the form to take shape and which allows the intertextual spaces to present particular meanings in dialogue with one another is the process of *editing*.

One fundamental media literacy practice which is realised in digital video editing is the ability to organise different meaning-making resources onscreen and control their movement through time. This is control of an additional mode, proposed as "kineikonic" by Burn and Parker (2001). As they acknowledge elsewhere (Burn and Parker, 2003a), film theory has long considered the essential nature of editing in specific ways. They discuss Christian Metz who, in his conception of film "language" (1974) considered some aspects "cinematic" (just the filming and editing) and others "filmic" (dramatic action, music and so on). Burn and Parker argue that a central aim of multimodal analysis of moving image production is to combine these aspects together. In so doing they invoke a particular way of thinking about the editing space onscreen:

> "...(the) elements are blended through the editing process, which we can imagine as a kind of multimodal mixing desk. Its function is not simply that of assembly but of re-design."
> (Burn and Parker, 2003, p.23)

This conception of editing is important because it positions it as an active authoring and designing process, not simply the final part of moving image production which merely acts as an assembly point for previously organised resources. It becomes a process with its own organising principles, a place wherein a key set of authoring decisions are not only taken but also enacted.

Of course this agentive view of editing is not new in the world of film theory and criticism where film editors are venerated as being essential to the process and feted with their own awards. Indeed, Bordwell and Thompson point out the key role of editing within the "an entire film's stylistic system" (2008, p.218), and go on to define it as "the co-ordination of one shot with the next."(ibid.) In their analysis of the process they describe the contribution of specific cuts and juxtapositions of shots to the narrative arc of a film. Essentially they are in the territory of Metz's version of the "cinematic" and are describing linear sets of visual relationships between one shot and the next. They are also describing a specialised craft skill within the overall canon of skills that are part of the tradition of film-making, and, as such, they are within a frame which privileges the cinematic and is much less specifically concerned with filmic modes such as gesture, music and so on (for which theories of multimodality offer different analytic potential as Burn and Parker (2003) point out).

Even as such onscreen spaces were only beginning to appear, some authors were already identifying editing as a key feature of media literacy which pushed media production closer towards the analogy with writing. Bazalgette proposed editing as a new literacy skill in itself (2000), certainly for older children, within the context of the debate around English as a subject. In doing so she invoked the time-based nature of film and alluded to the sorts of tools which were now bringing this under the control of a wider range of producer-users. At the same time Sefton-Green and Parker (2000) present a writerly view of editing building on earlier discussions such as those in *Making Media* (Buckingham, Grahame and Sefton-Green, 1995, Ch. 3) which acknowledge the changes being wrought by digital video technology, changes which bring the processes of digital video production closer to the metaphorical connection with print literacy, the construction of texts, moving things, copying and pasting.

The metaphorical connection to literacy is strengthened by use of the term "inscription" in combination with the word "digital" (Burn and Parker, 2001); their "multimodal mixing desk" is the digital tool which pulls a whole set of controlling principles and practices together into one virtual space. Here it is certainly possible for the digital video editor to be "cinematic" and work with the relation of shot to shot, composing and trimming them on a timeline. However, it is also possible to be "filmic" in the wider sense, and be the sound engineer, the soundtrack compiler, the person who adds filters and effects, who adds titling and decides duration and juxtaposition for all the resources, how they will work together intertextually. One version of this space or multimodal mixing desk looks like this:

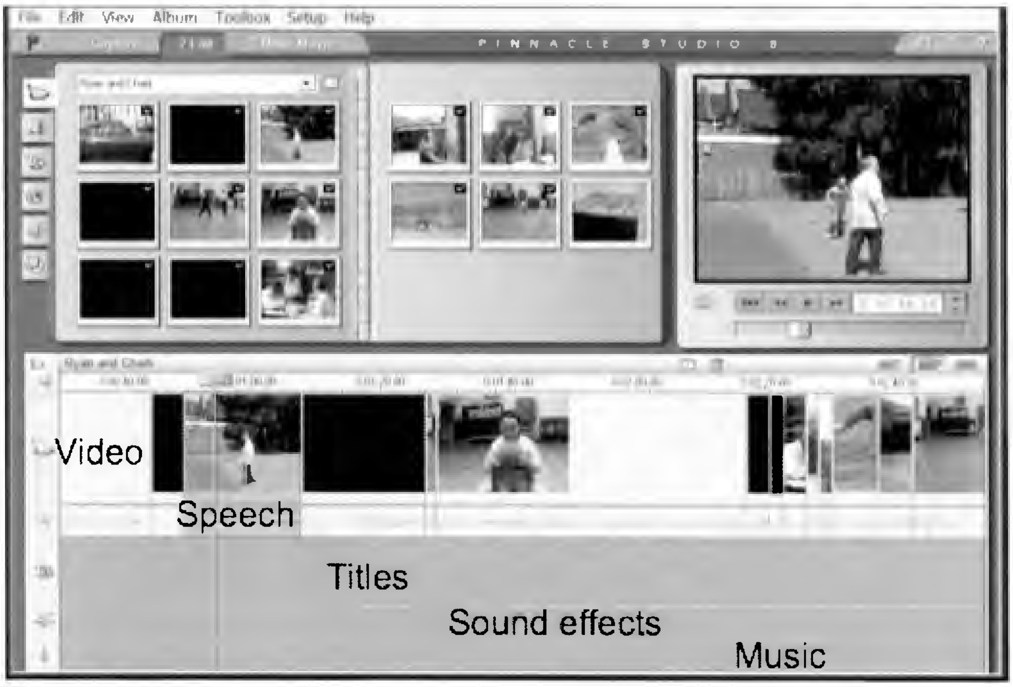

Fig. 3 Software editing workspace used in the projects[18]

The affordances, by which I mean the authorial possibilities inherent in this space, in this and similar entry level video editing packages, are represented by icons such as loudspeakers, camera, a music clef and so on. The play head describes the kineikonic movement through time from left to right. The monitor window at the top right allows the editor-author to view the work in progress. The album in the rest of the top half of the screen contains thumbnails which represent clips to be dragged down into the timeline and placed alongside others. As Manovich (2001) has pointed out in his description of the differential features of "new" media, the discrete roles and crafts in "old media" film production are mimicked in the onscreen spaces of editing software, providing analogies with physical objects and older practices. In turn, these practices become available in the software in ways in which they have not previously, allowing control of a much greater range of editing activity by means of the visual resources of icons and labels, timelines and waveforms (Sefton-Green, 2005).

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[18] *Editing workspace in Pinnacle Studio 8 for Windows XP, used in both project schools in the study*

The visual metaphors and their affordances widen the potential access to these older roles and practices and raise the possibility of a new hybrid set of media literacy skills centred on control of all the modes in production in one place. It is important to remember that in addition to collapsing diverse film-making practices into one space, they also build on the wider cultural understanding of practices within software of many kinds, the understanding that a loudspeaker icon is present everywhere in virtual environments as a visual metaphor for volume, that a letter T stands for control of fonts and titling as it does in many other spaces, that a dustbin is where unwanted material will be "thrown" or mistakes erased (see also the discussion in Fursteneau and Mackenzie, 2009 of Final Cut Pro). These aspects of mediated, productive, literacy activity and practice are beginning to be theorised increasingly as aspects of socio-cognitive action around editing spaces (Gilje, 2009). At this point the frameworks intersect with the discussion of creative, playful, fashioning activity with technology and are discussed in more detail below.

Play and technology: media literacy in the context of provisionality

It is important to take note of a further possible representative practice in the context of digital video technologies. Not every response to the task of self-representation on the part of children and young people is the fully designed, literate and realised use of meaning-making resources envisaged by some semiotic theorists. "Play", including a form of "roleplay" in front of and behind the camera, is also represented in the mutable and fluid possibilities in production, the roles in production on and off screen. Children are able to capture moments of their own play as it unfolds. It may be possible to observe this in the movement between roles and behaviours in front of and behind the camera. If it too is captured, it serves as a means of expressing a hybrid and fluid relation to a media literacy practice.

The juxtaposition of scenes and quotations with music and other audio may also be subject to different responses to the task of self-representation. These may not necessarily reveal themselves in the carefully controlled and elaborate referencing system of the media literate producer, working intertextually with the resources; they may simply appear to be "playful", experimental assemblages of resources. Sefton-Green and Parker found that children who were engaged in onscreen editing activities were often playful; there was a fluid and yet purposeful speech around the screen which enabled improvisation and, as they write, "...Such active collaboration also has obvious parallels with children's fantasy play." (Sefton-Green and Parker, 2000, p.44) It can also be an aspect of self-representational video which allows for the play with developing identity itself to become the subject of the representation. However, in celebratory accounts what sometimes becomes lost is a critical focus on aspects of literacy, play and creativity which allows these elements to be separated out and their interrelationship described. The arguments in this chapter aim to avoid overlap and underline distinctive features of these elements in producing a usable frame for analysis.

Sutton-Smith devotes a whole section of *The Ambiguity of Play* (1997) to a discussion of theorists who have made a causal link between the play and a developing sense of the self, in particular in the work of proponents of theories with identifiable, demarcated stages of children's development (such as Piaget, 1959). Important distinctions are made here between a simplistic causal link and the actual practical relations within the setting. Sutton-Smith suggests numerous alternative causes for observable developmental and cognitive outcomes through play, not least in the changed relationship between adults and children. However, he also makes the point that the developmental and educational rhetoric around play usually seeks to make it safe and does not account for, or even always readily admit, its more challenging aspects in, for example, facilitating the construction of socially inappropriate forms of identity.

For Vygotsky, play represented an affective response to change or thwarted need; it is an exploration of what is possible and demanded in a given situation. The player applies active imagination to a given situation, and engages in play as "... a specifically human form of conscious activity. Like all functions of consciousness it originally rises from action." (Vygotsky, 1933) There are parallels between this conception and that of being active and agentive in a productive engagement with literacy (Sefton-Green, 1998), as well as with previously quoted problem solving qualities of play elaborated in the context of new media (Jenkins, 2006).

For the reasons outlined, perhaps, the term "play" is often invoked when discussing digital technologies and young people not least in relation to the inherent quality of "provisionality" which they add to human action. If play facilitates the construction of hybrid forms of identity, some of them inappropriate, as noted above, then play with digital technologies records these forms along the way. Provisionality adds a self-referencing system to the process (see, for example, Loveless, 2002). As has been presented in the first half of this chapter, the videomaker can place any number of modes together in different combinations before lighting on the version that fixes identity for that moment, for whatever particular purpose.

Perhaps another way to approach the issue of play, facility and even creativity with digital video production is to consider the ways in which the users interact for social and semiotic purposes with the technology as a set of tools. Loveless begins from the frame of creativity and works out towards the learners, proposing the inherent properties of the tools themselves as the affordances by which creative and fashioning activity occurs (Loveless, 2002). However, this frame could be said to privilege the tools over the users in the setting and lead to a technologically determinist view of the activity, one which has been critiqued by a number of writers in the field of ICT in education (Mackay, 1991; Fisher, 2004). This would not be helpful to pursue in a frame which considers users in the context of multimodal productions in the wider media culture.

In seeking to theorise technology and education in a way which considers a more socially constructed notion of learning, other writers build on theories which consider the activity around tools as mediated action which leads to learning (Wertsch, 1998); learners are seen to operationalise knowledge and skills in the social context of their interaction around the tools. Likewise, "Activity theory", which has sometimes been applied to technology in education studies and, specifically to digital video production (Pearson, 2005) suggests that our experience of the world is mediated by cultural and social organisation around related artefacts. For computers and technology in educational settings this means that our understanding of pedagogy and technology is deepened by taking into account the structures which surround artefacts and how the activity is mediated by the artefacts themselves (Engeström, Miettinen and Punamäki, 1999). Pearson, for example, uses activity theory in his study of children engaged in digital video production (2005), because of the way the theory allows for an account of the "interactions between human subjects, the mediating tools they select, and the object of their endeavours" (Pearson, 2005). In this he re-applies and adapts work on ICT tools conducted during previous studies of ICT in educational settings (Bottino, 1999; Somekh and Mavers, 2003). These interactions around activity theory perhaps represent the closest match with theory coming from the media production side with its concern for interaction around production, although with its continued emphasis on "tools" and "solutions" this is a far from perfect match with a cultural frame.

Nevertheless the emergent frames of analysis will need some way to account for the interactions around the tools as evidence of how they influence the experiences in the production, the use of semiotic resources in the representation of the self. The suggestion above in this chapter has been that editing is the key site for this activity and a number of writers have begun to explore this area further (Gilje, 2009).

I also take the view that editing is of central importance in making meaning in moving image production, facilitating the intertextual use of resources, as discussed previously. Users scan the screen with its arrangement of resources or assets in the form of clips, sound files, still images, titling, and effects, and place them alongside, between and after each other. They add them to the timeline and fashion the arrangement in pursuit of a form for carrying the meaning they intend to make. This is a literacy process and those engaged with it are learning how to be literate in the form. In order to understand how pedagogy might operate to facilitate this process we need an understanding of how the media text works in the relation between the form of what is said (the lexis of the moving image) and the ways in which that form is assembled and arranged (the grammar of the moving image). For some this has entailed thinking about how we might bring a metalanguage which describes these processes into the classroom (Unsworth, 2008). For others, in practical classroom settings with older children where this has already been attempted, pedagogy is predicated on using editing software itself as a tool of analysis of, and play with, existing productions which leads, through discussion, to an emergent metalanguage around meaning making with the moving image (Burn and Durran, 2007; Burn, 2009). This thesis is located in attempts to begin with self-representational meaning making with moving image texts with younger learners, from the collected assets which they bring with them out of the material of their own lives to the process. This will be a feature of the discussion in the closing stages of the theses: to what extent it is possible to work in this way with younger children and whether or not there is anything in the evidence collected to suggest that this might be a way of working with the beginnings of the meta language of the moving image.

Summarising emerging "Literacy" themes

Each section above in the discussion of organising principles in media literacy contributes something to the emerging picture of meaning making with younger learners in digital video production. I would like to use this concluding section to draw out the key issues before moving into the domain of identity.

Firstly, the changing conceptions of literacy reveal a need to engage with the expanded versions of the term; a need, in other words, to engage both with multimodality and the notion of "new literacy studies" in the context of digital video production. This proposes an engagement at the level of semiotic resources, understanding how meaning is made from all of the assets in the production. It also means attempting to get to the heart of the socio-cultural circumstances around the productions, not simply the world of the school, but also the world of the children themselves and their relationship to media culture in their productions, including to what extent this was a literacy practice.

Secondly, intertextuality and the ways in which video editing allowed intertextual space to be organised became important frames through which to examine a form which depends on appropriation, playfulness and juxtaposition for its meaning-making potential.

Thirdly, in a related but different approach, this aspect of playfulness was developed in the context of the possibilities inherent in the medium of digital video itself, in particular the notion of provisionality and how this might in a Vygotskian sense reveal imaginative, conscious action in the productive engagement with a mutable form of literacy; in a celebratory mode, this is sometimes offered as an unproblematic way of being "creative". I would like, however, to emphasise the distinctive features of play and creativity which arise in Vygotsky. Play as an aspect of human development is bound up in the process of "internalisation", in the way that structures and components of language are internalised in inner speech and become constitutive of understanding (Vygotsky, 1978). At the point at which the inner speech becomes accessible to a listener, it may contain context-dependent, internalised talk and features which do not make it fully formed or fully communicable. In his thinking about creativity, Vygotsky addressed the issue of how "...the process of artistic or intellectual creation may be considered the antipode of internalisation" (Kozulin, 2005, p.111). This is because the internalised speech cannot take its place in the culture, become widely understood, until it becomes externalised; at this point the inner, context dependent thought gradually unfolds its meaning as "symbol-for-others"; it is creative, rather than playful at the point at which it is assimilated within a culture as a "literacy event" (ibid.). In a related argument about development, Vygotsky also proposed a play and creativity model which essentially placed them on a developmental continuum. In younger children, play, or what Vygotsky's translators refer to as "fantasy", is an act which is dependent heavily on immediate, rational contexts and its susceptibility to emotional outbursts, coupled with intense experience, renders the younger child incapable of critical judgement (Vygotsky, 1994). As children get older and enter adolescence, their thinking becomes more conceptual, less bound in rational objects

> "Adolescent fantasy appears creative when it is compared with children's fantasy, but by no means can it be considered productive in comparison with adult fantasy. This is because the creative character does not become an inherent part of it until adolescence."
> (ibid. p. 280)

And it is the resulting ability to think in concepts which sets later developments apart and defines them as creative activity. Vygotsky goes on

> "...the essential change which the adolescent's imagination undergoes, is the external rapprochement with thinking in concepts...the adolescent imagination experiences basic changes and it becomes transformed with the aid of a new infrastructure under the influence of thinking in concepts."
> (ibid. p.281)

We might begin to think of ways of looking at media production by younger children through this frame. This gives researchers a way to analyse and give value to structural incoherence as an inherently necessary developmental stage. The "playful" aspects of the work in question are apprehended only by the members of the immediate group, and sometimes, only by the children themselves. The externalisation which has taken place at the point of publication of these is, as mentioned elsewhere, a version of recorded play. We might also argue for the distinctiveness of the medium in being able to reveal facets of play and development which were previously not recorded.

Fourthly, I am proposing the organisation of assets and their assembly in production as a new active literacy skill in new media, that of curatorship. I will return to this theme in the closing stages of this chapter as a way of connecting up themes in the overall shape of the thesis. For now, however, and in order to facilitate this linkage at a later stage, it will be important in the next section to say more about theories of identity in the context of media production.

Finally, and before engaging more with identity, I would like to connect these themes to a model of media literacy which is circulating widely and which is the theoretical basis for the Media Literacy Charter (Media_Literacy_Task_Force, 2004). The 3 Cs model, in a way that is also echoed in the OFCOM definition mentioned above (OFCOM, 2005) proposes that Media Literacy "emphasises *cultural*, *critical* and *creative* functions" (Burn and Durran, 2007, p.11). In this section I have outlined versions of media literacy which will be useful in conceptualising the work in the projects which embrace each of these; in particular the focus on the setting and the *cultural* context of the young people engaged in the productions (and this will be a major feature in thinking about identity in the next section). As seen previously I am also interested in what a *critical* version of practice may look like in the way it operates in the primary school. At what level, and to what degree, will it involve and engagement with the metalanguage of media grammars? How will these projects situate such issues in relation to the children's understanding of form and function in what they are making? For the *creative* aspects of the work, to what extent is it possible to make a useful distinction between play and creativity in the ways proposed above in the section on Vygotsky. At what point do the productions assume an externalised state and enable an audience to make meanings? How do the children respond to this in the context of representation of their identity? In the next section, I would like to turn to relevant theories of identity and signal socio cultural frames which are important in shaping the literacy practices of the children.

3.2 Negotiating and representing identity

The research question is as follows:

- What forms and organising structures are used by young learners *in negotiating and representing identity in digital video production*?

This section addresses the second part of the research question, italicised above; it is primarily concerned with locating theories of identity which are appropriate in accounting for the motivations, choices and dispositions of the children making their self-representational videos. Having considered the forms and organising principles in terms of the changing conceptions of literacy and media literacy in the previous section, this part of the thesis addresses three interrelated aspects of identity as it relates to media production. The first of these, "Storying the self" looks at potential contributions from sociology and cultural psychology in developing theories of identity in relation to media production. The second, "Learner voice in production" looks at how identity links to the notion of "authenticity" which is often claimed for youth production. The third and final part looks at ways of framing identity in production in relation to "location and memory".

Storying the self

Buckingham observes in his introduction to the MacArthur Foundation series on "Digital Media and Learning", that " identity is an ambiguous and slippery term" (2008, p.1) . Definitions abound in socio-cultural and psychological theory either in relation to the self or in relation to performance of the self in wider society. He describes the relationships between many of them and how they may be applied to learning with digital media, in particular in relation to adolescence and identity formation. He identifies a key concern which is addressed throughout this study, particularly in this chapter and in the data analysis, namely:

> "...how these media provide young people with symbolic resources for constructing or expressing their own identities...."
> (Buckingham, 2008, p.5)

We have seen in the preceding section that we might look for the use of such "symbolic resources" in the analysis of videos which reflect high levels of appropriation of existing media. In discussing organising principles in the videos, we can use (inter)textual analysis to look at the elements and hypothesise on the use of form. For the actual choices themselves we need to look at socio-cultural and psychological factors in performance, identity and storying, and at narrative construction.

Whatever else we do, we need to be aware of how identity construction is, for very many people, a facet of taking part in lived media culture. Some studies in the field approach identity construction in different ways, such as Gauntlett's work, where participants make self-representations for analysis from Lego bricks as a way of "avoiding the problem of having to point a camera at things, be good at drawing or have access to particular collage images." (Gauntlett, 2008, p.261-262) This attempt to abstract identity construction from its usual representative setting in culture (the video camera, the drawing, the still image) seems problematic, not least in the notion that Lego as a medium will confer authenticity on the process in a way that, it is assumed, attempting to represent the self in the usual sorts of media does not. Participants still have their representations mediated by whoever records the statements made about the models, or by whoever frames the photographs or makes a video about the construction process and there will still be anxiety about whether or not particular skill with Lego makes a "better" representation more or less possible, just as there is debate in the context of this project over where a production is "better" than another. Self-representation in new media is, ultimately, a condition of taking part in the lived culture of the day and the self is made from the negotiated codes and transactions in writing and reading the produced self. This is not unproblematic and we will see examples which illustrate where the code is not as well understood or used as others.

One account of identity construction in lived culture is Goffman's *The presentation of self in everyday life* (1990) which offers an account of the imperatives around the process. In the book, he proposes that throughout our lives we move through a series of different contexts, each of which requires a different kind of "performance" to manage our appearance in the world, for reasons of personal gain and achievement (Goffman, 1990). The context shapes the way we respond and manage the presentation of our image. There is an emergent literature on web 2.0 and social networking software which sees new media as a prime example of this aspect of performed identity, often with a focus on younger people, though not always with a developed sense of the sites of production of those identities (see, for example, boyd, 2007). The ways in which the facilities of social networking sites such as MySpace and others allow for their users to manipulate the publicly shared image of the self appear to bring Goffman's notion of performance into the era of new media.

For the young video producers in this study there were many opportunities to manipulate the established and publicly shared image of the self. Where there isn't a direct match between new media and the conceptual framework of Goffman is in the fact that the performances are recorded and available for public display across contexts and across time. What gets selected at the point the media text is made remains fixed in time as a marker of identity. This has of course been problematic for people who record a media version of an aspect of drunken behaviour to gain status with their peer group only to find that it is accessible to gatekeepers of a different kind of stage of life – university authorities or employers. Examples of this abound, the most famous at the time of writing being an incident involving newly graduated students in Oxford, who were threatened with having their degrees revoked, following drunken celebrations which were captured on digital video and displayed on their Facebook pages[19].

Records and representations of the self exist on mobile phone video, digital video and in the many media texts, pictures and audio files in the context of these online spaces. The owners of those pages have some rights over access and, in most cases, though not all, can delete the whole record; but, nevertheless, once it is out there in the public domain in a media form it becomes a shared aspect of that person's identity, regardless of whether they wished to be identified at that point in time with that set of behaviours and appearances. The video projects described in this thesis were never intended for exhibition beyond the peer group and the children's parents and carers (see also ethics section in the Methodology chapter, Chapter 4). Nevertheless the issue of being fixed in time in both negative and positive senses may well be something which occurred to more than one member of the production teams.

In fact, the children were made aware of the shared and performed but also negotiated aspects of identity throughout, and of the limits of their own individual input and their resonances with each other. They knew that their video had to capture elements of their life at school over time, that it had to stand for them in some way when they were no longer there and that it was a chance to preserve their relationships and their accrued status and social capital within the group up to that point. In the case of performed identity for the camera and the editing screen what is important to capture may have been the essence of the performed self in the context of school.

Goffman's concept of "front" may be important in analysing this aspect of the experience. Writing about the relationship of "front" to "performance" he states:

> "I have been using the term 'performance' to refer to all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a set of particular observers and which has some influence on the observers. It will be convenient to label as 'front' that part of an individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance. Front, then, is the expressive equipment of a standard kind intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual during his performance."

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[19] *Reported under the headline "Facebook privacy row hits Oxford University" by the Daily Telegraph, 18.07.07, available online at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/07/18/noxford118.xml [access date: 07.04.08]*

(Goffman, 1990, p.32)

Clearly, "front" is a whole way of being in the place, within the group and its social arrangements. During the analysis of the videos it will be important to look for the recorded "front", those aspects of the self which, following Goffman, appear fixed in the production, represented throughout by reference to song, patterns of speech, and, through each of these, a desire to record relationships and feelings as they were expressed during their time at the school.

Giddens provides some contrasts and contradictions with this view. In *Modernity and self-identity* (1991), he takes issue with one of the key derivations from Goffman, namely, that there are as many different versions of the acted out self as there are situations to act out in. Giddens sees the end result of Goffman's argument as being a view of the self in modern life as inherently fragmented and even conflicted. Turning the argument around, Giddens proposes that it is possible to see fragmentation and management of the self in different circumstances as a marker of modern identity itself. In essence, he seems to argue that this is what it means to be alive in late modernity. He contends that for those of us in this potentially fractured state, "contextual diversity" does not in fact promote a "fragmentation of the self" but rather a "distinctive self-identity which positively incorporates elements from different settings into an integrated narrative." (Giddens, 1991, p. 190)

In pre-adolescence and adolescence this "integrated narrative" may not yet be a feature of the self-representation and self-expression revealed in media production. On the other hand it may be possible to locate evidence of the quality of self awareness and self presentation that Giddens describes as "...reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography" (1991, p. 53) It could be argued that the children in the productions in transition from primary to secondary school have a developing sense of their life trajectories, possibly for the first time (though this depends very much on a range of other factors to do with their personal situations). It is in any case a major life change, and the videos themselves represent some way to account for their development to that point. It will be a feature of the analysis to look for negotiations with life narratives and trajectories amongst the children and this will form the basis of some of the discussion in later chapters. Certainly it is a phenomenon that has been noted on connection with identity construction in new media more widely (Davies and Merchant, 2007) and from which, for example, Merchant developed the notion of "transient" and "anchored" identities to express the ways in which people move on a continuum between representation of the self in relation to fixed or "anchored" aspects of the self (culture, religion, upbringing) and "transient" aspects, which he defines as:

> "...change over time, being influenced by maturation, changing cultural conditions and peer group affiliations. These identities are defined in relation to media narratives, ideologies, popular culture, iconic objects, social activities and networks."
> (Merchant, 2006, p.239)

I will return to these ideas, particularly in relation to the work in one of the project schools in discussion and conclusion in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively. In the meantime narrative and identity were identified as key to one important aspect of the Camcorder Culture research described in Chapter 1. In the project, the construction of a set of home videos recording everyday life appeared to provide their makers with a sought-after stability, through a constructed narrative of the self, chiming with concepts derived from Giddens in the previous paragraph as the quotation demonstrates. Videos made in the project with the purpose of recording everyday life, showed evidence of...

> "...wanting to build and hold onto a coherent narrative of one's life, which would provide stability in what otherwise felt like a fast-moving and chaotic world. Drawing on Giddens' (1991) notion of 'ontological security', Silverstone et al. (1992) argue that as part of the domestication of technology, households create narratives which sustain a sense of their own stability."
> (Buckingham and Willett, forthcoming, Ch.3, p.9)

This idea of "life as narrative" is also present in cultural psychology and the work of Bruner, who maintains that representation of the self by "autobiography" as a project is "... a continuing interpretation and re-interpretation of our experience...so autobiography (formal or informal) should be viewed as a set of procedures for life making..." (Bruner, 1987, p. 105). Furthermore, for Bruner, the telling of the life is the making of the life. In the same article he writes "...I have argued that a life as led is inseparable from a life as told – or more bluntly, a life is not 'how it was' but how it is interpreted and re-interpreted..." (ibid., p. 111) This notion that in storying the self we are simultaneously making the self is very close to the version of "reflexivity" proposed by Giddens, the construction of a life narrative from the trajectory of the self

(1991). In analysing the productions we may be able to identify the construction and negotiation of a set of procedures for representation.

Bauman also proposes a constructivist view of identity which may be apposite in a discussion of the uses of media in representation. For him, the identity project is a puzzle without a final picture. The making produces the picture from the assembled resources of lived experience. He writes:

> "In the case of identity...You do not start from the final image, but from a number of bits which you have already obtained or which seem worthy of having, and then you try to find out how you can order and reorder them to get some (how many?) pleasing pictures. You *are experimenting with what you have.*"
> (Bauman, 2004, p. 48)

Clearly there is some analogous potential in this description of identity construction. Video editing itself is a search for a correct ordering of previously collected clips and resources. Just as in Bruner's assertion that the telling of the life is the making of the life, storying makes the story. In the case of the video productions, the editing of the resources into the whole is simultaneously a search for meaning at the same time as the construction of that meaning. Bauman goes on to invoke semiosis in his conclusion to that section of the book as follows:

> "The job of an identity-constructor, is, as Claude Levi-Strauss would say, that of a *bricoleur,* conjuring up all sorts of things out of the material at hand."
> (ibid. p. 49)

To an extent the job of an editor is similar, collecting resources together in a way which makes sense. The children in the productions were positioned in the same relation to the videos they were making from the resources of their own captured shots and chosen music. These too were resources based on memory and transactions around shared experiences in the setting.

In *Acts of Meaning* Bruner argues the case for a study of "Folk Culture" as the main transactional medium through which meaning is made. It is a case for the values of cultural psychology over what he refers to as "computational" psychology. Bruner makes a plea for such analysis in order to understand that experiences and acts are shaped by intentional states and that these intentional states, are informed by an immersion in the symbolic culture (Bruner, 1990, p33). It is in the interchange between people who recognise the symbols and signs of their culture that meaning is made.

These symbols and signs in a culture also have analogous possibilities in connection with "memes", described by Lankshear and Knobel in the context of new literacies as:

> "...contagious patterns of cultural information that are passed from mind to mind and that directly shape and propagate key actions and mindsets of a particular group. Memes include popular tunes, catch-phrases, clothing fashions, architectural styles and so on."
> (2006, p.128)

Memes are derived in the text above from the work of Richard Dawkins in *The Selfish Gene* (1976). In its original sense the idea was to describe small units of information, analogous to genes which are passed on and undergo natural selection in their propagation. Although developed subsequently in many disciplines including the biological and psychological sciences, Lankshear and Knobel outline a socio-cultural understanding of the term (see their discussion in op. cit., pp. 210 – 244) in which "an idea is not a meme until someone replicates it by passing it on to someone else..." (op. cit., p.213). In this way, cultural information in the form of a meme undergoes a process of natural selection. For digital video analysis, this means looking for memes in the form of cultural touchstones, genres and media reference points which recur, are passed on and form the backdrop to the dialogue and which are woven intertextually into the productions to make meaning within the group. Memes could form a useful way of understanding the "affective" nature of production and will be returned to as a theme in later chapters.

Returning to Bruner at this point locates another version of the connected, transactional nature of narrated identity in his elaboration of "Folk Psychology", when he writes that "The central conception of human psychology is meaning and the processes and transactions in the construction of meanings." (Bruner, 1990, p33) He goes on to quote the anthropologist Rosaldo in support of the assertion that "self" and "affect" are shared constructs and arise out of the group. She writes that they...

> "...grow not from 'inner' essence relatively independent of the social world, but from experience in a world of meanings, images, and social bonds, in which all persons are inextricably involved."
> (Rosaldo, 1984, p. 139)

This is in somewhat different territory from some of the individualised conceptions of identity and storying discussed earlier. It may, however, be pivotal in discussing some of the possibilities inherent in group digital video production with its many complex interrelationships and social acts in the meaning-making process, such as collaborative planning, shooting, editing and exhibiting. Given that the videos were made by a subset of a larger group to be viewed by their peers, it would be likely that each group would establish a performed version of identity that provided markers of their place in the peer group, the class and the school.

Learner voice in production

Because of their assumed "authenticity", projects centred on media technologies are often built around the idea of getting closer to the thoughts and opinions of young people, in particular those who are marginalised or disaffected. This was, for example, identified as a key finding amongst the media productions described in "Being Seen, Being Heard", a report by the National Youth Agency and the British Film Institute (Harvey, Skinner and Parker, 2002). In the case studies reported here the idea of motivating disaffected learners through media production was a key factor from the school side. Authenticity is perhaps too often claimed in this connection. Nevertheless for the schools in this study it was assumed to be a quality inherent in media production which fostered greater engagement on the part of the learners in the process, particularly because the content of the work was closer to a self-set agenda.

There are further examples of writing about self-representation in this constructive mode and positive mode which relate specifically to self-representational accounts drawn from educational settings through early life into adulthood and autobiography (see for example Kearney, 2003). In the opinion of some writers, following Bauman, Giddens and others, all storying of the self is predicated on construction (Kearney, 2003). What is chosen as the aspect to be celebrated and remembered beyond the experience of the making of the media is a construct. In telling the story the selective and selected identity, as we have seen, is being made. In the digital video productions, using the modes available to them, the children would perhaps select relevant memories, versions of memories, curating a set of media quotations, self-produced sequences and other external sources into a whole. We can know something about the music they liked, how they wanted to be seen in relation to their peers, what media productions they took as inspiration by looking at the constructs they made. In analysing the videos and the processes around them it will be important to show how these different frames impact on the videos produced and how that was interpreted by the learners themselves.

This is a version of the critical participation in media production (as proposed by Buckingham, 2003, p.84); working with subject matter which is closer to the lives and feelings of students themselves. If they care at all about what is being said about themselves, by themselves, in the video, it is possible that the producers will develop a far more engaged stance in relation to the meaning-making process inherent in media production. Viewing and evaluating the outcome allows them to question their success or failure at expressing those views and, by extension, with appropriate pedagogical input, the success of their media composition. Later it will be seen that for the children in both schools, but particularly in school B, this was a focus of production and evaluation. This is perhaps because finding ways to express their voice also necessarily brings students into micro-political conflict and negotiation with peers and authority figures in the wider school community. These tensions are reported in other studies of life as narrative cited above, such as Chris Kearney's *The Monkey's Mask* (2003) which, nevertheless, concludes positively with a plea for the reconstitution of the school curriculum as a site for dialogic activity in which narratives and conversation about identity are the essential basis for progress on both social and pedagogical fronts.

In some recent education research projects there have been attempts to elicit qualitatively more authentic responses from learners, in order to hear the "learner voice" more clearly. Some are being designed with this in mind from the outset (see for example Selwyn, Potter and Cranmer, 2008), particularly since the questions being asked, in this case, are about the lived experience of media technologies. This attempt to hear "learner voice" in research projects derives its background theory from different sources, in particular, the work of Michael Fielding. Writing about what he calls "Student voice", he proposes four stages of movement along a continuum in pedagogical activity in school settings from "student as data source", through student as "...respondent" and "student as co-researcher" to "student as researcher" (Fielding, 2004).

More recently, critics (Bragg, 2007) have identified in the available literature some useful caveats for researchers, having detected issues in methodologies which claim to be hearing an authentic "voice". For example...

> "...It is disingenuous to see children as finding, discovering, or being given a voice, as if we can simply access their authentic core being. What they say depends on what they are asked, how they are asked it, 'who' they are invited to speak as in responding; and then, in turn, on the values and assumptions of the researcher or audience interpreting their 'voices'(Connolly, 1997)."
> (Bragg, op. cit., p.20)

Nevertheless we can detect in the work of Fielding a sense of how pedagogy could be operated as part of a more participatory culture in schools. This has been mapped onto the design of research activities themselves, with learners being positioned as active participants in projects. The caveats quoted suggest that the designed structures and outcomes of such projects should be elaborated robustly to account for researcher effects in seeking to hear the "voice". Whilst there are serious questions to be asked about this, and only partial success to report, there is no doubting that this is part of a trend which has been long established of using media as a way of unlocking and revealing "authentic experience".

"Self expression" is a close relation of "authenticity" and is sometimes equally claimed to be a key characteristic of video production. Yet this is an equally problematic term. Chitat Chan, for example, finds a relativistic definition of self –expression in his examination of youth media production, one in which authority establishes a critical distance while appearing to give value to youthful output:

> "Young people are [assumed to be] competent enough to express themselves creatively and proactively, but they may not be mature enough to express themselves properly or correctly."
> (Chan, 2008)

Chan points out the tension at the heart of youth media production, a contradiction in which competence is somehow bound up in the notion of self-censorship and control. What the young people actually would like to say in production is positioned as an act of immaturity and a lack of proper self-control in their use of the medium. It will be interesting to see if it is possible to compare reactions to some of the videos in the project schools against this statement.

Likewise, as we have seen in the CHICAM project in Chapter 2, media production projects do not confer instant or uncomplicated "authenticity" and neither do they, of themselves, represent…

> "…an unproblematic vehicle for dialogue between cultures…children use and appropriate media in diverse ways, in light of their needs and circumstances…"
> (de Block and Buckingham, 2007, p.197)

The debates around authenticity, self expression and judgements of value pre-date media production and have some analogous connections back to print literacy in, for example, *Un/Popular fictions* by Gemma Moss (1989). This study looks at the use of popular fiction for influencing and shaping student writing in secondary school English, and unpicks the structures and judgements which underpin this activity. In responding to texts produced by children, teachers can…

> "…condemn children's writing based on popular fiction by describing it as derivative, a judgement whose negative value depends on an underlying assumption that good literature is the product of the individual's unique vision."
> (Moss, op. cit., p.36)

This judgement echoes the "proper or correct" expectation of Chan's authority figures in respect of youth media production above. The assumption is that creative, authentic and challenging self-expression can be stimulated by the use of popular cultural forms across modes but that the outcomes are not straightforward. The authentic value in production may not be apparent; children will not act in expected ways in producing texts which tell their stories. They will appropriate and use sources in diverse ways and they may say things in their authentic "voice" which adults may not wish to hear and to which they will not necessarily ascribe value.

Even with the caveats, the attempts to create spaces for telling authentic stories of the self resonates with a strong theoretical tradition in cultural psychology, particularly in the work of Bruner who sees self-representation as an active, constructive process in which the storyteller literally makes their own identity with each telling and re-telling of their story, as we have seen previously (Bruner, 1987).

Location and memory

The children's videos were produced within specific contexts. In both schools, they worked in situations in which the usual curriculum arrangements were relaxed. In both cases it was suggested in the brief that aspects of identity in relation to the physical spaces of the buildings, the playground and so on, could form a part of what was recorded. Since the majority were also made during the final phases of their time at primary school, it was also emphasised that aspects of personal memory in the spaces could also form a part of the finished product. This meant that, in addition to locating appropriate theory from the fields of identity and voice, it would be important in interpreting the videos to find socio-cultural frameworks which might account for choices in relation to memory and location.

The first of these frameworks is drawn from the work of Pierre Bourdieu, in the form of the concept of "habitus". This is understood as the internalised schema through which the world is perceived, negotiated with and lived in (Bourdieu, 1986). In this study we see, in the multimodal construction of their video texts, the possibility of revealed, internalised schema in the videos produced by the children.

The second key concept used as a framework is described by Foucault in an interview with Paul Rabinow as the "hypomnemata", and is derived from writings from ancient Greece about a system for recording life events as material memory or as an externalising process which gave the writer a repository of the "self" on which to draw in times of stress or change (Foucault, 1984, pp.364-365). Giddens echoes this with his conception of "ontological security" (1991) and further links will be made to this idea at a later stage.

A third related and useful concept in this regard, and sometimes invoked in discussions of new technology (Yancey, 2004; Van der Velden, 2006) is the notion of the "palimpsest", a record created, displayed then wiped and remade over the original. The concept developed and derived to express the ways in which an individual lives and moves in a space is derived from de Certau (1984) and may prove useful in combination with the habitus and hypomnemata in understanding the nature of the process of representing identity in relation to the immediate location.

Beginning with "habitus", it is possible to see it as an important concept in relation to video and performance in particular settings. Bourdieu, in *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, proposes societal structures and spaces as the "field" in which social actors operate in particular ways in order to maintain access to the resources of a particular class and maintain a particular status. As a result of prolonged, learned ways of being and living in such spaces, members of a society develop dispositions which generate meaning-making in ordinary ways of being, the things acquired and the means of acquiring them, the ways the life is spoken about and constructed out of the necessity of ordinary, daily existence. Bourdieu puts it like this:

> "The habitus is necessity internalised and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions; it is a general, transposable disposition which carries out a systematic, universal application – beyond the limits of what has been directly learnt – of the necessity inherent in the learning conditions."
> (Bourdieu, 1986, p.170)

For the children in the study, the ways of being at school are internalised within the structures of the school day, its physical appearance, the arrangement of the buildings, the school curriculum, the regulatory structures, codes of conduct and within the performed and ritualised interrelationships between groups of children and teachers. Added to this are the ways of being circumscribed by approaching adolescence within this school community in a wider sense, the performed and lived ways of being with regard to choices of popular culture, clothing and other markers of identity. This is, of course, not only circumscribed by school but by the wider social and cultural background of the children in their respective families. What is available as a resource for authoring about the self is the way in which these markers play out within the class over a number of years, how they become habitualised. Indeed, in freely authored video texts made by children exploring their memories and feelings about their place in such a social arena we would expect to see that revelation of habitus is an aspect of performed, embodied experience played out in gesture, speech, and chosen media quotations or parodies. This is not the only frame of reference in regard to ways of being at school and making videos about aspects of that experience. Other theorists are outlined in sections below to provide complementary and overlapping conceptual frameworks, particularly in respect of social and performed identity within a group. Nevertheless, because it is a theory of actions on the part of social actors within a field, Bourdieu's conception of habitus provides a useful basis from which to begin to look at self-representational video work by young learners.

What is selected by the children in their attempts to make meaning can sometimes contradict traditional narrative forms and editorial continuity, carrying significance in ways shared only by those in the community around the production. This makes some texts difficult to interpret at first sight where the weight of the representative oral act overwhelms the ability of the producers to tell the story coherently in a manner that will be readily understood by an outsider. Understanding these texts means finding representations of ways of being which are part of the culture of the school, and of the habitus of the pupils there. Some of these markers to do with habitus may not have been revealed before in the school setting. They are possibly not there in traditional curriculum subject-based forms of self representation. One of the possible outcomes for the research is to propose that in these forms of text is an opportunity to explore the previously unseen, but only if the children themselves can exercise some control of their embodied representation of the spaces in which they work.

The visual and performed record in the finished video productions may indeed have been intended to make meaning from the resources which constitute the habitus of those children. Noyes (2004b) made use of this framework in approaching a different research question focused on transfer to secondary school, collecting video diaries from children in the final year of primary school (see Chapter 2). Following Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice in constructing an interpretation of habitus and field relating specifically to the school setting, he proposed that...

> "...an analysis of the (video) diary entries can map types and quantities of (cultural, economic and social) capital, the dispositions of the habitus and thereby examine the structuring effect of the three fields: school, family and youth culture..."
> (Noyes, 2004b, p. 195)

In the videos made for this research the focus is on the selective and selected memory of place and experience. We may expect to locate in the choices and orderings of resources evidence of the structuring effect of learned behaviours and responses to the school setting, of the children's habitus and way of being through their time at the school.

If “habitus” represents one useful frame for interpreting the video productions, the concept of “hypomnemata” may help to deepen understanding of their purpose and the children’s engagement in them. The idea of the hypomnemata is derived by Michel Foucault from writings from ancient Greece about a system for recording life events as notes, as material memory, as an externalising process which gave the writer a repository of reflections on which to draw in the future. This system employed one of the new technologies of its time, that of writing. The inscribed notes were not intended to be a diary as such, more as a record of how the self was developing in response to certain situations. In an interview, given in 1984, Foucault explains as follows:

> “The point (of the hypomnemata) is not to pursue the indescribable...but on the contrary to collect the already-said, to re-assemble that which one could hear or read, and this to an end which is nothing less than the constitution of oneself.” (Foucault, 1984, pp., p.365)

This process of assembly of the already-said has parallels with the process of editing in the video productions, and with the notion of intertextuality. As they are assembled on the time-line of the video editing software, the children are working with the already said, manipulating their own quotations of their own autobiographical representations. This is a complementary but qualitatively different dimension to the process already described in relation to habitus. If the habitus gives rise to specific forms of movement, gesture, speech, choice of sound – and this represents the “what” in the embodied, recorded pieces - then the hypomnemata with its emphasis on assembly and selection describes the “how” and the “why”. Foucault proposes it as an active process of construction in meaning-making, in pursuit of learning from lived experience and moving forward. This is precisely the process underway in the self-representational productions.

The notion of the “palimpsest” also contains something of a trace or record which describes a person’s lived experience which is then immediately overwritten. We may conceive this as an alternative to the hypomnemata. Not all students may see the record as something to be preserved or as anything which contains a potential lesson learned. It is possible through the analysis that some of the children may see the description of the movement through the space of the school and the recording of their time there as enough.

In *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), deCertau described a series of overarching social structures and physical spaces as "strategies", the institutions by which power is exercised in a city, the physical layout of the streets, the ways in which routes are mapped, the permissions granted to use certain areas in certain ways. Individual users of the space resist these by use of "tactics", taking their own routes and shortcuts which allow them to move and to live in ways which were not predicted or envisaged by the authorities creating the organising structures. We may see traces of this activity in relation to the power structures inherent in school, places traditionally out of bounds captured, recorded and kept as a record, but not necessarily displayed again; the users may have moved on and the frame is wiped and the resources re-used and re-inscribed. Nevertheless, at the moment in which these stories are told, following deCertau, we might expect to see that space is used as a central organising principle, that every story told is not just a re-making of the self (c.f. Bruner, 1987), but a performed spatial practice in the location, in itself which recalls the "tactics" of lived experience.

The proposal of this section is that habitus, hypomnemata and palimpsest are all potentially important frames which determine how self-representational video productions are shaped. They require a set of tools for analysis which can take account of the many modes through which these may be expressed.

Emergent themes from a consideration of identity

Just as for the *Literacy* section I would like to summarise some emergent themes from the consideration of *Identity*. Firstly, *Storying the self*, presented contributions from the field of sociology and cultural psychology which proposed that the narratives of the self, in some respects, create the self from the resources available. *Learner voice in production* went on in the next section to problematise some of the aspects of media production which are sometimes glossed over, most notably the idea of "authenticity" in the representation of identity. *Location and memory* posited three concepts from cultural theory as being potentially important to the study: From Bourdieu (1986) the concept of Habitus, from Foucault (Foucault, 1984) the hypomnemata and, from de Certau the idea of resistance to structures through the individual's use of the space, the way they are in the world as they leave a trace in the practice of everyday life. Each of these is clearly connected to representational literacy practices and the following section goes on to elaborate a way of thinking about those connections.

3.3 Curatorship: organisation and representation

The two parts of the research question have so far been theorised as aspects of literacy and identity. For literacy, the emphasis has been on the changing nature of definitions in the age of multiliteracies and on the ways in which media production operates in a system of quotation, appropriation and intertextuality. For identity, the framework has addressed negotiation and representation in the context of storying the self and constructing life narratives within specific sites, actual locations and memories. I would like to propose a metaphorical frame in this final section for understanding how systems for organising and representing the self can converge as a form of "curatorship" and that this, in turn can be seen as representing a new literacy practice. In setting out this metaphorical conception of curatorship I am not positioning the study within the realm of "personal information management" as considered, for example, by the Digital Lives Research Project (Williams, Leighton John and Rowland, 2009). I am specifically addressing the issue of texts as media assets and their relation to a literacy practice.

Firstly, I would like to return to an earlier section which described how literacy could be conceived as a set social practices associated with symbol systems and their related technologies (Sefton-Green, 1998, quoting Barton (1994)). This can be brought into the context of digital video production by a definition of "new media" which explicitly addresses the social contexts in which users encounter new media as both consumers and producers. This frame is applied by Lievrouw and Livingstone in the form of a definition of new media as:

> "The *artefacts or devices* used to communicate or convey information; the *activities and practices* in which people engage to communicate or share information; and the *social arrangements or organisational forms* that develop around those devices and practices."
> (2006, p.2, author emphasis in italics)

This thesis is predicated on an analysis of these factors in relation to media literacy activities in self-representation and memory. These literacy activities are taking place in a time of accelerated change in the nature of each of the three component parts of the Lievrouw and Livingstone definition. The "artefacts and devices" are different; digital video production is changed by access to tools which are ubiquitous and simpler to use than in previous years (Reid, Burn and Parker, 2002). The "activities and practices" are also changed; digital video alters and expands roles in production and post-production for a wider range of human agents. Finally, the "social arrangements and organisational forms" are altered by the changed possibilities of production and organisational processes onscreen and off-screen.

One consequence of these changes in the social arrangements and forms in respect to assembling media texts is the extent to which the manipulators of media quotations are also in some respects the 'owners' of those assets, or, at least, believe themselves to be. This latter point moves the theoretical framework in a different direction. In the changed arrangements around production which new media presuppose (after the Lievrouw and Livingstone quote), children may also be positioned as owners of media for constructing new texts, or at least as collectors and curators of media, self-produced or otherwise.

If we accept that part of lived experience of being productive in new media implies a curatorial relationship with media assets we could look on the processes of editing, assembly and remixing described earlier in this chapter in a different way. The processes of selection and re-combination are themselves a set of skills and dispositions found in cultural anthropology, in, for example, the collection and display of important personal possessions. In *The comfort of things* (Miller, 2008), for example, we find a proposition that relationships to possessions collected over time reveal important aspects of lived relationships with others. It could be that media assets fit for quotation and for re-purposing are analogous to possessions in this respect, and that their selection and appropriation reveals important aspects of lived experience. In this way it could further be claimed that productive media literacy practices are converging with cultural practices and that to be engaged in this activity is to be engaged at a high level with lived media culture, certainly with those aspects which pertain to the representation of the self.

I would like to conclude the theory chapter by drawing the two frames of organisation and representation together and propose that "curatorship" is a useful metaphorical formulation for describing a new literacy skill of representation of the self in digital video production. Initially the two frameworks emerge as a way of addressing the research question, as shown in the diagram below…

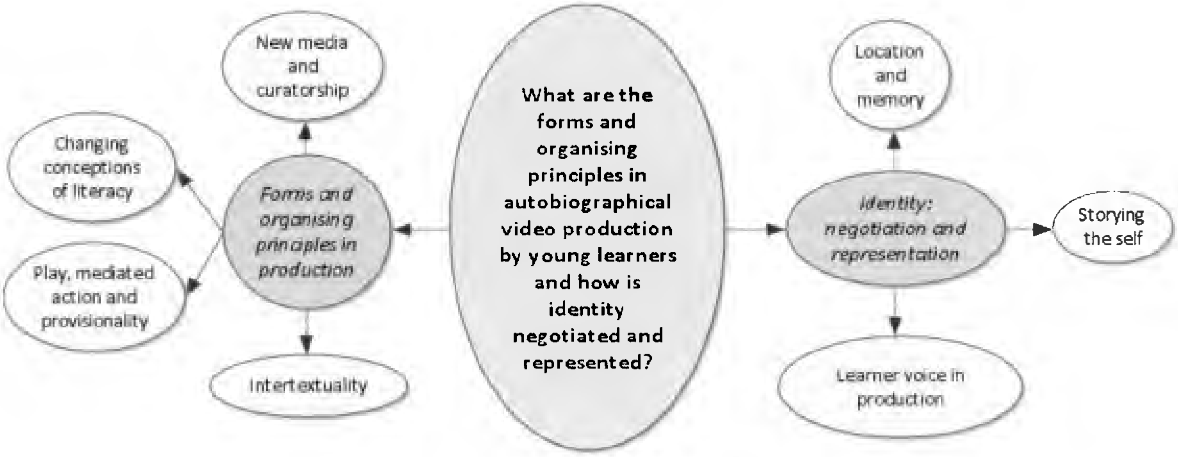
New media and curatorship
Changing conceptions of literacy
Forms and organising principles in production
Play, mediated action and provisionality
Intertextuality
What are the forms and organising principles in autobiographical video production by young learners and how is identity negotiated and represented?
Location and memory
Identity: negotiation and representation
Storying the self
Learner voice in production

Fig. 4 Theoretical frameworks, in relation to the research question

Each subsection emerging from each of the main nodes retains the potential to be part of the other. For example, *location and memory*, whilst theorised in preceding sections under the aegis of *identity*, have equal potential in understanding the overall organising system of a self-representational piece. An example from the other side of the diagram locates *Intertextuality* as a way of understanding organisational principles and possibilities in the productions.

In the version which follows, in suggesting a way of theorising the research question which brings the two sides together, I have located C*uratorship* as a central active skill or disposition of new media literacy, offering a way of understanding the uses which learners make of the meaning-making potential of owned media assets and quotations:

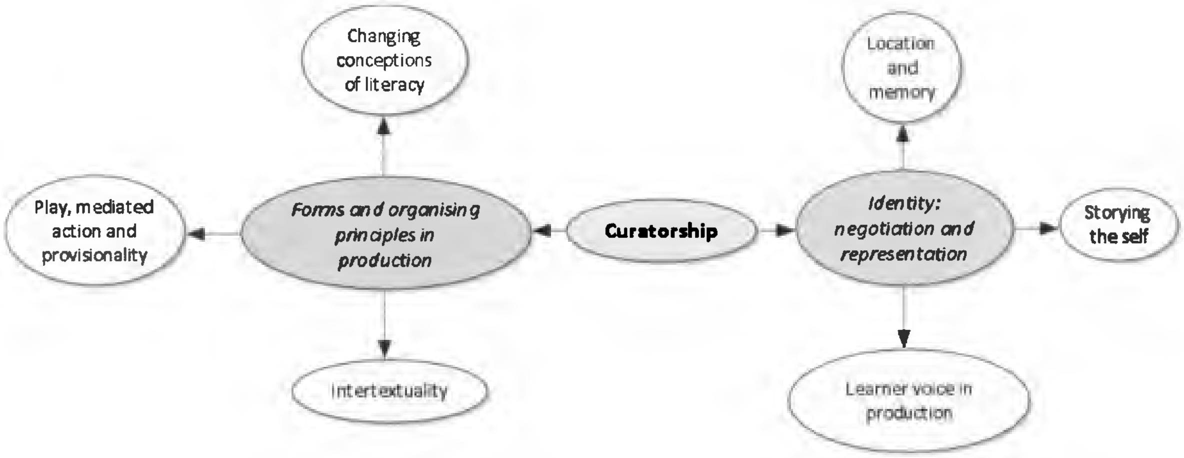
Changing conceptions of literacy
Location and memory
Play, mediated action and provisionality
Forms and organising principles in production
Curatorship
Identity: negotiation and representation
Storying the self
Intertextuality
Learner voice in production

Fig.5 Curatorship as a central organising skill or disposition in new media

This interconnectedness of the two areas of literacy and identity outlined in the preceding sections and the potential overlap in understanding and employing them has a theoretical precedent in the overall conception of "new literacy studies" which has its background in literary anthropology (Street, 1995). I am specifically locating this as a "literacy practice" and not as an issue in the management of personal archives, which has been the subject of a recent study (Williams, Leighton John and Rowland, 2009). In the conception presented here, the social relations are a determining factor in the literacy practices within a group; to be literate in this sense is to negotiate cultural and social identity (c.f. Buckingham, 1993). A further related overlap is in the appropriation and re-mixing of the material of life from which narrative is constructed. From Bauman (2004), in discussing identity, came the notion that the person constructing their personal story was a *bricoleur*, conjuring a narrative "from the material at hand" and from Bruner (1990) the idea that there is a transactional, connected nature to construction of identity; both of these conceptions are important in the context of digital video production, as we have seen, with its spaces for organising multimodal assets and re-presenting them for interpretation by a viewer. Bruner's notion of interconnectedness through the exchanges of shared signs and symbols within the culture is, as noted above, aligned to the concept of "memes" as described by Lankshear and Knobel in *New Literacies: Everyday practices and classroom learning* (2006, p.128), providing a link between the theoretical frames to be explored in Chapter 6 following analysis of the productions in the study.

From Giddens (1991) came the notion of identity in late modernity as an essentially fractured state in which the presentation of self is not quite as straightforward as a reading of Goffman (1990) might suggest, but which nevertheless is organised throughout as a form of project or "trajectory" of the self. The changing conceptions of literacy find an echo and an overlap in this in the concept of intertextuality with assets and modes in narrative, layered and organised in the editing space onscreen and provisionally available for re-organisation and exhibition at any point.

Location and Memory in the *Identity* section above enabled a discussion to be made around three frames from cultural studies, the re-worked and developed conceptions of *palimpsest*, the *hypomnemata* and *habitus* (de Certeau, 1984; Foucault, 1984; Bourdieu, 1986, respectively). In each case, some aspect of collection, inscription and personal trace was involved which can be characterised as an act of self-curatorship. In the context of new media technology, and as set out in the opening chapter, one of the aims of the enquiry will be to conceptualise this self curatorship as a new literacy skill; the organisation and exhibition in these productions of assimilated assets (Robinson and Turnbull, 2005) into new formulations using the tools of digital video editing.

There have been studies which have attempted to look at the ways in which children and young people organise their immediate environment or represent their "collections" of artefacts. In an ethnographic study in three London homes, Kate Pahl (2006) found that very young children's framing of their own photographs of their toys suggested heightened awareness of collection, containment and display, including in one example, a child-made display case. Roberts(2008) wrote about the ways in which children made use of photosharing to give salience to objects and artefacts which were important to them. The ways in which children mediate and make certain aspects of their "collections" salient was previously discussed in Mitchell and Reid-Walsh's study of children's bedrooms (2002, Ch. 4) with their arrays of cultural artefacts signalling a buying into and appropriation of the culture. Curatorship as I am representing it in the study builds on some of these aspects but also on the conceptions of literacy and identity outlined previously, to suggest that it is an active practice in which the productive use of new media plays a key part.

This conception suggests the notion of curatorship as an organisational act at the point of exhibition construction and display. In a museum or art gallery the collection is grouped and arranged with a narrative arc in mind by those in overall charge of layout, descriptive text, path through the artefacts and so on. As Parry reminds us in *Recoding the museum*, curators are authors at a meta-level of a story based on selected fragments and artefacts:

> "Before we even begin to tell histories we have to make some decisions, *as authors,* about history-making itself. Any history – including those of museums, and of digital media in museums – requires a number of assumptions to be made about how history-writing works. The moment we choose to look back, to reflect upon the past, we find ourselves making choices ... not only do we privilege and select narratives and theses based on the sometimes (fragmentary) evidence available, but, subsequently these are filtered further by the medium through which we choose to convey those histories..."
> (Parry, 2007, p.3, my italics)

I will argue later that the children in the videos are selecting and filtering their stories through the medium of digital video and conveying those stories using skills and dispositions of new literacy as outlined above in, for example, the organisation of intertextual space. What they produce depends on particular readings which are also fixed in a series of self-referential moments in the same ways as a gallery show so that reading depends on being able to make something from the resources on offer. That this is contingent on a series of cultural as well as cognitive processes is demonstrated by two examples; one from an art gallery exhibition and one from a national museum in negotiation with its collection in attempting a narrative of the past.

In 2009, the artist Mark Wallinger curated an exhibition in the Hayward Gallery on London's South Bank which was dependent for the success of its narrative arc on an understanding of several cultural touchstones, or memes. The title was "The Russian Linesman" and the works selected all had some connection with boundaries, lines, borders, juxtapositions and misunderstandings. They depended for their effect as a whole experience on the understanding of the "Russian linesman" as a framing device, famously the official who controversially awarded an England goal in the final of the football World Cup in 1966 when the ball bounced from the crossbar down onto the line, thus securing the team a path to the trophy. At the time, and subsequently, this has been much debated and its meaning negotiated. Elsewhere the exhibition placed work dependent on visual tropes and jokes alongside one another and there were pieces of serious intent concerned with borders, Diasporas and alienation. As the Hayward Gallery website explained, the Wallinger exhibition was...

> "...concerned with the liminal, a concept with physical, political, metaphysical meanings. It signifies the dissolution of boundaries and fixed identities, and is associated with rituals and rites of passage, transitional states characterized by ambiguity, openness and indeterminacy, during which the normal limits to thought, self-understanding and behaviour are relaxed, opening the way to something new. Where necessary the artist will show his own work, along with objects that fit the manifesto - whether they are aesthetic, scientific, political and social or anthropological."
> (SouthBankCentre, 2009)

Each of the works was an assimilated asset arranged by the artist-curator as author of the show; and the whole space was open to interpretation or misinterpretation, successful at making meanings for some and not for others. One of the ways of viewing the productions might be to look for these arrangements, moments of success as well as failure and to try to account for them in terms of the literacy practices outlined in the first section of this chapter and the ways in which identity is represented in the second section.

The second example comes from a more culturally resonant case, closer to a literacy practice in the sense in which Street, as anthropologist, constructed it. As I have described in the Wallinger example, resources can be used in many different ways to make different meanings in the ways that they are arranged, described, presented. In the Melbourne Museum a collection of cultural artefacts from indigenous tribes is arranged in such a way as to:

> "... reflect the various views of significance that these collections have for the individuals, communities and cultures from whom these collections originate, and for whom the collections continue to resonate with meaning."
> (MuseumVictoria, 2009)

This is a re-telling in the twenty-first century of one version of the story of part of Australia, a culturally problematic and culturally sensitive practice relating to the cultural identity of that nation. When the objects were first acquired and displayed in the nineteenth century a completely different narrative was made from the same resources. The Bunjilaka Gallery in the museum, for example, now frequently constructs a very different narrative from artefacts, one which is concerned with returning them to the indigenous peoples and, where this is no longer possible, even invokes a technological solution to the narrative drive around reparation for past misdeeds in the present handling of indigenous artefacts:

> "The records, artefacts, photographs and films that were removed from Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands, South Australia, are now too fragile to be returned.
> The Ara Irititja ('stories from a long time ago') project began in 1994. Over 35,000 historical and cultural items have now been digitally returned to the Anangu communities, via a purpose-built electronic archive."
> (MuseumVictoria, 2005)

It will be important in analysis and discussion to think about the resource of self in the making of the narratives and exhibitions; to describe how the analogy of curatorship works as a functional and operational new literacy practice as well as to test its limits. Themed exhibitions are frequently criticised for a functional incoherence in the telling of the story and where this breaks down in video production we may expect to see dissonances and a fracturing of meaning. We may also expect to see some response to "versioning" akin to the concern about "authenticity" and "voice" outlined previously. This concern is echoed in museum studies in the context of new technology; Parry refers to this as "recalibrating authenticity" (2007, Ch. 4, pp. 58-81).

Miller's *Comfort of Things* (2008) again provides an example of how the analogy might operate as a practice in the context of recorded life events as new media assets to be managed. Miller and (his student) Fiona Parrott's project was a series of interviews with people in their homes in a London street outlining their relationship to their possessions, in a project which attempted to show how this relationship was a marker of wider socio-cultural and familial relations. In the sixth portrait, one of the residents of the street described how possessions, relationships and experiences were organised in his laptop, as media assets, catalogued, organised, in an active fashioning process that goes beyond the "self-archive". Miller puts it like this:

> "Digital media compress all the sensual objects of the world and reduce them to an other-worldly domain, where they remain a virtual presence. But that other world has its own order and aesthetics. It is not merely an alternative medium for the creation of self-archiving. Digital media creates its own sensual field, of text complemented by visual materials and sound. It can respect the larger integrity of connections between the media it incorporates."
> (Miller, 2008, p.71)

It is the idea stated above that "it is not merely an alternative medium for the creation of self archiving" that lies at the heart of reconceptualising organisation and composition in digital media as an active literary practice analogised in the word *curatorship.* Miller writes about the "sensual field" and the "integrity of connections between the media"; these are analogous to certain practices of literacy and identity in the context of multimodality and cultural studies which I have outlined in the opening sections of the this chapter and to which I will return when testing their relation to the analysis of the productions by the children.

To summarise then, I am interested in testing the idea that when multimodal self-representation becomes possible in new media form, curatorship becomes a useful metaphor for the resulting new literacy practice. This is because the range of collected assets are appropriated and held by the end user who shapes them, or a selection of them, using the tools available; these assets may be in the form of digital video clips which are self-created with the overall purpose in mind, or they may be in the form of collected pieces of music, or still images which are suggested by the existing organisational arc of the piece they are making. In either case, they sit in the software, represented as thumbnails, waveforms or files, on a virtual shelf, awaiting assembly, organisation and distribution. Because they are digital, substantially the same resources can be endlessly re-used and re-combined to give new meanings for different exhibitions, just as a collection of artefacts or art works can be stored, brought out, laid out in new ways and stored again. The multimodal mixing desk is the metaphor for the onscreen space in which the versions of the representation are assembled and formed. The museum-curator metaphor accounts for the collection and selection process as a practice in itself.

The research question - What *forms and organising structures are used by young learners in negotiating and representing identity in digital video production?* - is a way of uncovering the elements of literacy and identity which lie behind the making of self – representational video. If the areas described above in this chapter represent a response to the *cultural* and *creative* aspects of the question, it is also worth noting, following the 3 Cs model (Media_Literacy_Task_Force, 2005) that a *critical* dimension is also necessary and that pedagogy in the setting in which these practices take place is predicated on developing that critical dimension. Teachers have a part to play in the setting and it will be important not to overlook their role when describing and discussing findings. For teachers, the study will have to address centrally the tactics and strategies which young people employ in their organisation of media assets, understand their developmental paths and think about ways in which they could perhaps facilitate the processes which lie behind this kind of work. Developing their own critical engagement with media production has sometimes been a strategy for introducing teachers to digital video production (Potter, 2006) and this will form part of the reflection and discussion of the work in relation to teaching and learning at a later stage.

Each section preceding this one provides an element which connects to the research question. The *media literacy* section adopts the concept that the form and function of children's literacy practices in new media are bound up in the conditions in which they live and that any engagement with meaning-making in those practices must be connected to the cultures in which they are produced. This means designing research which allows for participants to be reflexive and demonstrate their relationship to lived culture, its affiliations and artefacts.

Form the theoretical and into the pedagogical, the section which followed also positioned the research within the context of the school, the development of the media literacy curriculum and its links with two major theoretical frames, namely multimodality theory and cultural studies, both of which contribute to its overarching development as a subject connected to cultural production and new literacy practices. The questions here will arise out of the position of media production in a changing primary curriculum.

From the *identity* sections came frameworks derived from different sources, including that of Giddens and *the project of the self* an important concept in the study of representative practices, particularly in the light of the form and content of the videos being made by the children. Key questions here will remain in the area of how digital video production operates as a medium in which to story the self and relate this to developmental issues.

The *curatorship* metaphor proposed towards the end of the theory chapter assumes a relationship to critical, cultural and creative literacy practices on the part of the children. The movement from inward-facing production to display and communicative exhibition will be a major part of the reflection based on the analysis of the different video texts and their related artefacts.

The chapter which follows outlines the methods which were used to approach the research question and structure the analysis in such a way as to account for the elements described herein and, ultimately, to address them as evidence of a new literacy practice in a new media form, with all that implies for teaching and learning.

Chapter 4 Methodology

Michael Bassey, in explaining the definition of a case study chooses to open his account with the following statement:

> "I have a well trodden answer to the question, "What is the purpose of educational research?" My answer is this: educational research is critical and systematic enquiry aimed at informing educational judgements and decisions...I make a distinction between this and disciplinary research in education, which I see as critical and systematic enquiry aimed at informing understandings of phenomena (in educational settings)...both educational research and disciplinary research in education are concerned with theory...educational research is concerned more with improving action through theoretical understanding; discipline research with increasing theoretical knowledge of the discipline. The boundary is often, though not always, clear-cut."
> (Bassey, 2003)

I have chosen this long quotation to open the chapter devoted to methodology because it represents the position of my thesis, namely, right at the boundary between the two purposes for educational research which Bassey describes. In essence, the research in this thesis seeks to develop theoretical insights within a discipline (or, more accurately, from within socio-cultural theories of literacy, identity, new media and associated disciplines) and conclusions about how those theories may apply to pedagogical practice in new media in the age group studied.[20]

To recap, the research question which underpins the thesis and which provides the basis for the structure of the study is in parts, as follows:

- What forms and organising structures are used by young learners when negotiating and representing identity in digital video production?

To put this into the context of the definitions offered by Bassey, the two-part question approached an observed set of phenomena based within an educational practice with a twofold outcome, along the boundary line. The outcome, as detailed in Chapter 1 was:

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[20] *Explanations for the location of my PhD are to be found in Chapter 1, section 3, which explains the process out of which the study arose, following my own path between theory and practice over a number of years in a variety of educational settings from schools through to local authorities and finally into research and higher education.*

1) To understand observed phenomena around digital video production by reference to media-related disciplines of socio-cultural and pedagogical theory and propose a theoretical model based on that understanding;
2) To propose how the theory derived might inform educational practice, judgements and decisions as a result of this understanding.

The sections which follow in this Chapter are intended to provide an iterative guide to how the research developed and was constructed methodologically. In section 4.1, *Case Study as method,* I will outline the meta level justification for the choice of case study as a form. Section 4.2 addresses the twin concepts of *Grounded Theory and Transdisciplinarity* which were important in formulating the research design and the instruments used. Section 4.3, *Designing the data collection,* looks at how the research methods and instruments were piloted and revised. Section 4.4, *Designing data analysis* looks at how the data and the research question demanded different ways of working which incorporated elements of multimodality theory alongside socio-cultural frames of reference. Section 4.5, *Contexts: the schools and the briefings,* describes the schools in the project and gives some practical details about the data collection. Section 4.6, *Ethical issues* outlines ethical considerations in the project and how they were addressed. Section 4.7 offers some *Concluding reflections* on the methodology employed in the thesis.

4.1 Case studies

The theoretical framework developed and described in Chapter 3 attempted to bring together different models and traditions (e.g. from the fields of "literacy" and identity") into a coherent whole in order to approach the research question. This section describes how the research design emerged which allowed these elements to be explored.

Firstly, it was clear from the outset that the nature of the research question required sustained focus on one or two settings which would facilitate an in-depth account of several layers of significance within video production simultaneously. The groups from which the data were collected were envisaged as being relatively small and engaged on a focused project (of which more later); yet, with careful attention to the range of forms and modes, the data itself should be rich enough to sustain the interrogation required. The case study, as a form of qualitative research, appeared to offer the depth of field as well as the clarity of focus with which to explore the learners' productions, addressing aspects of narrative, memory, identity, performance, learner voice and media literacy.

The "case study" has several definitions and some strident adherents (such as Michael Bassey, quoted above) who seek to justify its inherent qualities and suitabilities for a range of different enquiries. Bassey makes a claim for the centrality of the case study without getting into the familiar debate over the relative efficacy of a quantitative or qualitative research design (for an example of how this debate is played out, see Scott and Usher, 1999, pp. 90 - 93). I picked up on some of these from an early stage while looking for a way to understand some of the interrelationships between the different frameworks.

It seemed to me that a case study, conceived ethnographically in only one or two settings with relatively small groups of children, offered the potential to carry out three important tasks. The first was to help develop an understanding of the setting at a sufficiently deep level to frame a meaningful interpretation of the media texts produced by the learners. The second was to generate a small amount of rich data which could be examined closely and give sufficient detail and depth to the textual (and intertextual) analysis. The third was to have greater control over the data collection and be able to trace the development of the productions through a paper trail of early written plans, the video itself and a set of post-production interviews.

I wanted to know about the learners and their relationships with each other and with the schools. I also wanted to be able to establish the parameters of the activity carefully, moving the locus of control closer to the learners, closer to being off-timetable and as close to their own authorial intentions as possible (for reasons outlined in Chapter 1 in more detail). I stood more chance of being able to do this in respect of smaller groups and in known settings where I was already welcome and trusted and able to give an account of the rationale for the project. See section 4.5 for a further discussion of how these aspects played out in the selection of the schools.

Returning to the idea of the case study as a form, it is conceived in research methods literature as one which provides the researcher with the means to observe "...effects in real contexts, recognising that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects..." (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007, p.253). Clearly, context is a component of each of the theoretical frameworks elaborated in Chapter 3, including, at a local level, storying and learner voice elements; while at the level of the setting in its curriculum context, it is an important component supporting the media literacy frameworks. For these reasons alone case study was considered the obvious choice of form.

Case studies are not without their critics, who point to the dangers of researchers substituting "narrative for analysis" (Brown and Dowling, 1998, p. 83) and merely seeing what they would like to see in a setting and reporting it. However, the same authors are quick to point out that in the presence of a theoretical framework it is possible to turn what is recorded (information) into what can be used in analysis and discussion (data). Brown and Dowling argue that "...data is information which has been read in terms of a theoretical framework or analytic structure of some kind."(ibid. p. 80) In other words, if the framework is defined well enough and the information examined through that frame, useful data can be generated in both quantitative and, in this case, qualitative analysis. In this way, researchers can avoid succumbing to the dangers evidenced in bad case study work of "...journalism...selective reporting...an anecdotal style...pomposity and blandness" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007, p.254). Again, taking these warnings on board, it was possible to avoid some of them by working very closely between theory and data analysis, taking the frames from Chapter 3, into the methodology and on into the data analysis in as consistent and rigorous a way as possible.

Other criticisms levelled at case study research have included the lack of generalisability "... from the findings... the lack of possibility of cross-checking... and proneness to observer bias." (Nisbet and Watt, 1984, quoted in Cohen et al (2007) op. cit, p. 256) Whilst taking these further caveats on board it was important not to lose sight of the many benefits to be gained from the case study as a form and to try to note ways of overcoming these problems as far as was possible in the design of the research instruments and the frames used to analyse the video productions (see sections below in the remainder of Chapter 4).

Theory incorporation and generation were also methodological considerations. Scott and Usher, following Ekstein (1975), suggest that there are five different ways of incorporating case study material, namely, as:

> "...*configurative-ideographic studies* (descriptions of the contexts surrounding events); *disciplined-configurative studies* (patterns of elements expressed in theoretical terms); ***heuristic case studies*** **(the case is deliberately chosen to develop theoretical propositions)**; *plausibility probes* (testing the viability of pursuing rigorous testing); and *crucial case studies* (testing or falsifying a theoretical proposition)..."
> (Scott and Usher, 1999, p.86)

The "heuristic" case study, emphasised by me in bold above, is the closest to the approach adopted here, though there are elements of "configurative-ideographic" in the proposed rich descriptions of contexts, as well as elements of "disciplined-configurative studies" in the ways of reading the texts through systematic analysis, looking for patterns in the elements. Nevertheless, the attempt to combine theory, or versions and recombinations of theory, the behaviours of the social actors and the media texts they produced in the case study setting, places this research in the realm of heuristic case study.

4.2 Grounded theory and transdisciplinarity

Two important concepts informed the case study design. These were, respectively, "Grounded Theory" and "Transdisciplinarity".

Firstly, at the core of the research question lies the formulation of theory from a combination of frameworks. This is drawn from the data in ways defined by the *heuristic* nature of the case study (see above), where "the case is deliberately chosen to develop a set of propositions "(ibid.). In other words, the theory emerges from the recorded events and happenings relating to the practices of representation in the setting. The case study is predicated on developing emergent theory and its application to educational practice. As such it also resides in the realm of "Grounded Theory" developed by Glaser and Strauss as a method for developing theory directly from data

(1967) and as defined by Cohen, Manion and Morrison in *Research Methods in Education* (2007). The definition identifies four characteristics and assumptions of Grounded Theory, as follows:

- "Theory is *emergent* rather than pre-defined or tested
- Theory emerges from the *data* rather than vice versa
- Theory generation is a consequence of, and partner to, *systematic* data collection and analysis"
  (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007, p.491)

Taking each point in turn: Firstly, concerning the *emergent* theory in the study, it is true that frameworks of the theory are known and derived from various sources, but they are not tested in the contexts proposed in the study where they will be used to generate some potential new theory in the field. Secondly, the *data* is what allows the theory to emerge after its transformation from information using the framework of analysis and discussion (cf. Brown and Dowling, 1998). Thirdly, the theory generation arises from the *systematic* analysis using the frames that were devised.

Grounded theory, therefore, became a useful way of thinking about the work, especially in view of its claimed "tolerance and openness to data and what is emerging" (ibid.) Of course, grounded theory also has its critics who, just like those who take part in the qualitative versus quantitative debate on the side of positivism, see that there is a lack of precision inherent in qualitative case studies. It is always full of "mights and maybes". Bassey, however, presents this as a strength rather than a weakness, especially where educational research is concerned. In fact, he claims that qualitative work has a particular part to play alongside quantitative work in the creation of real knowledge by contributing "fuzzy generalisations" about situations. He writes that...

> "...Fuzzy generalisations carry an element of uncertainty. A fuzzy generalisation reports that something has happened in one place and may happen elsewhere." (Bassey, 1999, p.52)

The idea is to describe as precisely as possible the setting and the methodology, the events and the findings in context so that researchers in similar settings can try to emulate the work, to draw their own generalisations from what they find there. By building a critical mass of detailed ethnographic case studies with emergent findings in similar directions we can contribute to overall understanding and the formulation of new explanations and hypotheses. Bassey's robust defence of this method in social sciences, humanities and educational settings is in response to the claims made for survey methods and large scale populations. They generate useful overviews of a different kind but they almost always need verification in the form of follow-up and in-depth smaller –scale case studies to get to the heart of the generalisations being made and the theory which may be emerging therein.

Turning to "Transdisciplinarity", in the context of this study it applies particularly to working with discourse analysis in a transdisciplinary way. Clearly one of the important methods in the work is to look at what is said in the video interviews (alongside how it is said and how it is performed). Some discourse analysis on the transcripts of the interviews was used to triangulate some of the assertions made in looking at the video texts (see below). The approach used is derived from Fairclough who defines the aims of critical discourse analysis (CDA), as follows...

> "... theoretical and methodological development (the latter including development of methods of analysis) of CDA and the disciplines/theories ... is in dialogue with and is informed through that dialogue, a matter of working with (though not at all simply appropriating) the 'logic' and categories of the other in developing one's own theory and methodology...Theoretically, this approach is characterized by a realist social ontology (which regards both abstract social structures and concrete social events as parts of social reality), a dialectical view of the relationship between structure and agency, and of the relationship between discourse and other elements or 'moments' of social practices and social events..."
> (Fairclough, 2005, pp.76-77)

I have described the frameworks in Chapter 3 and have drawn out strands within each which have potential for use within the field of study. In designing the instruments which may help to process the information observed in the field into data it was important to think of ways in which the frameworks could be seen to be in dialogue with one another, at least initially. The diagram below represents the ways in which, the frameworks are interconnected in the design of the instruments and in answering the research question:

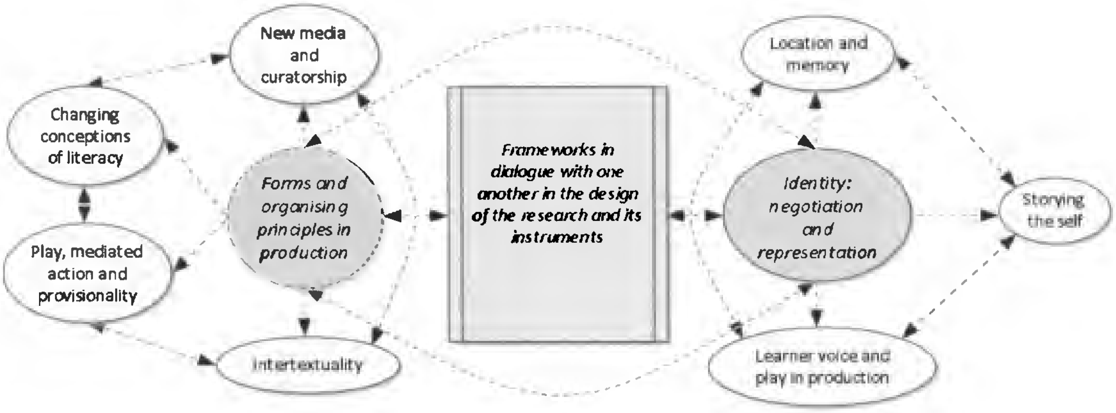

New media and curatorship
Changing conceptions of literacy
Play, mediated action and provisionality
Forms and organising principles in production
Intertextuality
Frameworks in dialogue with one another in the design of the research and its instruments
Location and memory
Identity: negotiation and representation
Storying the self
Learner voice and play in production

Fig. 6 Theoretical frameworks and transdisciplinarity

4.3 Data collection

Data was collected around the video production activities in both schools at every stage of the process, reflecting the broad aims of the case study approach. The eventual form arose out of the pilot study and early trialling for the main study.

Pilot studies and planning

The pilot study for the thesis took place with a small subset of students from school A approximately six weeks before the main case study there. The diagram below, in Figure 7, dates from the start of the PhD and, on the right hand, side reveals the very earliest thinking behind the organisational structure.

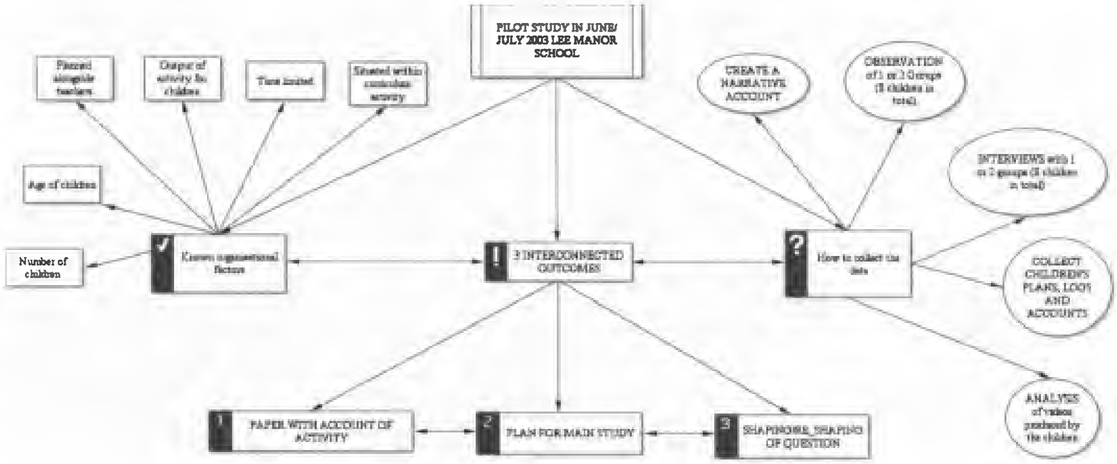

PILOT STUDY IN JUNE/ JULY 2003 LEE MANOR SCHOOL
Planned alongside teachers
Output of activity for children
Time limited
Situated within curriculum activity
Age of children
Number of children
✓ Known organisational factors
! 3 INTERCONNECTED OUTCOMES
? How to collect the data
CREATE A NARRATIVE ACCOUNT
OBSERVATION of 1 or 2 Groups (8 children in total)
INTERVIEWS with 1 or 2 groups (8 children in total)
COLLECT CHILDREN'S PLANS, LOGS AND ACCOUNTS
ANALYSIS of videos produced by the children
1 PAPER WITH ACCOUNT OF ACTIVITY
2 PLAN FOR MAIN STUDY
3 SHAPING/RE_SHAPING OF QUESTION

Fig. 7 Early map of data collection from pilot study

The range of data collection was already apparent, linked to the question marked box above:

- A narrative account
- Observation
- Interviews
- Children's plans, logs and accounts

Also apparent when reviewed was the extent to which the methods generated a mass of data which was not adequately focused, nor easily interpreted, although it was, ultimately a useful experience in planning and an essential stage to go through. It reflected the nascent stages in the formulation of the frameworks and helped to shape these in more focused directions.

The video piece that was made was analysed solely on the basis of the observations in production and the child's narrative stance in the work. Other practical and organisational issues were learned about, in particular around equipment and the practical considerations of timing (everything takes longer than you think), organisation (open up negotiations with the school and firm everything up in advance) and the children (they may not want to be too open ended with the topic for their video; they require a brief). The biggest lesson learned was in the weakness of the framework which lacked the degree of precision needed in order to turn the information into data in the way described by, for example, Brown and Dowling (1998, p. 80).

As a result of the pilot study, in the final version, the "narrative" and "observation" sections gave way to a much more structured evidential base within the logs, greater consideration of interview questions and structures, including the use of an external interviewer who, although briefed by me, did not represent someone to whom children would seek to give the "correct" answer (See further discussion of the interviews in section 4.3.2 below). The other concern in working in this way, and mentioned previously, was to undertake a form of triangulation, collecting themed and potentially corroborating data from the makers of the projects, the materials they used to plan them and the analysis of the video texts themselves (of which more below). This form of triangulation is defined by Cohen, Manion & Morrison as "methodological triangulation", after Denzin (1970), which they define as a study which "uses the same method on different occasions or different methods on the same object of study" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007, p.142). In either case the aim generally is to give validity to results across methods and, in the case of this study, it was used to provide a more robust structure for assertions in discussion across the theoretical frameworks outlined in Chapter 3.

Semi-structured interview themes and issues

The design of the post-production interviews was based on the principle of the semi-structured interview. Like other terms used in research and explored in this chapter so far (for example case study or grounded theory) this has a variety of definitions depending on the context, the discipline and the preferred mode of enquiry. The semi-structured interview in this project followed a small set of defined areas through which the conversation could move. Each of these was accompanied with a set of *possible* conversation prompts. The participant is not constrained in the way in which they approach each of the themes and may indicate by their answers the ways in which the conversation can move.

Some writers on research methods point to ways in which the power relation between the interviewer and the subject can alter the balance of responses and skew them, particularly where children and adults are involved (Bell, 1993; Brown and Dowling, 1998; Scott and Usher, 1999). An eagerness to please, to provide the "correct" answer may alter responses. The issue was partly addressed by the interviews in both schools being conducted by other adults, that is, not the researcher who was at least partly in role as "participant observer" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007), setting up the project, providing the equipment, the brief and the technical and software support where and when possible (see notes on contexts in the schools below). The adult interviewers in both cases were briefed by the researcher beforehand. They were both experienced at speaking to, and working with, primary school children. They were happy to work within the structures provided and to give children time to develop responses. I will discuss later how the interviews worked in the data analysis and discussion chapters below.

One point to note was the decision to record the interviews on video. The interviewers were to sit out of sight, behind the camera, and to record, from one side, the responses of the children. This was set up to give the opportunity for analysing responses which were inclusive of more than just the mode of speech (see Thomson, 2008, esp. pp. 10 - 13). The video interviews functioned as multimodal texts themselves with further useful possibilities for triangulation. The children were comfortable with the cameras by this point. Furthermore, as will be seen in the data analysis sections in Chapter 5, the tendency of some groups to continue to perform for the camera provided further data in relation to the frameworks, especially around media literacy, performance and identity.

The interviews were designed around a set of themes which asked for immediate reflection on the process in relation to as many of the frameworks as possible. Questions were therefore phrased with the major themes of literacy, identity pedagogical design in mind, centering on production issues, grouping and the technology. The areas covered and sample starter questions in the semi-structured interview are shown in the figure below in block capitals and italics respectively. In the table on the following page, Table 1, the right hand side of the column shows intended links with frameworks from Chapter 3:

Area of question	**Link with frameworks**
AUTHENTICITY FOR THE CHILDREN / PERSONAL ENJOYMENT *Sample opening questions: Have you enjoyed the video project? What has been the best thing about* it?	All, but especially… Identity and storying Play, mediated action and provisionality
COLLABORATION / WORKING METHODS *Sample opening questions: Have you enjoyed working with other people on it? With whom and why? Were their any difficulties about things, like sharing decision making etc.?*	Storying Learner voice in production
PLANNING / WIDER MEDIA INFLUENCE / CULTURAL AUTHENTICITY *Sample opening questions: Going right back to the beginning and the planning of it, did you find that it was useful to think everything through first? How did you plan it? Did you stick to your plan? What happened when you started using the camera? Did you find yourself thinking about any TV shows or films for your ideas? Which ones do you think influenced you most?*	Media literacy Changing conceptions of literacy Intertextuality New media and curatorship
THE CAMERA / TECHNICAL ISSUES IN SHOOTING ORIGINAL MATERIAL *Sample opening questions: Did you find the camera easy to use? With and without the tripod? Why? What was easy or difficult about it?*	Forms and organising principles in production Media literacy Play, mediated action and provisionality
EDITING / TECHNICAL ISSUES IN FINAL EDITING? ADAPTABILITY AND FLEXIBILITY OF THE ACTIVITY *Sample opening questions: Did your plans change again when you got the computer to do the editing? How? Did you enjoy the editing at the computer? Why or why not? What things about the editing were fun? What things about the editing were difficult? Did you use music? What music did you choose and why?*	Media literacy Changing conceptions of literacy Intertextuality New media and curatorship Learner voice in production Play, mediated action and provisionality
FINISHING/REFLECTING / EVALUATING *Sample opening questions: Do you feel satisfied that you have done everything you could, within the time? What else would you have liked to do? Would you like to do it another time? What would you do differently, knowing what you know now?*	Media literacy Changing conceptions of literacy Intertextuality New media and curatorship Storying the self Play, mediated action and provisionality

Table 1 Semi-structured interview themes mapped against theoretical frameworks

4.4 Data analysis

Adapting multimodal analysis of video texts

For a comprehensive and meaningful analysis of the videos, theoretical frameworks were required which took account of the properties of the medium. This required a framework for examining how the many modes of speech, image, gesture, sound and visual narrative are combined and to what effect. The theoretical framework which is adopted for this task was that of "multimodal communication" as articulated in the work of Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen and as reinterpreted by Andrew Burn and David Parker in relation to media texts (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001; Burn and Parker, 2003a). From this perspective the act of making meaning in the video allows the writer-producer to combine text, speech, music, image, gesture in ways which open up new possibilities at the level of constructing the text as well as reading it. If we analyse the choices of the different modes in the productions and the relationship between them, it may be possible to achieve an understanding of how and why self-authors make use of the available resources to make meaning. Talking to the producers after the fact enables us to see the rationale more clearly and examine how ideas are realised, combined and selected within the virtual space of the editing screen.

Burn and Parker have written about the analysis of a range of different new media texts from the perspective of multimodal analysis (2003a). One of these texts is a digital video production created by a group of school students which is subjected to a form of analysis which looks at the ways in which the modal elements are combined. They recognise the complexity of combining filmic analyses with those of multimodal analysis but provide examples of a methodological frame which may allow this to be achieved. This approach provides ways of understanding how "...the mixture of gesture, speech, sound, action, music and words is ... shaped...during the processes of filming and editing." (Burn and Parker, 2003a, p.14)

In pursuit of this, Burn and Parker adapt the approach provided by Kress and Van Leeuwen (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001; Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006), adding a moving-image mode to the consideration of the semiotic systems in visual design. This mode they call the "kineikonic mode" which is itself derived from the word "kineikon" which they propose as...

> "...analogous to a lexicon, but with reference to the world of the moving image. If a lexicon is a word stock, appropriated within a grammar system, a kineikon is a stock of image movement relationships only realisable in physical forms of inscription."
> (Burn and Parker, 2001, p.6)

Burn and Parker apply their method to a sample video production made by some students in a city centre whilst out skateboarding. The students are shown interacting with an old man who disapproves of their use of the space in this way. The young people producing the video use the opportunities afforded to them in the shooting and editing to represent power relations and social commentary in the clip, knowingly layered into the design of the production. In looking at the text and drawing out these elements Burn and Parker are using the kineiconic mode alongside the other available resources to develop an analysis of its meaning.

In this study, the tools devised would, in a similar way, have to take account of how the different resources worked together as an ensemble. A passage from a video clip, for example, in which a character is positioned in front of a particular wall or a climbing frame, a tree in the playground, a college corridor or similar would yield material (information) which could be worked on (to produce data) to allow for a richer account of the processes which went into the making of the production. However, as the next section shows, additional items were needed to account for events using different frameworks in this study.

Constructing the scene-by-scene grid: adding items

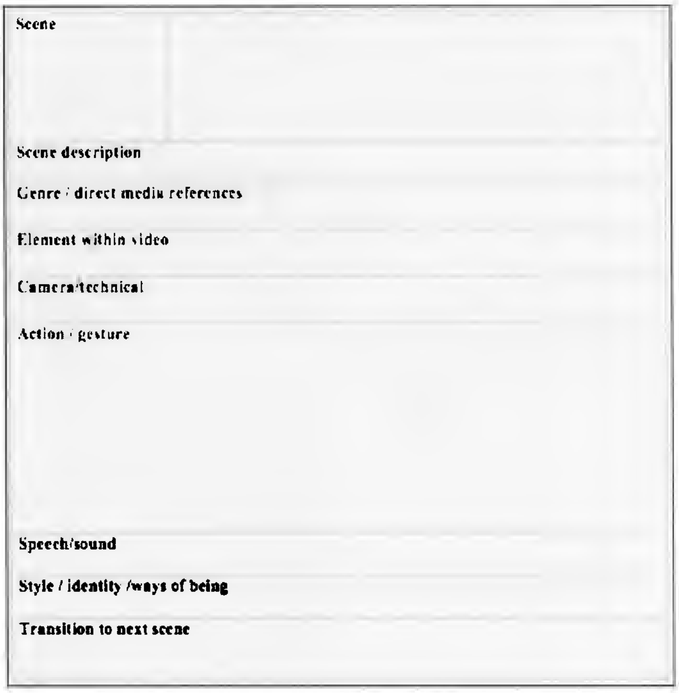
I took the decision early on to devise a method by which the elements of gesture, speech, sound, action, music and words in the productions could be recorded as formal design elements, in seeking to apply a formal overlay to the structures outlined by Burn and Parker as pertaining to video production. However, there were some additional items which would also need to be recorded within the grid, which allowed for an incorporation of elements which are not present in formal multimodal analysis.

One criticism levelled at the use of multimodal analysis as an over-arching view of textual production, as outlined in previous chapters, is its focus and emphasis on formal design elements. Its strength is in the way it allows the analyst to unpack the differing semiotic resources within the media text and show how they may be combined to make meaning. However, it does not, in itself, enable an account of certain elements which lie outside particular realms. Kevin Leander and Annie Frank, writing in the context of online presentation of youth identity point out two ways in which analysis derived from the multimodal perspective does not quite account for the whole picture of aesthetic production to emerge:

> "First, in striving to posit an expansion of media resources in new media practices, the multimodal perspective elides important differences between types of medium. Linguistic, visual, audio, gestural, spatial, and multimodal resources are grouped together as 'resources' for meaning making and for rethinking pedagogy, rather than adequately distinguished as involving distinct social practices (New London Group, 1996)...secondly...multimodal perspectives often place much more emphasis upon meaning-making than on affective or aesthetic attachment. The relations of persons to texts are strategic and rational, involved in 'design' and 'work', including the 'design' of 'social futures' (New London Group, 1996) rather than embodied, sensual, and involved in personal attachments and cultural affiliation."
> (Leander and Frank, 2006, pp.185-6)

The aims of this thesis are bound up in the "personal attachments and cultural affiliations" of the children making the video productions. Multimodal analysis provides a way of unlocking and reading the differently designed elements and their juxtaposition. Yet having used multimodal analysis and analysed some of these constituent elements it became clear that it was not a methodology which takes the analysis further in the direction of providing accounts of embodiment or, as Leander and Frank put it, "affective or aesthetic attachment". Different frames are needed to look at those concepts. They are also required to look at the different social practices emerging around new media (as previously discussed in relation to Lievrouw and Livingstone's definition above about changed practices and arrangements around new cultural artefacts).

As a result, I decided to use a hybrid frame which allowed for the analysis of all the distinctive multimodal elements through time, scene by scene, in each of the video texts made by the children but which also allowed for some commentary on the social, aesthetic and affective aspects of each element in the video. The longer version, used to capture as much as possible from the six video productions is shown below (Fig.8):



Scene

Scene description

Genre / direct media references

Element within video

Camera/technical

Action / gesture

Speech/sound

Style / identity /ways of being

Transition to next scene

Fig. 8 Video analysis grid (longer version)

Scene: this was where the number and timing of each scene was logged. In the space to the right there were thumbnails used to illustrate the start of each scene (in most cases; other sequences were sometimes indicated where relevant).

Scene description: some simple narrative was provided here which gave a basic overview of the scene.

Genre/direct media reference: this allowed the media elements, direct quotations or non-specific genre parodies/appropriation to be identified and contribute to intertextual analysis

Element within video: this allowed for elements within the overall organising system of the video to be identified

Camera/technical: this category was used to describe particular issues that arose in the shooting of the scene, identifying shot types or technical difficulties

Action/gesture: Particular forms of gesture which accompanied the speech, sound and shot types were described under this category, including performance movements of particular kinds (elaborate or encircling movements, "street" gestures conveying particular sorts of cultural significance, anything which changed or underlined overall meaning in relation to the other modes).

Speech/sound: This was used to record all sound, diegetic and non-diegetic, including transcriptions of all speech in the productions

Style/identity/ways of being: This was used as a way of recording performance and embodied meanings within the production, referring to what the performance revealed about the "habitus", the way of being within the setting (after Bourdieu, 1986, p.170). This became "memories/references" in the shorter version of the grid.

Transition to the next scene: In this section, any relevant transitions were noted, particularly in respect of what this revealed about competence or otherwise with the software.

In the data analysis chapters shorter grids provide a single thumbnail per scene and a shorthand description which provide a snapshot of each video production. These shorter descriptions are aligned in the shorter grids with the following headings:

Scene and timing
Scene description
Element within video production
Memories, references
Genre / direct media references
Camera work / technical
Sound

The appendix contains the more detailed version of the analysis for each of the video productions.

The section above on the interview design explained that they were recorded on video. It quickly became apparent that the interviews themselves were a kind of performance which it might be fruitful to analyse using some of the same methodological techniques, so that data were also gathered relating to the mode of gesture and gaze in the performance of the interview itself. This was collected into its own section at the end of the data analysis in Chapter 5 and will form part of the discussion in Chapter 6.

Constructing a paper trail

For the paper trail in the video productions, creating yet another set of triangulating data, a complete collection of the paper-based work was collected. These included the initial mindmaps for each of the productions, the linear versions of the ideas as they were set out on storyboards and any additional relevant notes or personal salient observations.

“Logs” were produced in time for the main study in school A and included an attractive cover with a screenshot from one of the pilot videos with space to record the names of members of the group (Fig. 9 below):

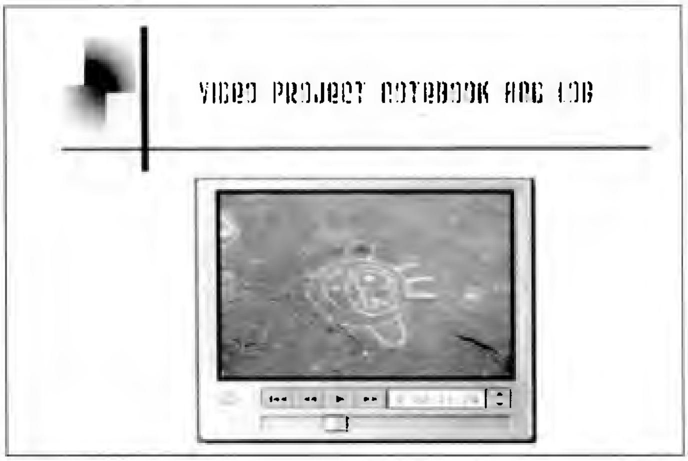


Fig. 9 Cover of video production log book, school A

This situated the project visually for the children, making a completed video the main visual resource on the front page of their booklet. There was space on the cover designed to give equal prominence to the names of the children and they were encouraged to sign in with a customised version of their signature (or a cartoon of themselves if they preferred). This was to further underline that the project would be a working space which they owned as an entity, a production group. There were positives and negatives to the use of the booklet in this regard and only partial success was achieved; these issues will be returned to in discussion.

This was followed inside the booklet by further planning pages, one for each of the following:

- Things to do, things we need, people to see
- Shooting schedule (the plan)
- Shooting log (what happened)
- Editing: things to do, things we need, things we need to know

These carried the same borders throughout giving the booklet its own visual identity and separating it from the rest of the material in the school. More pages were available on request. In addition, the booklet had a removable slide binding which allowed the inclusion of two more sheets. One of these was a folded A3 page with a spider diagram of ideas for their production. The other was a version of a storyboard which included space to record sound choices alongside visual design elements. These materials were by far the most used and are presented where particularly salient in the data analysis sections alongside the video analysis grids.

Minor adjustments were made to the version used in school B. The cover showed a screenshot of the workspace in the software, indicating the salience of editing as a key part of the process. The group members each had their own booklet which they could amalgamate into the whole, so the names of the owner and the group could still all be recorded on the front page, generating, it was hoped, a feeling of ownership.

For some of the videos the paper trail was very important in the emergent theory. These fell into two kinds as noted above: the free planning sheets where children made non-linear plans and sketches (in a form of mind-map); and the linearised form of the storyboard with spaces for sketches of planned visuals and sound elements. These two sets of further evidence allowed for the use of semiotic visual analysis methods (derived from Mavers, Somekh and Restorick, 2002; Kress, 2004) but situated within the previously described theoretical frameworks.

4.5 School contexts

Two primary schools were chosen as sites for the two video projects. In the first school, the self-representational video production was linked to ongoing and planned work on transition from primary to secondary school. The self-representational nature of the piece could represent the children at that time in their lives and communicate aspects of their life to their peers, parents, carers and, potentially, their new schools. In the second school, the project was linked to work with children with special educational needs who were withdrawn from the mainstream for an afternoon a week for mainly behavioural reasons. The representational work here was centred on how they could communicate aspects of their life to the wider school community, their parents and carers using a short video piece. Access to the schools was gained through personal contacts in the immediate local area, close to where I live (see section 4.6 below for more on this).

On the equipment side, in both schools, the cameras which were used allowed the children to record straight to digital videotape, in the mini-DV format. It was then downloaded for editing on a laptop computer. Pinnacle Studio 8, running in Windows XP, was the editing software used. Each group of children had access to one laptop computer and to one camera. The ratios, software and task were identical in both schools.

The software provided the children with a user-friendly interface, allowing them to manipulate the ordering of individual clips, the transition between the clips, the use of sound (including the importing of music from home) and the titling (including the use of visual effects and rollovers). Fig.10 shows the onscreen workspace:

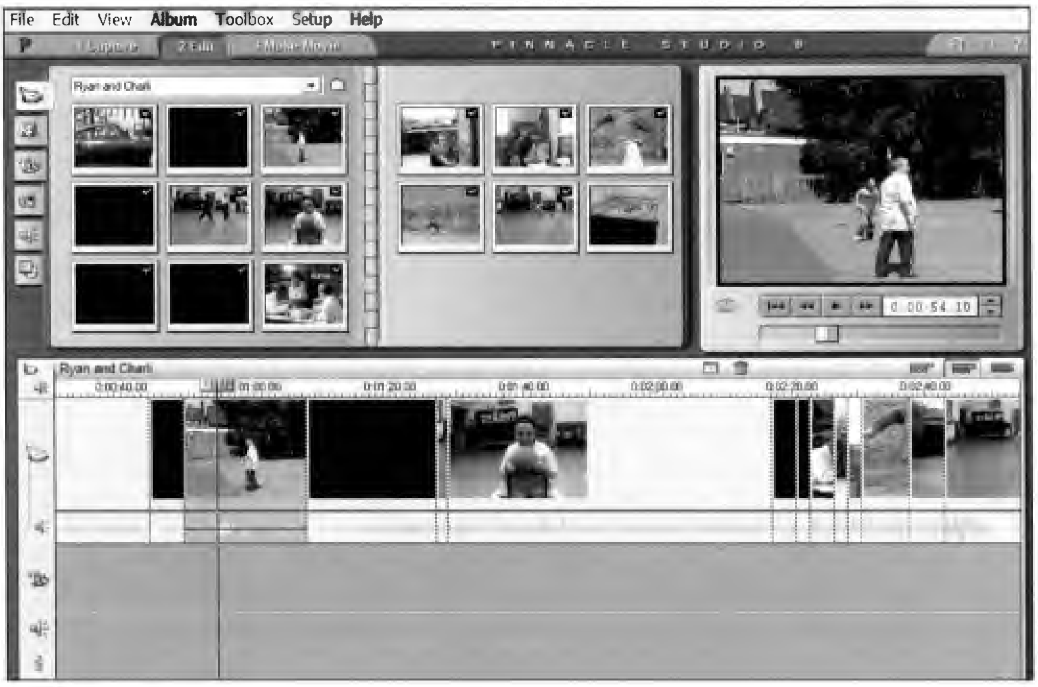


Fig. 10 Editing workspace in software used in video projects in school A and in school B

Technical instruction for shooting was limited to a brief introduction to the camera during the filming stages and the connection to the laptops for the editing stages. The editing was also introduced in a brief session and backed up with support sessions at particular moments around adding sound and transitions using a projector and screen arrangement.

In both schools, children were given materials in the form of planners which incorporated a version of a storyboard, a to-do list and a shooting log. The emphasis was on the "unmarked" nature of the log books (the children were not to be subject to corrections of any kind on their work), the personal ownership by the children and the fact that they could take them home. The message here was the partnership between the formal and informal settings and the location of the work outside their normal curriculum activity.

Further contextual information about each school follows.

School A

School A was a mixed gender, non-denominational community primary school with 470 children on roll, situated in an area of mixed social housing. Less than 2% of children have statements of SEN and a further 27% are on the school's SEN register. Pupils come from a very wide range of social and economic backgrounds with just over 25% of pupils entitled to free school meals. More than half are from a variety of minority ethnic backgrounds with no one group predominant. Around 10% speak a first language other than English. The school achieves SAT scores above both national and local averages with a value added score of 96% reported in 2005.

The children who worked on the videos were aged 10 and 11 and were in one of two Year 6 classes. They were about to leave primary school. There were 28 children, across the ability range. Some of the groups were single gender and others were mixed. Most groups were built around existing friendship groups. Ten videos were produced in this class, of which four were chosen for further analysis, because they had the most complete record from paper planning through to final version and post-production interview (See data analysis in Chapter 5).

The time of year, the summer term, was chosen to ensure maximum freedom to explore different forms of curriculum organisation, without the constraints set up by subject boundaries. The children had just completed their final SATS (Standardised Assessment Tasks and Tests) and were beginning to be engaged on projects associated with the period between the end of primary school and the beginning of secondary school – a school journey, cycling proficiency test and a leavers' show. The video project fitted into this set of activities and the consequent greater flexibility in timing of the school day meant that the children had greater ownership of the project. This allowed the locus of control of the work to be moved closer to them than their usual curriculum activity: as has been seen, this was a central aspect of the research.

The timescale in the study was, however, relatively short and the pace was fast. Only 12 days spread through second half of the summer term were available (and, as it turned out, two of these were lost). During this time the children were expected to write, direct and produce their videos, the brief for which is described in detail below. The staffing for the project was limited to the classteacher and the researcher, with occasional input from outside. In the final stages, interviews with the children were conducted by a visiting teacher-researcher who was unknown to the children.

In terms of hardware, the children had access to three digital video cameras and three laptops. Once the project was up and running, groups could be at different stages with shooting material going on alongside editing. Once the filming was completed, material was copied to the laptops. The software which they used had a simple interface[21] but was powerful enough to give them control over many aspects of the finished work, including:

- The ordering of the clips they had filmed
- The transition between the clips
- The use of sound recorded by the camera
- The use of narrative added later
- The soundtrack
- The titling (including the use of visual effects)

The content of the videos was intended to have significance and authenticity for the children. For this reason, the brief given to them was to make a video about their time at the school in any form which they felt to be appropriate. It could consist of a series of memories, sketches, and interviews with former teachers, interviews with friends or younger children, drama activities, dances, or talking about site-specific scenes around the school. As it happened, the school itself was undergoing change through major building work and the suggestion was given that they might like to record spaces in which they had spent time before they were changed.

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[21] *In both project schools the software used was Pinnacle Studio, in version 8 at the time, running on PC laptops using the Windows XP Professional operating system*

For a variety of reasons to do with local geography and the proximity of several council boundaries, children in this school leave and are distributed widely amongst several different secondary schools. Given the fact that it was the last time that these children were going to work together on a project, an additional authentic imperative of celebrating and commemorating time, place, friendship and identity was formed.

A time limit of around 3 - 5 minutes for each video production was given, although arguments were made by the children for quite liberal interpretations of this arrangement. The outcome was to be a video copied on to VHS tape or DVD for them to keep in order to remember their time at the school. The children took the decision early on to have a compilation video of all the work so that they could remember their friends. The deadline was the last day of term with the video to be presented as a leavers' present and taken home with a personalised cover design and class list included.

The intention was to use the range of possible formats and set this against limitations of time and access to equipment. The children were to be motivated by working without major constraints on the content of their productions but were, at the same time, to be aware of the need to remain focused and organised in their learning about and working with the hardware and the software.

The children were asked to plot their approaches to the suggested project in the form of a mind map on A3 paper, recording as much of what they thought they knew along with what they had to do to make the project succeed. The use of such maps is gaining ground in the study of ICT in Education, particularly in the light of the vast amount of information gained through the concept maps generated in the IMPACT2 project (Mavers, Somekh and Restorick, 2002). The maps were used as the starting point and information was then transferred to other linear formats in order to aid logistical arrangements and reinforce the idea that planning was needed as a starting point for a successful outcome (although deviations from the plan and improvisation were expected to play a large part as well).

During the day, the working method was to meet regularly as a class and consider where they were up to. The interactive whiteboard was used to display work-in-progress, to share opinions and to suggest ways forward for each other. This became a key site for peer influence, as will be discussed later.

An initial session was held for each group where they played for an extended time with the camera, learning how to use it at a basic level as well as how to share the equipment safely with each other, use the tripod and so on.

Similarly, when the editing was in progress the children were given one initial whole class session in front of the interactive whiteboard. They were shown how to import clips from the digital video camera, how to edit the individual scenes within clips and how to add sound. This last feature became very important and many of the children used music to introduce new layers of complexity into the representation of their identity and relationships. This aspect became a feature of the analysis, as will be seen in Chapters 5 and 6.

School B

School B had many similarities to school A. It was a mixed gender, non-denominational community primary school with 430 children on roll, situated in an area of mixed social housing but also close to an area of very expensive housing. Around 2% of children have statements of SEN with a further 15% on the SEN register. Nearly a quarter of children are eligible for free school meals. Around 15% of pupils speak English as an additional language with about the same number from different ethnic backgrounds having English as the main language. The school achieves well above local and national average SAT results with a value added score of 93% reported in 2005.

The children in the two videos drawn from school B were members of a nurture group, a Friday afternoon off –timetable activity for children with certain special educational needs. Within the system in place at the time in England, these children were recorded as being at "school action" level (see DFES, 2001, section 5:43). That is, interventions were designed within the framework of the school, funded by the school and provided by the school. A specially trained learning support assistant worked on Fridays with them on issues to do with their relationships with other children. The 12 children, drawn from throughout the key stage 2 age range (aged from 8 to 11 years) had difficulties in dealing with the formal activities in the curriculum at the school. They were unable to take a full part in the daily subjects of literacy and numeracy in the morning and science and arts activities in the afternoon. They behaved in a disruptive manner or in a mute, withdrawn manner. As a result many of them were often in trouble, excluded from activities and generally marginalised within the school community.

The video project was designed with a flexible framework, as in school A, allowing a degree of authorial freedom as an indicator for successful pedagogical design and one in which the rhetorics of "learner voice" and "creativity with new technology" could be used as touchstones for analysis (amongst others previously described).

The children were invited to make a video in any genre which told a future audience something about themselves and about their school. The language used was similar to the brief for school A. In both cases, the children knew from the outset that they would be making a video about themselves and their relationship with the school which consisted of a series of memories, sketches, interviews with friends or younger children, drama activities, dances and talking about site-specific scenes around the school.

The sequence of events at school B in the sessions was similar to that of the experience in school A, namely:

- An introduction to the project and the overall brief
- An introduction to the camera, basic technical functions and care of the equipment
- "Digital scribbling" – play and exploration, with every member of the group having some time behind the camera, some time directing and some time in front of the camera
- Looking back at the scribbles, using the sidebar on the camera and projecting
- Sharing ideas, writing first impressions and ideas

- Filming in groups around the school
- An introduction to the editing software, using the projector and interactive whiteboard to share the experience
- Editing at the laptops
- Adding music from home
- Editing
- Completing the work and burning to DVD

In school B the videos were rendered, compiled onto DVD and copied in time for the screening and party for parents and carers in a final session, shortly after a school holiday.

4.6 Ethical issues

The research was undertaken in accordance with the guidelines published by the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2004). The most salient issues, given the age of the participants and the fact that they were making moving digital images of themselves and friends, were those of informed consent and safety of materials produced afterwards. In particular, in the consent letters to parents and carers, and in discussions with School A and School B, the following issues were made clear:

1. The material was produced and owned by the children;
2. The only electronic copies of the work were held by the principal researcher;
3. Afterwards, each child would receive one copy of a compilation of all the videos on VHS or DVD, with the school receiving a library copy;
4. There would be no online posting of any videos in either insecure or secure spaces (this work pre-dated the wider emergence of YouTube as a global media publishing and sharing site but anticipated its potential ethical impact);
5. Research publications arising from the projects would contain pseudonymised references to the children;
6. The videos would be used only for research and teaching purposes within the institution currently employing the principal researcher.

All adults involved in any aspect of the day-to-day running of the project (including the principal researcher) were experienced primary school teachers, lecturers and mentors with clearance from the school to work with the children. All were sensitive to the working environment and to the care and safety of the children involved at all times. There were no incidents causing problems of a health and safety nature at any time in either school.

There were no objections from parents of any participants. There were successful screenings of the work held in school A (work-in-progress during an exhibition of work after the leavers' concert) and school B (a film festival for parents and carers in a community room). The children from both schools have subsequently all left the primary phase and are in a number of different secondary schools or colleges in South London and elsewhere. They have no formal connection remaining to either school and cannot be easily traced by reference to any of the extant video material.

4.6 Reflections on methodology

The data generated for the study came from the productions themselves, from observation notes and from semi-structured interviews with the children. The trail through from initial brief, planning, storyboarding and logging alongside the videos themselves provided a rich source of primary data.

For both schools the analysis draws on substantial background knowledge of each setting. Both school A and school B were situated close to where I live and in both schools there were sometimes placements for the students I was working with in initial teacher education at the time. I also knew School A as a parent of two children there and as a school governor. This kind of knowledge enabled richer accounts of the settings which further enabled deeper analysis, particularly in respect of the aspects of identity revealed in production.

The interview transcriptions and analysis of the videos allowed for triangulation of the events and any emergent hypotheses. Where there were breaks in this chain, where events did not unfold as expected, the data analysis reflects this and leaves open several issues to be taken up in discussion across all the projects in Chapter 6. Chapter 5 which follows, reports in detail on six video productions across school A and school B.

Chapter 5 Analysis

There are six sets of data presented in this chapter, drawn from across two projects, as outlined in the methodology sections in Chapter 4 above. Each set comprises the videos made for the respective projects in school A and school B, the video interviews and any relevant written evidence necessary to illuminate particular features of the work. School A forms the first part of the analysis with four of the video pieces under discussion. Two videos from School B complete the selection in this chapter. In total, there were ten videos produced at school A and four at school B. The reasons for the selections made from the datasets were that these videos represented the most complete trails from initial ideas, through video production to exhibition, including all the paperwork and triangulated interviews.

The nature of the analysis and the range of tools used for it are predicated on a critical interrogation of the work with the aim of avoiding a celebratory mode. Each facet revealed within the analysis raises issues which are taken forward in discussion. Some of these are challenging in their implications for both curriculum development and innovation.

All of the videos have been analysed using the framework outlined in the methodology section and derived from the theoretical resources explored. However, in order to provide coherence in the theory which emerges from the data as a whole, each video represents a particular strand in the overall argument. In this the analysis follows what Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) call the *"theory generating structure"*, which follows a set of theoretical constructs or a case that is being made. Following Robson (2002) they suggest that in this form of research:

> "... each succeeding section of the study contributes to, or constitutes an element of a developing "theoretical formulation" providing a link in the chain of argument, leading eventually to the overall theoretical formulation."
> (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007, p.263)

This does not mean that other aspects of the work are not touched upon, merely that the emphasis in each piece of analysis supports the wider argument in the order of the theory chapter. The strands are brought together later Chapters 6 and 7, the Discussion and Conclusion.

The videos are presented in the following order, with the following initial foci, remembering that the overarching theoretical issues are linked more closely in the conclusion and discussion in chapters 6 and 7:

> *5.1 Right, let's get on with the show*, featuring two boys from school A, with a focus on media literacy issues;
> *5.2 This is where we always used to sit,* featuring two girls from school A, with a focus on issues relating to identity;
> *5.3 Do not try this at home,* featuring four girls from school A, with a focus on play with media technology;
> *5.4 Me and him are close and everyt'ing,* featuring mainly the work of a mixed gender group of four children from school A, with a focus on issues around performance, friendship and social identity;
> 5.5 *Sorry for that disturbance*, featuring two girls and a boy from school B and mainly focusing on authenticity and learner voice;
> 5.6 *007 meets Dr X, King Arthur and a news reporter*, featuring two boys and a girl at school B and focusing on issues around play, creativity and coherence

5.1 "Right let's get on with the show..."

Introducing Raymond and Keiron

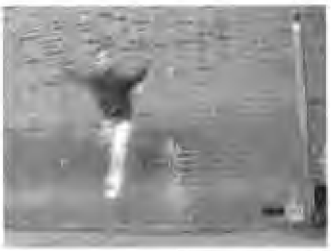
Two boys in the class made a video which was exceptional in terms of its impact and lasting impression on the children, other adults and the many students who have encountered it. The opening is described in the first chapter of the thesis. Their production is a collage of fragments of parody and media reference, combined with allusions to memory. Constructed from the planning, as will be seen, it was realised as a response to the task in which the boys took ownership of the project entirely. There was no interference from adults during its creation.

Keiron and Raymond formed a close partnership within the group. They were not the quietest children in the class but they were by no means the noisiest or most disruptive. Their friendship was a mutual support system based as much on in-jokes and references to wider popular culture as it was on shared memory and shared locative experience. As will be seen in the following section, they approached the self-representational task and produced a video which drew on aspects of memory but, more than that, on shared cultural reference points, re-purposing and re-working media references through parody and direct appropriation. In this, they reflected their roles within the group as "class comedians" (as reported by the class teacher and head teacher at the school and confirmed by personal knowledge of the class).

Table 2: Raymond and Keiron's video: scene by scene

Scene and timing	**1 00:00:00 - 00:14:14**	**2 0:00:14:15 – 0:0045:05**	**3 00:00:55 - 00:01:27**
Scene description	Establishing shot	"Blues" performance	This brings back…memories
Typology within movie	Foreshortening joke	Parodic performance	Parody of reminiscence
Memories, references	Playground	Place in school	Side by side in the shelter
Genre / direct media references	Practical joking - idea from You've been framed	Multi-layered - See full description in text	Interviews of people in documentaries
Camera work / technical	Handheld - Perfectly aligned and presented	Mid shot, two-shot on tripod	Two shot, on tripod framing wider view of field beyond
Sound	Speech/ diegetic sound	Singing/ diegetic sound	Speech/ diegetic sound

Scene and timing	**4 0:00:52:00 – 0:00:58:21**	**5 0:00:58:21 – 0:01:18:00**	**6 0:01:18:00 - 0:01:31:00**
Scene description	Football / breaking window	Interior "fight" with gorilla	Interior – basketball scene
Typology within movie	Comedy sketch	Foreshortening joke echoing scene 1	Practical joking/memory
Memories, references	Faked memory of window breaking	Documents interior of school	Memory of regular events – playing
Genre / direct media references	Practical joking, children's school TV drama	Practical joking - idea from You've been framed	Practical joking videos
Camera work / technical	Long shot / edited sound of breaking glass – non-diegetic	Handheld - Perfectly aligned and presented – sound added	Long shot - tripod
Sound	Speech/ non-diegetic sound – audio effect of breaking glass	Speech/ non-diegetic sound – audio effect of punching	Non-diegetic sound: Red Hot Chili Peppers extract

			
Scene and timing	**7 0:01:31:00 – 0:02:19:00**	**8 0:02:19:00 – 0:02:53:00**	**9 0:02:53:00 – 0:03:01:00**
Scene description	"Johnny Vaughn" show	Parodic sequences/clips of children	Faked out take sequence
Typology within movie	Parody of TV chat show	Parody, media references	Location description
Memories, references	Media references discussed below	Memory of class, playground jokes	Refers to production itself
Genre / direct media references	TV chat show, camera personified	Films, such as the Matrix, title sequences	Outtakes as common material of media presentation
Camera work / technical	Handheld, part of the visual humour of the scene	Various, montage editing	Mid shot - tripod
Sound	Speech/ diegetic sound	Speech/ diegetic sound/non-diegetic sound: extract from the White Stripes	Speech/ diegetic sound

	Mrs browne for letting us do This
Scene and timing	**10** 00:03:53 -00:04:32
Scene description	End title sequence
Typology within movie	Parody / play
Memories, references	Friendship
Genre / direct media references	End title sequence from another movie
Camera work / technical	Two-shot into long shot and then extreme close - up
Sound	Non-diegetic: Extract from Red Hot Chili Peppers

Raymond and Keiron's storyboard

In all the projects in the study the teachers were pleased to see a written or drawn element and the children, given the plethora of worksheets and tests in schools, were also on familiar territory sitting in front of a sheet of paper which required them to fill in information. So in one sense the use of the storyboards and the logbooks played along with the prevalent classroom models and the need to devise tasks which enabled children to be writing and busy. They also had the function of helping to understand the need to plan and to lay out work in progress, particularly when time with equipment is at a premium. The equipment in the project in question was shared between groups and time was short.

As it happened, Raymond and Keiron produced a planning sheet which was detailed enough to allow for them to be accurate in setting out their key scenes, in estimating their needs and the time that would be taken in shooting them. However, the sheet did not represent a reductive and rigid model for their production which left no room for improvisation. As will be seen from the interview data, the longest scene, the "Johnny Vaughn" sequence, took one of the boys by surprise and emerged spontaneously.

Even so, an examination of the storyboard does reveal how the production as a whole was conceived as a finished piece, with all of the major comedic and parodic scenes in evidence. It is very different to others, as will be seen subsequently, in its detailed use of the timeline, paying specific attention to the music to be used. The boys were thinking from the beginning about the different resources and modalities in production which were available to them and what potential they had for realising their vision of themselves at that particular moment in time.

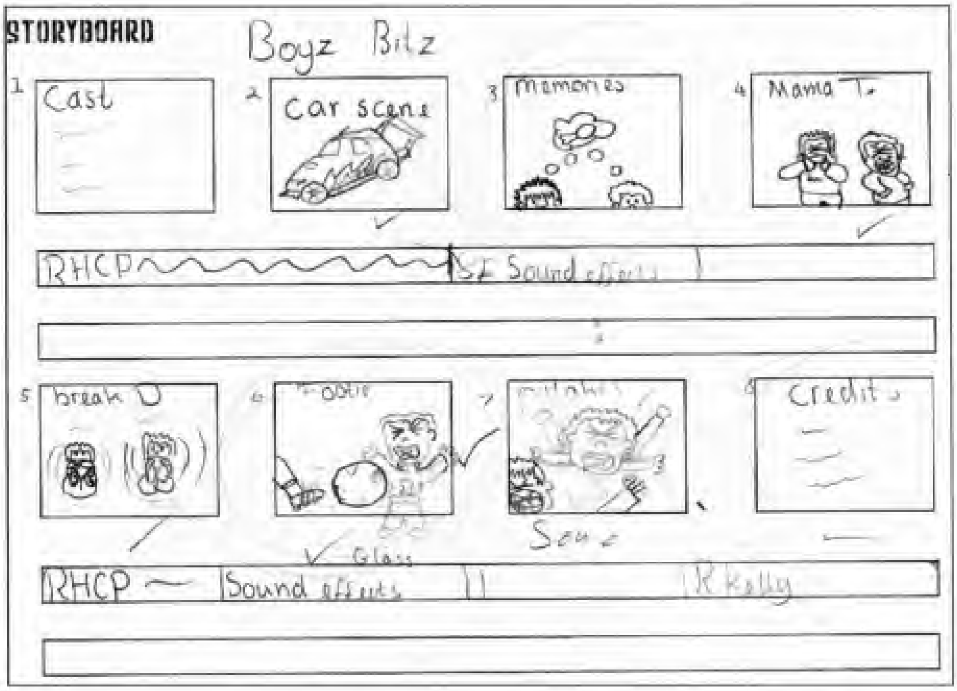


Fig.11 Raymond and Keiron’s storyboard

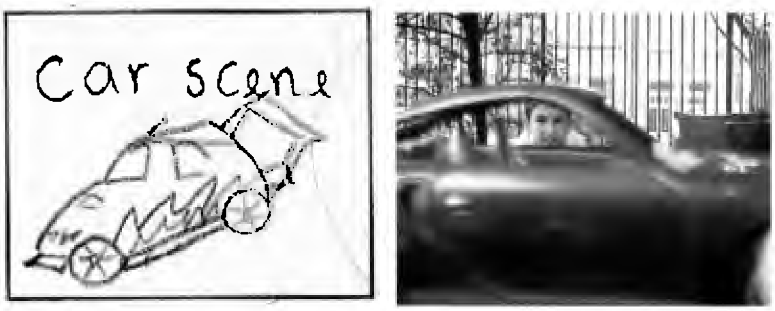
Raymond and Keiron’s storyboard, shown in Fig. 11 above, represented the most accurate of all the groups in its relation to the finished outcome, with Katie and Aroti’s a close second, as will be seen in section 5.2. A key element here is the awareness of form, and of the need to entertain as well as inform. The boys’ production faces outwards towards an audience expecting to be entertained by two boys who, as classroom jokers and defusers of situations would be expected to take the viewer through several media references and parodies.

The storyboard signals awareness of form with the first and last boxes indicating the need for titling. In between the opening and closing credits, the storyboard plans for the car scene, the memories sequence, the blues singing (which a viewer may assume to have been improvised but which was included with some detailed and serious purpose exploring the multimodal affordances of the medium), the breakdancing, football and, finally, outtakes. The scenes which were added later fit with the overall intention, to provide entertainment, parody and visual jokes. Thus the foreshortening joke was added with the gorilla at the production stage. The scene with the chat show host was improvised and added afterwards (a version of, at the time, TV presenter Johnny Vaughan). And, unlike Aroti and Katie, the boys allow outsiders from amongst the peer group to appear and be named onscreen with the addition of class members during the breakdancing and special effects parodies. These three differences aside, the storyboard which they produced was largely adhered to, if slightly altered in the running order.

It is possible to see that the storyboard was a working document and important in shaping the production. The ticks under the pictures do not indicate a teacher intervening in the process. As noted previously, no adults marked the storyboards; they were considered to be working documents owned by the producers. The ticking was added by the boys when the various scenes were filmed.

Aside from the drawings, the boys made use of the lines underneath the boxes to outline sounds which they needed. "RHCP" on the top left stands for the American band the Red Hot Chili Peppers of whom the two boys were avid fans. More on the use of this particular musical form follows in later sections. At this stage, as can be seen under the final box, the boys also intended to use R.Kelly who had a very big hit that summer which was heavily quoted in other videos. They dropped that as an idea, preferring to use their own musical preferences as markers in particular ways (see below). The other sound identified under from the box labelled "Footie" was to be added from the audio library within the editing software itself. This was the breaking glass in the sequence where the boys pretend to kick a football through a window.

The style of the drawing is detailed and careful with the framing serving as an almost exact map for the framing used with the camera when the production was underway. The car is drawn with a rear spoiler as in a real Porsche Boxster. It is presented in the frame in a similar way to its appearance in the production (rotated through 180 degrees). The box is labelled "Car scene" as a marker (see Figs. 12a and 12b below).



Figs.12a & b Storyboard extract and corresponding opening image in Raymond and Keiron's video

It wasn't until later viewing that the meaning of the frame labelled "Mama T" became apparent, as a reference to the song "Mama took those batteries away" (see discussion below). The framing in the storyboard is identical to the finished version with the boys' pretend harmonica playing and serious furrowing of their brows criterial to their acting the part of serious blues singers. Side by side with the frame from the movie they look like this (see Figs. 13a and 13b below)

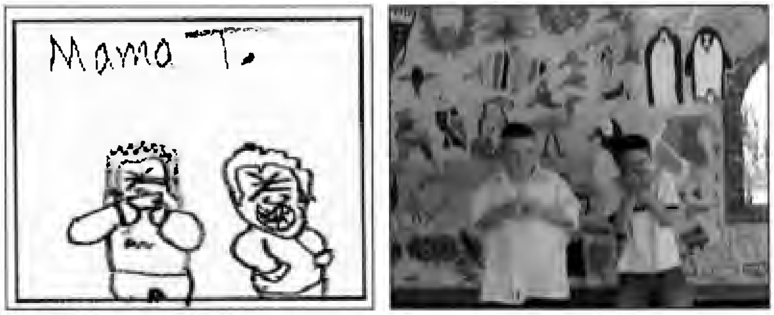


Fig. 13a & b Mama T. scene in the storyboard and in Raymond and Keiron's video

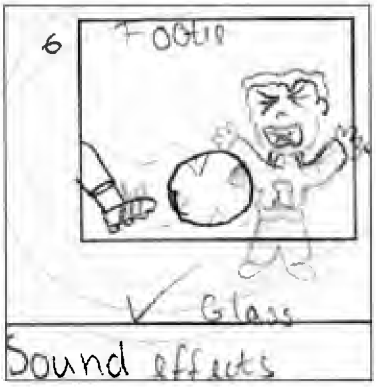


Fig. 14 Raymond and Keiron storyboard extract – breaking glass

The drawing of the scene (in Fig. 14 above) with the word "Footie" above it escapes the frame and joins the text of the sound effect required – "Glass". The boys are joining the two modes in the planning, underlining and enjoying the effect that will be produced in advance. The expression on the face was not captured in the production but the effect was the same, that of a moment of chaos for which they would surely be in trouble. This picture most strongly echoes the overwhelming mood of the video and the misbehaviour outlined within it, that of the kind of anarchy in comics like "the Beano"[22]. You can also see clearly in this illustration, the tick which indicated that this scene had been filmed, using the boys' own meticulous record keeping system.

The outtakes were planned from the start because all movies were seen as having outtakes. This was at a time when a number of productions included them just before, or during, the end title sequence. The boys indicated on the planning sheet their intention to include these extras within their own video. The drawing shows a close up on the two faces which was not actually achieved in the final shot. The boys clearly made use of it as a marker for their dispute which actually involved Keiron trying to pull off Raymond's hat (see Figs. 15a & b below).

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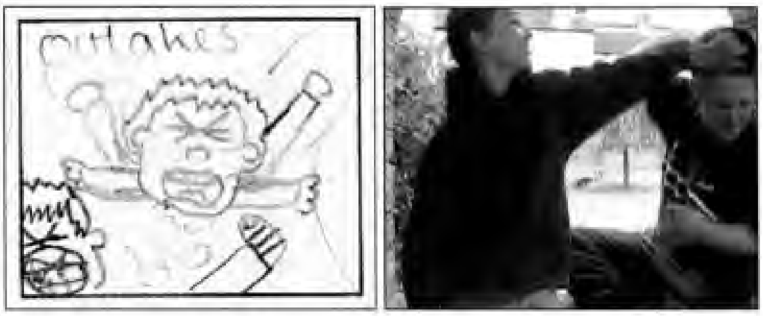
[22] *"The Beano" is a long running weekly children's comic published in the UK since 1938 (source: http://www.dcthomson.co.uk/ [access date 29.09.08)*



Figs. 15a & b "Outtakes" on the storyboard and in the video by Raymond and Keiron

Media literacy: reshaping known media assets in the service of personal representation

Raymond and Keiron's video drew on a wide range of reference points which dipped freely into and out of popular media culture (The Matrix movie, the Johnny Vaughan TV show, the music of the White Stripes and so on) as well as to reference points from their own past (a previous school assembly, their role in the class as comedians and so on).

Scene 1 – "That's a lovely Porsche Boxster" 00:00:00 - 00:14:14

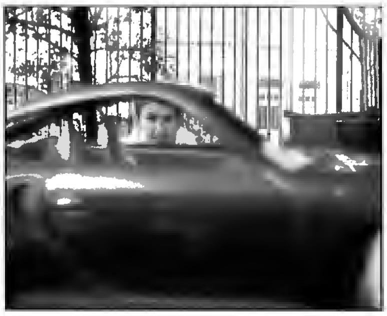


Fig.16 Opening shot of Raymond and Keiron's video

In the opening shot, seen in Fig.16 above, Keiron is some distance away from the camera but apparently sitting in the driving seat of a car and being questioned about it, where he got it from and how much he paid for it. From behind the camera, Raymond asks him for the details, gets an answer, moves the car and it is revealed as a toy being held up to the camera. The dialogue runs as follows:

> Raymond (Behind the camera) Hello Keiron
> Keiron Oh hello Raymond
> Raymond Oh That's a lovely Porsche Boxster

Keiron It's beautiful innit? Beautiful...
Raymond How much was it?
Keiron About three quid
Raymond Where'd ye get it?
Keiron Round the sweetshop (pause to deliver the punchline)...it's a fakey...
Raymond No – eeeeergh (Makes car skidding noise and pulls it away from the camera, revealing Keiron standing by the school fence)

The opening 14 seconds establish the tone and structure of the whole production. It is a striking and funny scene which announces the main themes of the text. It makes explicit the idea that Raymond and Keiron are going to be performing fully in their socially constructed role as class comedians. It is clear from the opening shot that they wish to manipulate the medium in such a way that they are represented "in role", using their last opportunity to make a statement about their time at the school.

As revealed later in an interview with the two boys, the foreshortening joke comes from the popular TV show "You've Been Framed" which features accidents, jokes and stunts recorded by members of the public. In fact, so certain were they that this joke would work, they planned to use this technique again at a later stage in the video (see below in scenes 5a and 5b).

By the close of the opening scene, we have information about the order of discourses within which meaning will be made. The audience knows that Raymond and Keiron will be playing themselves as the class knows them, driving the project forward with pace and with humour. They also know that they will use models drawn from media culture (the foreshortening joke and also the satirical take on the interview to camera). At the same time the roles of the two protagonists in relation to each other have been delineated. Keiron is in shot but some distance away. Raymond is behind the camera but his voice is louder. The fact that he is not in shot is compensated for by the status conferred on him as interviewer and director and announced by the louder voice. These roles, as will be seen, were to be reversed in the fifth scene of the project.

Scene 2: "Mama took those batteries" –0:00:14:15 – 0:0045:05

The second scene sees the boys positioned side by side in the centre of the shot in front of a mural at the school. This scene operates at many different levels and in many different modes, related to the discourses within which they occur. Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen define discourse, in a similar way to Fairclough (discussed earlier in Chapter 3), as "socially constructed knowledges of (some aspect of) reality" (2001, p. 4). The discourses in this scene are rooted specifically in the shared knowledge and cultural experience of Raymond and Keiron's class inside and outside school. Not only do they tap into the shared experience of past events in the school but also they cast the net of references into the shared cultural experience of an episode of the Simpsons. Both are significant to members of the immediate audience for the piece and both are interwoven to produce the meaning required for this particular project.

Firstly, in terms of reference to the shared cultural history of the class, in an earlier year group, year 4, Raymond and Keiron had performed a song together which remained part of the folklore of the class. It was well known as a shared memory and occurred in the earliest draft of their linear plan for inclusion in the video (see the fourth frame in the storyboard in the section above). The choice of situation, in front of a mural painted by the class in an earlier year was also a signifier recalling times gone by.

In terms of shared experience of media culture, the song also happened to be their own version of a blues song composed in "the Simpsons" by Bart Simpson in which he protested at his mother, Marge, removing his computer game batteries. This became "Mama took those batteries" instead of "Marge took those batteries". In this class, as in many others, the Simpsons were something of a touchstone and much of the children's play referred to episodes from the series.

This easy manipulation of reference points from their own past and their own media experiences was typical of their piece and added a further layer of structural complexity. They knew that their audience would be able to recognise both in what they had done. They were in a video in year 6, in front of a mural they had painted in year 2 performing a song they had performed in year 4. In a few seconds of screen time, four years of their primary school life were represented.

There is a further mode to consider which helped to define the position of the boys in relation to class members. Not only were they two of the acknowledged comedians in the class, they also had their own musical choices to make. The musical form chosen by the boys for their song in the video – and in year 4 - was the 12-bar blues, complete with a mimed harmonica part. This chimed in with their choice of music for the soundtrack and was a powerful indicator of their individuality. This form of music was, perhaps, also considered by the boys as being somehow adult, or semi-adult, in nature and, as well as demarcating them from the remainder of the class, suggested an "otherness" in terms of style and outlook. By far the majority of the class were interested in more familiar pop music. The hit of the summer was by R Kelly (Ignition – Remix) and was featured in all but a few of the other video clips. If they dipped at all into the past, the other videos borrowed a few seconds here and there from Michael Jackson. Raymond and Keiron's musical choices at this point and elsewhere reflected their "otherness" both in approach and choice of soundtrack. "Mama took those batteries" was the first white pop blues on the soundtrack and it was to be followed later by borrowings from CDs by the "Red Hot Chilli Peppers" and "the White Stripes".

Scene 3: "This brings back a lot of memories" –0:00:45:06 – 0:00:52:00

A scene which lasts seven seconds follows the blues song. Up to this point, Raymond and Keiron had signalled that they were going to play with the format, that they were going to use it to express cultural differences and create resonances with shared discourses within the class. In this very short segment, they show that they are also capable of gently mocking the whole process of the video itself. They sit by the mural in a window seat. Both boys, but with Raymond dominant on the soundtrack, put on the voice of an elderly person saying, "this brings back a lot of memories". This bridging sequence is significant with both of them in shot and both of them clearly in control. They seek to bridge the gap between themselves and the overarching purpose of the video piece. By mocking the whole process of making memories in this way, on camera, they assert their control of the whole authoring process. They further indicate their participation in, yet separateness from, the rest of the class.

Scene 4: Breaking the window –0:00:52:00 – 0:00:58:21

This scene shows both boys playing football in the middle foreground and appearing to break a window. Raymond, with his back to the camera, passes the ball to Keiron who kicks it out of the shot and to the right. The sound of the breaking glass was added from the software library. The boys then both run away.

This episode has several reference points. The preferred activity of all the boys and many of the girls in the class was playing football in the area shown. Placing themselves in that place at the heart of the video underlines their place in that class at that particular moment.

However, they are operating within their own previously announced constructed roles of class comedians. The visual gag that they represent is the breaking of the glass out of camera shot. It recalls a kind of humour which belongs in an earlier era, from "the Beano" or other popular but anachronistic comic reference points, a little like their preference for older musical forms.

The measurement of the breaking glass onto precisely the right point on the soundtrack raises the question of how the possibilities of the technology might have directed and affected the outcome. Both boys are taking part in a project which has allowed an editing suite to be created in their classroom. The normal curriculum is suspended and they can spend time working on their finished video. They know that there are possibilities within the software which will allow them to generate events "after the event". This is what they have done in "breaking the glass". We can see from the first minute that the two boys able to control and assemble their work in a variety of styles in a range of modalities.

Scene 5a and 5b: Show off – the gorilla fight - 0:00:58:21 – 0:01:18:00

In this Scene Raymond fights with a toy gorilla and the foreshortening joke is revisited (see figure 4). Keiron holds a toy gorilla in front of the camera in the foreground of the shot. Raymond stands at the back of the hall appearing to be hit by the gorilla and hitting it back. Effects were added live (Keiron's fighting noises into the camera microphone) and afterwards (a sharp blow, added from the software library, again the boys realising their decisions by looking in the library of possibilities within the software).

For this sequence, as noted above, the roles are reversed. There is an interesting counterpoint to the allocation of roles in scene one. Keiron is behind the camera and Raymond is in front of it. Keiron gets to make the comment in the final section of the scene. He reveals the joke by throwing the gorilla the length of the hall and calling out "Show off!" to Raymond who makes a comedy fall.

Scene 6: Basketball, break dancing and hall sequence with soundtrack 0:01:18:00 - 0:01:31:00

The opening of this scene provides a graphical match with Keiron spinning on his back directly from the fade out of Raymond spinning on his back in the previous scene.

This scene, taken directly from the planning, incorporates breakdancing and basketball moves. Many of the videos, particularly from the boys, featured these cultural reference points, alongside football and R Carey. However, the choice of the music was, again, distinct, drawing not from the expected tradition (hip hop, rap etc.) but from the boys' preferred musical form – the white pop blues – as espoused by the Red Hot Chilli Peppers (see the note of this in the original planning in figure 1 – the music being shown as RHCP).

Scene 7: **Johnny Vaughan Show 0:01:31:00 – 0:02:19:00**

A long "Johnny Vaughan" interview follows with Raymond slipping between a straightforward impersonation and a variety of accents. The whole scene is ad-libbed between the two performers (both commenting "I didn't know you was going to do that..." in interviews afterwards). This scene is also notable in the light of comments later in the interviews about how the camera "gives you ideas". At one point the camera adopts the persona of Donald Duck and nods at the interviewer. In this case the camera appears to be a character in the video itself. It is almost as though it was interjecting itself into the process, freeing the boys to improvise within the overall construction (see reflections on the interview with the boys in the following section below).

During this scene Raymond and Keiron maintained their place in the discourses established in the previous settings and discussed above (summarised perhaps as media-aware class comedians). The range of accents used by Raymond, slipping from a South London accent into a kind of Irish accent, draws on the seamless shifting of roles in playground discourse. It also references presenters who slip between roles in popular television programmes, featuring, for example, impressionists such as Alistair McGowan (featured at the time in the UK on BBC TV). Their role in the social discourse of the class is explored in the closing of this scene by Raymond attacking the camera who he says is "blanking" him. Sometimes disputes are solved in this way in the playground and this reference point was particularly strong with the audience of the boys' peers.

Scene 8: **White Stripes Video: The Matrix, titles, glimpses of classmates 0:02:19:00 – 0:02:53:00**

This scene adopts a different form, that of the music video (employing the more fashionable blues of The White Stripes: 7 Nation Army). Small segments of clips filmed around the classroom and school appear with the action soundtracked throughout. This is the first time that the boys choose to write on screen, naming some of their classmates and the classteacher.

This is also significant as the first time that they appear as 'themselves'. They are on the soundtrack, captured on the camera microphone in a separate sound file cheering and celebrating Keiron's version of the Matrix. In this most extreme reference to popular culture (mimicking the special effects from the Matrix at a fraction of the cost, by Keiron running up a wall), they choose to present themselves to the audience as knowing auteurs. They emphasise their "otherness" again accompanied by the music of the White Stripes.

Scene 9: This brings back a lot of memories: Out-take sequence 0:02:53:00 – 0:03:01:00

Raymond and Keiron made virtually no mistakes in any takes. Yet they were anxious to honour the tradition of the out-take, which is often added to the ends of videos and tacked onto DVDs. At this level they were at one with the discourse of popular culture. They filmed a number of different versions of this scene but decided to incorporate Keiron getting the voicing of the line "wrong" when he says: "This brings back a lot of memories." This recalls the third scene above and recapitulates all of the previously discussed elements, particularly the "otherness" the boys feel. They proceed to play fight on camera and there is a fade to the end title sequence.

Scene 10: Can't stop - End title sequence 0:03:01:00 – 0:03:35:00

This scene references the ending of the film "Dumb and Dumber" where the two characters walk away from the camera, pushing each other as they go. They disappear out of shot and then reappear running back towards the camera with a few seconds from "Can't Stop" by the Red Hot Chilli Peppers playing. The titles run through almost the whole of this scene and thank the teacher and the project co-ordinator "For letting us do this". The concession to permission having been granted for the boys to play and experiment in an otherwise structured and prescribed setting is revealing and sets the video apart from the world of the normal classroom. The locus of control has shifted towards the learners and they recognise that they have been given power and responsibility in their roles as writers and directors. As the introduction finishes and the first words of the song are sung, the video ends. This ending is placed right on "Can't stop" and is the last of a series of perfectly timed visual jokes.

They stop, and the whole video ends, just as the lead vocal sings, “Can’t stop” (see the illustration of the final frame in the analysis chart).

An interview with the producer-directors

The careful planning on paper discussed in section 5.3.3 above, alongside the awareness of media production issues around the use of sound and framing, marked Raymond and Keiron out as media-savvy producers before they even used the camera or the editing software. This apparently innate ability with quotation and re-purposing of popular media was explored in the interview afterwards. The confidence in their ability carried over into the conversation with the researcher where the boys slipped in and out of role as successful video directors, assuming the gestures and mannerisms of Oscar winners being interviewed by Jonathan Ross. They were acutely aware of the camera and that they were in fact still performing and played up to it accordingly. This was particularly true of Raymond while Keiron at least attempted to answer the questions with a degree of seriousness.

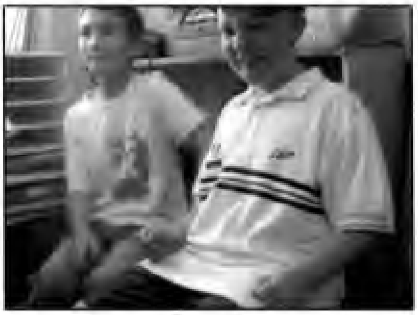


Fig. 17 Raymond winks at the camera during the interview about their video

The boys sit side by side with the interviewer out of shot. As they settle themselves into the chairs and into the situation, Raymond looks straight at the camera and winks at it (see Fig. 17 above). Keiron, only too aware that this has happened, bites his lip and tries to keep a straight face. Throughout the interview Raymond engages with the interviewer and Keiron half turns towards Raymond. This assertiveness and presentation of themselves as comedic and playful, yet open to questions, contrasts with the same interview with Aroti discussed later in this chapter. Although she was not unhappy to take part, it was harder work asking her to talk about such an essentially personal project. Raymond and Keiron were, on the other hand, willing and able to expand upon their feelings about the project and talk in the role of directors about their methods and inspirations, in particular their quotations and stolen ideas from popular media. As they sit down they both signal their intentions, adopting American accents and saying “Well, alrighty then!” (appropriated from Jim Carrey). The mood of their video, irreverent, anarchic and playful, continues into the interview.

As with all the productions, the opening questions in the schedule covered overall enjoyment and levels of satisfaction with the project as a whole. In answer to this, Raymond and Keiron both assert that it was hard work. Yes, they enjoyed it but "I thought it was hard" (Keiron) and "I found it quite annoying" (Raymond). The engagement with the project was total from the two boys and it was not something they went into lightly, even though the light-hearted, anarchic and comedic results belie this seriousness.

The boys viewed video production as hard work, focusing, in particular, on the difficulties in editing the sound effects. Raymond uses gesture to underline this issue. "When you put in the sound effect (on the timeline) you have to put it right on the dot..." (points with left hand to imaginary timeline in the air, miming fixing a sound clip to an exact location in the edit).

Asked whether any of the films or TV shows they knew had provided them with ideas they responded with a detailed answer about ideas borrowed from the "weird" section of "You've been framed" and from the BBC show "The Big Impression" (featuring impressionist Alistair McGowan) for a "Johnny Vaughan" interview sequence. There followed a number of film references, including describing how, because Keiron had learnt to walk up the side of the school, they should include a sequence emulating Keanu Reeves in "the Matrix". Using the editing software they paused him in mid-air to create a parodic reference to Neo's abilities in the film. Other direct quotations from movies included the walking away from the camera play-fighting, borrowed from "Dumb and Dumber", a further comedic marker of identity within the class.

When they were asked about the importance of planning, the boys acknowledged that this too was a key element ("Cos if you didn't plan it, it would come out.. all rubbish"). They described the use of the storyboard sheets as being essential to the success of their production. This was not the case with very many of the other videos made. The close links between the drawn images and the final video were described above.

One of the most significant sequences in the interview is when the boys are asked about the use of the camera once they had started filming and whether or not they made any changes to their plans. At this stage they personify the camera and refer to it as being like a third party involved in the production.

> Keiron: It gives you ideas…in the end we had more ideas…
> Raymond: I don't know how you say it. It didn't like give us ideas like (pause) it talks to you …it gave us ideas like what you could do with it…
> Keiron: He changed his voice … I didn't even know you was going to do that …

The scene in question from their video is the interview sequence with Raymond performing as the interviewer in a range of accents, with the camera apparently personified as someone or something giving permission to improvise, as well as ideas for the direction of that improvisation. What seems to be important here is the notion that the activity itself became self-generating. Making the video helped to make the video. They confer agency on the camera in the exchange between themselves and the interviewer, and yet what they employ in the production itself is their own agency, released from other, more usual classroom tasks and subjects. As Keiron says near the beginning of the interview when discussing why the filming was the best part of the work, being active and mobile instead of passive and inert was the most important aspect: "Going round the school…instead of doing Maths and all that…".

Play, improvisation, doing "fun stuff like the gorilla attacks " (Raymond), any kind of action seems to be key in their reflection on the process. They are not drawn into a discussion of their friendship so much as the activity around their friendship and this emerges as a key gendered difference between their production and the girls'. For Aroti it was important to record their habitual, supportive, joint experiences of being together at school. For Keiron, it was natural to record some of the things he and Raymond had actually done together as real events "like in year 4 when we done the Mama took those batteries song…"

A further contrast with Aroti and Katie appears in an exchange about disagreements. The girls recorded no disagreements of any kind at any point. By contrast, the two boys disagreed "most of the time" (Raymond) and a degree of creative tension appears to have been present all along ("He was bugging me all the time – I want this and I want that" Keiron). Again, the dynamic between the two of them in production, the batting of ideas backwards and forwards seems to have been important.

5.2 "This is where we always used to sit"

Background

Katie and Aroti were two members of the class in School A, the first project school, who completed a video together. Their production, in common with all the "Children in Transition" project videos, was conceived as a commemorative piece for their time in primary school. Memories, interviews and locations were central to the plan from the beginning. Both children were quiet within the class and occasionally troubled by events in the classroom and playground. They were regarded by their peers as a couple of "loners" without a range of relationships to draw on. As a result of this withdrawal over time from the rest of the class, the opportunity to represent themselves and their time at primary school on video was dominated by scenes and constructs which would enable them to underline their bond with each other as it had been formed over time within the class. As will be seen in the scene-by-scene descriptions which follow, it became a tour around sites of personal, mutual significance in the school alongside interviews with important adult influences, interspersed with memories.

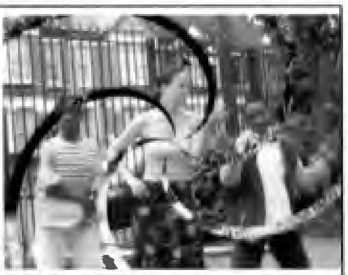
Katie and Aroti chose to put themselves into the frame in a variety of locations, talking to camera, quietly and quickly, making an effort to record secret places around the school which were of special significance to them. Despite working in close proximity to the two boys, Raymond and Keiron, seen in the previous section, who were sophisticated quoters and manipulators of media, they both resisted the opportunity to use media-referenced humour or visual jokes. The tone of the video, far from the jokey and parodic nature of some of the others, was, for the most part, serious and restrained. It did not have many camera or editorial tricks and neither did it make use of musical quotation, except at the close when the credits were running and a song from the boy-band Blue is quoted.

Table 3: Katie and Aroti's video: Scene by scene

Scene and timing	**1 00:00:00 - 00:00:19**	**2 00:00:19 - 00:00:54**	**3 00:00:55 - 00:01:27**
Scene description	Introduction –ext.	*MUSIC room – int.*	1st interview: Ms Carey
Element within video production	Location narrative	*Animation performance*	Interview
Memories, references	Memory of tree, reference to changes	*Place in school*	Memory of class with favourite former teacher
Genre / direct media references	Documentary style to camera, in answer to presumed but unheard questions	*Animated work from children's TV?*	Interviews on children's TV by presenters with clipboards
Camera work / technical	Long shot - to camera on tripod – poor audio	*Mid shot, handheld by visitor, zooming*	Mid-shot, handheld from person to person as they speak
Sound	Speech / diegetic sound	*Percussion instruments*	Speech / diegetic sound

Scene and timing	**4 00:01:28 – 00:01:55**	**5 00:01:56 – 00:02:24**	**6 00:02:29 - 00:02:29**
Scene description	Bench near science area	Bench in playground	Bridge in the playground
Element within video production	Location narrative	Location narrative	Location narrative
Memories, references	Memory of secretary	Memory of feelings	Memory of regular events – playing
Genre / direct media references	Documentary style to camera. in answer to presumed but unheard questions	Documentary style – personal to camera	Documentary style – personal to camera
Camera work / technical	Mid-shot, researcher directed by children	On tripod to camera, audio better	On tripod to camera, audio not good
Sound	Speech / diegetic sound	Speech / diegetic sound	Speech / diegetic sound

Scene and timing	**7 00:02:29 - 00:02:45**	**8 00:02:46 – 00:03:30**	9 00:03:31 – 00:03:52
Scene description	Bridge in the playground	2nd interview: Ms Black	Swing in back field
Element within video production	Location narrative	Interview	Location narrative
Memories, references	Memory of regular events – playing	Memory of class	Memories of play on the back field
Genre / direct media references	Documentary style – personal to camera	Interviews on children's TV by presenters with clipboards	Documentary / children's TV style
Camera work / technical	On tripod to camera, audio not good	On tripod to camera, audio not good	Long shot, poor focusing and audio
Sound	Speech / diegetic sound	Speech / diegetic sound	Speech / diegetic sound

			
Scene and timing	**10 00:03:53 -00:04:32**	**11 00:04:33 - 00:04:50**	**11-12 00:04:51 –00:04:53**
Scene description	3rd interview - Sabina	3rd interview contd.	Transitional dancing
Element within video production	Interview	Interview	Interlude (very brief)
Memories, references	Impressions of class and school by outsider	Impressions of class and school by outsider	Glimpse of other classmates for only 2 seconds
Genre / direct media references	Interview in more casual mode – Music TV?	Interview in more casual mode – Music TV?	Music video / children's TV
Camera work / technical	Two-shot interview, poor audio, ambient noise	Two-shot interview, poor audio, ambient noise	Spiral transition right through dancing
Sound	Speech / diegetic sound	Speech / diegetic sound	Speech / diegetic sound

Scene and timing	**12 00:04:54 –00:05:07**	**13 00:05:08 – 00:05:18**	**14 00:05:19 – 00:06:02**
Scene description	Katie by pond	Aroti – Hopscotch	4th interview Mrs A
Element within video production	Location narrative	Location narrative	Interview
Memories, references	Memory of catching tadpoles	Memory of finding something to do	Memory of class with favourite former teacher
Genre / direct media references	To nature TV – children's shows		Interviews on children's TV by presenters with clipboards
Camera work / technical	Hand held by partner	Hand held by partner	Mid-shot, handheld from person to person as they speak
Sound	Speech / diegetic sound	Speech / diegetic sound	Speech / diegetic sound

Scene and timing	**15 00:06:03 – 00:06:12**	**16 00:06:13 – 00:06:22**	**17 00:06:23 – 00:06:47**
Scene description	By the mural	Naming the halls	*End credits*
Element within video production	Location narrative	Location narrative	
Memories, references	Obliquely to the mural itself (cf Raymond and Keiron et al)	Memory of school before it changes	*In choice of music and lyrics – see discussion*
Genre / direct media references	Other videos being made?	Gestures indicate children's TV presenters	*Children's TV - balloons*
Camera work / technical	Long shot on tripod	Tripod use	*Library in software used*
Sound	Speech / diegetic sound	Speech / diegetic sound	*Non diegetic – extract from the title song from the "One Love" album by the boy band Blue*

Written and interview data

In addition to the video production itself, there were further datasets which were used to examine the production. Firstly, there were drawings and plans made by the girls before and during filming and, secondly, there was the semi-structured interview recorded immediately after the production.

Planning on paper: written and drawn artefacts

Speaking afterwards, Aroti asserted that the planning, and in particular the storyboard, had been important to the overall success of the piece, even though in some respects the plan had not been stuck to. Initially, for example, there were 12 people to interview, yet the plan allowed them to see, written in front of them, the reasons why this could not be achieved in the time, and why they had to cut it down to four.

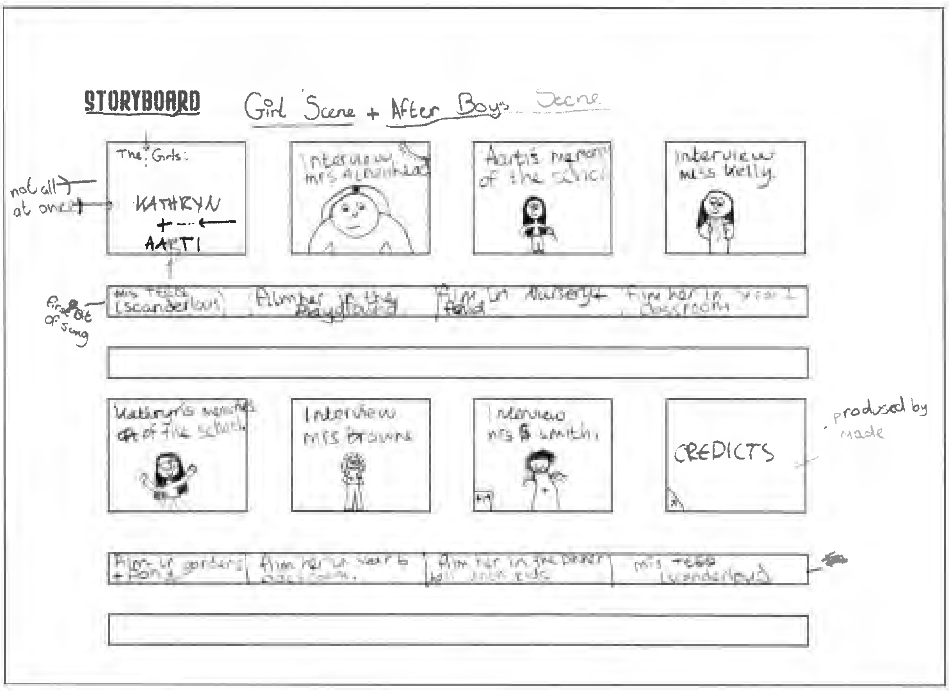
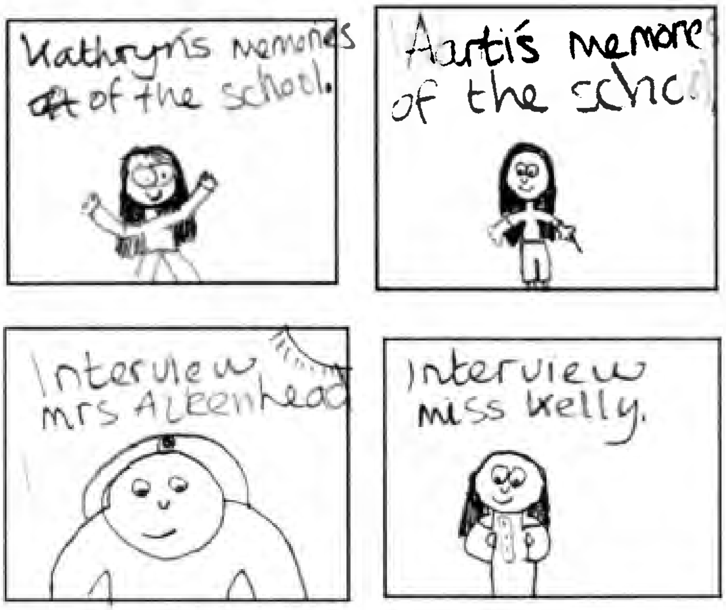

STORYBOARD
Girl Scene + After Boys Scene
The Girls:
KATHRYN
+
AARTI
not all at once
Interview mrs Alexander
Aarti's memory of the school
Interview miss kelly
first bit of song
mrs Teeg (scanderlous)
Film her in the playground
Film in Nursery
Film her in year 1 classroom
Kathryn's memories of the school
Interview mrs Brown
Interview mrs smith
CREDICTS
produsd by
made
Film in garden + pond
Film her in year 6 classroom
mrs Teeg (scanderlous)

Fig. 18 Storyboard for Katie and Aroti's video

Interviews with people in the school setting were highly salient in the storyboard as can be seen in the figure above. For the girls, there was a high level of importance ascribed to telling the story through teachers and other interviewees. The planning called for each of the figures to relate aspects of the girl's past at the school in each of the locations listed (see storyboard in Fig. 18 above).

Each of the figures in the frames is drawn as seen by the children. The portraits of the girls themselves are shown virtually identical and interchangeable, arms rising or raised, long hair and big eyes, smiling, with the same captions written inside the frames (the third and fifth frames in the storyboard "Aroti's memories of the school", "Katie's memories of the school" are seen below in Figures 19a and 19b).

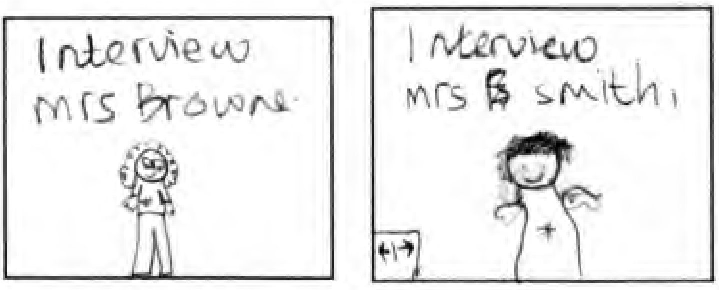

Kathryn's memories ~~of~~ of the school.
Aarti's memore of the schc
Interview mrs Aitkenhead
Interview miss kelly.

Figs. 19 a – d: Storyboard details from Katie and Aroti's storyboard, themselves and 2 teachers

The four teachers are depicted in the storyboard in chronological order for the classteachers and end with the headteacher. The first, shown above bottom left (Fig. 19 c), the nursery teacher, is drawn full face, smiling under a sunny sky as she would have appeared to them as small children, the smile criterial in their selection of elements to represent for her (cf. Kress, 2004). The next, Ms Carey (See figure above) is drawn in the same form as for Aroti and Katie, big eyes, smiling, same hair. This teacher, known for her empathy with the children, sense of humour and for being "child-centred" is shown as more like a child than a teacher.

When she is interviewed, Mrs Able is shown in a match to the design from the storyboard. When Ms Carey is interviewed she is in a noisy classroom, much like the one that Aroti and Katie learned in during their early school life with Ms Carey (two years at Key Stage One). The choices in production echo the circumstances in which they found themselves in those years. The style of interviewing is relaxed, open and informal, reflecting both the memory of the class and the original production design.

By contrast, the other two teachers, the headteacher and the year 6 teacher are depicted at distance in the storyboard, almost full figure and wearing stars as badges. The badge system as a reward for achievement is distinctive and a marker for authority and the more serious elements of schooling at Key Stage 2. Ms Black and Ms Roberts, although not pictured in an unkind light (they are both smiling), are viewed as a more typically *teacherly* part of Katie and Aroti's experience of school and therefore distant from the children; see the pictures below in Figures 20 a and b:


Interview mrs Brown
I nterview mrs B smith

Figs. 20 a & b Detail from Katie and Aroti's storyboard: Classteacher and headteacher

Asked later about changes to their plans, Aroti conceded that things changed as the filming took place. Ms Roberts's interview was not included for example. Others simply never took place. This was due partly to pressure of time and partly to the different things that occurred to them. As a result, Aroti recalls later, "we just made stuff up." The "stuff" that they "made up" is the other of the two twin cores of their production, the narratives of location carefully laid out between the interviews of teachers.

Structures and purposes

At first sight, the video seems artless and full of errors in sound recording and camerawork. Beside other productions in the class, it ranks in the middle of the range in terms of technical ability and on the day of screening there was a degree of restlessness from those watching who wanted a more up-tempo and upbeat video to look at. The audio quality is frequently poor (which was also a problem for many other productions due to the lack of an external microphone). Nevertheless the video production was a process and an activity which was seized on and engaged with fully by the two girls. It was felt by the girls themselves to be successful on their own terms and in their own way.

Closer investigation of the video and of some of the texts and artefacts around it, including Aroti's interview responses and some of the written plans for the production, reveal a more cohesive and subtle structure than is apparent at first viewing. Analysed in this way and contextualised by knowledge of the girls within the class the video production is revealed as a purposeful attempt to meet the requirements of the original task concerned with identity and, in particular, to make something which relates their identity and their friendship to the environment of the school in both a temporal and a locative way.

The structure of the video is set out by Katie and Aroti in a series of ten mixed locative narratives, singly or gathered in groups, interspersed with four interviews, as follows:

- o LOCATION BASED NARRATIVE 1 (together - playground)
- o MUSICAL SECTION (which may not have been directed by the girls)
- INTERVIEW 1 (Ms Carey)
- o LOCATION BASED NARRATIVES 2 (together – first bench), 3 (together – second bench),
- o 4 (Aroti - bridge), 5 (Aroti – bridge)
- INTERVIEW 2 (Ms Black)
- o LOCATION BASED NARRATIVE 6 (Katie on chain swing on back field)
- INTERVIEWS 3a and 3b (Sabina with Aroti and Katie in turn)
- o LOCATION BASED NARRATIVES 7 (Katie in the science area), 8 (Aroti talking about playing Hopscotch)
- INTERVIEW 4
- o LOCATION BASED NARRATIVES 9 (Under the shelter, by the mural), 10 (together at the end, recording the names of the three different school halls)
- o *END TITLES*

The only exceptions to this overarching structure of location-based narrative interspersed by interviews are during the musical section (which appears to have been adult-directed) and the end titles – to which the discussion will return below.

There was no desire on the part of Aroti and Katie to attempt to follow other groups and subvert the structure or the subject matter with, for example, humorous interludes, parodies and direct media references. The only point at which they deviated from this plan was in an animated sequence where the word "MUSIC" was spelled out on the whiteboard while they played a variety of instruments but even this break in the rhythm of their video was "serious" play with, as noted above, a strong adult-directed influence.

Aroti and Katie's authorial voices are heard in the cumulative effect of the recapitulation of the elements within the production. It has a song-like structure with the two modes, locative-narrative and interview, answering each other but taking forward the whole production. We hear in the interviews from four adults concerned with their care and education at four different phases of their time at the school (nursery, infant, junior and present day). These are broken up by reflective, chorus-like narratives of locative memory and habitual behaviour which were, in themselves, places of comfort, enjoyment and markers of identity in, occasionally, difficult times. Their production, supported by this structure, becomes, by design and organisation of resources, a personal narrative of locations and emotions felt over time. Far from being haphazard, the elements are carefully placed and advance the story which the producers wish to tell.

Interview with Aroti

Beginning with the conversation around the production, on the day set up for the interview, Katie was unavailable and questions about the production were answered by Aroti. Her comments were revealing in terms of both the means by which the production was generated and constructed and the underpinning subtexts layered into the structure.

Fig. 21 Aroti during her interview

Following the introductory question about enjoyment (answered positively), the interview moved into the area of why the experience was enjoyable. Aroti begins by expressing a commonly held view (see other datasets) that the process involved engagement with something "new". This was new for school and new to her. The "something to do" echoes the video's quiet revelation about how it is to be at the margins of school life and frequently bored (and this will be a theme which recurs in later chapters). Over and over again this feeling is recapitulated in the production itself (see the Hopscotch scene where Aroti says – "it gives me something to do!" : scene 13 in main production above 00:05:08 – 00:05:18). In the interview, Aroti says of the video work generally:

> "(yes, I enjoyed it because...) you get to do something fun in school (lifts right arm up to point back at interviewer, raises eyebrows and then gestures with an upturned hand)...and something new...because we don't normally do projects"

To Aroti, the act of video production is new and open and untried, suggesting new possibilities for activity within school. For this production, this means new ways of staking a claim on the space, of making their mark in the school, in the world of the classroom. This will find echoes in the later discussion of learner voice.

Asked to select the best part of the project, Aroti singles out "the editing" before adding (after a pause) "the recording, all of it..."

Partly Aroti is articulating what she thinks the interviewer would like to hear. She is aware of herself as a social actor within a discourse around "project work". The interviewer is an outsider whom she would like to convince about the activities which have taken place. In her gestures and general demeanour she expresses satisfaction with the work and is not concerned with further explanation. It is enough that the production got made, was shared with Katie and is now a video which can be viewed again and again.

During the interview, the focus on the editing is interesting because at other times during the conversation the editing would appear to have been a trial, with the girls having to significantly reduce the running time of the finished piece. In reality the editing proved to be significant in spite of these difficulties, in pursuit of a different vision from the others in the group, dealing with a deep and complex relationship between people, buildings and their daily life at school.

Considerations of friendship surface often in the interview and are equally seriously treated and equally revealed in her answers. The group had initially formed a larger one working on the same production as the two boys Raymond and Keiron. The split which occurred between the boys and the girls in the production was amicable and negotiated between the two sets of friends, each realising that the other had a particular vision they wished to pursue. The boys labelled their storyboard "Boys bitz" (as seen in the previous section) and the girls labelled theirs as "Girls scene and after boys scene". At this stage they were to work separately and combine elements of their work but after discussion, and mainly for reasons of length (they were both over the stated limit at that stage), decided to pursue entirely separate productions.

The interview moves into group dynamics and the friendship between Katie and Aroti is described as a "given" as an essential part of the school experience for her and for as long she can remember. Indeed, the four children in this group were two pairs of friends of opposite genders, as Aroti explains:

> "When we got put together we were … friends already and Keiron and Raymond were two best friends and me and Katie we were another two best friends".

The decision to represent places was taken very early on and was reflected in their symbiotic relationship in production. Aroti remembers early conversations with Katie when, "She told me which places she liked and I told her." Their video has a definite location within the field of "place", with a location-based narrative giving equal importance to the interviews of teachers. Even in the latter parts of their production, the teachers' narrative reflection on their part in the school was as important as finding out about the teachers. A reprise of asking "What do you remember of us or of your time here with us?" is common throughout.

Whilst the two girls worked together, Aroti was happy with the level of co-operation, suggesting that decisions were shared but that compromise was achieved by talking and working things out. She mentioned that transitions were one area which had to be negotiated ("You know that bit where the scene changes..."). These were selected and inserted at the final stages when the atmosphere was fraught and the deadline loomed with the need to cut the production down to the required length.

The interview moves into media influences on the work which Aroti and Katie used but she declines to make this a major feature of her work, saying that it was more a feature of Raymond and Keiron's video production (and she goes on to list the main influences on the two boys). She did, however, identify nature programmes as an influence on the section in the pond area at the back. As noted in the video transcription on the framework above, there were other subtle influences discernable from children's television production, the style of interviewing and presentation, in particular in the sequence where they question Sabina, the Italian visitor. Apart from the section on "music" which may well have been directed by Sabina (at least partly), the tone of Aroti and Katie's piece is documentary in style, interviews and memories of place, voices of teachers and quiet, reflective accounts of the importance of the places in their memory.

Asked if she would like to do the project again, Aroti stated that she would like to do the same project with new friends at the "big school" and she would use the same kind of production design again centred on interviews mainly, and presumably equally distinctive in its overall style, focused on location, personal narrative and quiet activities shared with close friends.

Location, "habitus" and embodied memory

The focus on location is one of the two main elements which dominate the planning and execution of the video. The production opens with Aroti and Katie standing at the site of a recently removed tree, which had been there throughout their time at the school. When they speak, their voices are low, talking downwards as they watch their balance on the logs. Their voices are partially drowned by wind noise on the camera microphone and partly by traffic from the road outside, visible in the shot through the railings. The dialogue in the opening is as follows:

> Katie: (lost, inaudible words)...places...erm...a big tree was here but then it got knocked down...it's also a really nice place...with big stepping stones (moves off in circuit on the stepping stones around the perimeter and around Aroti)
>
> Aroti: (realising there is a gap and she should contribute, looks away and her speech is drowned in the wind / traffic noise. But becomes audible again as she gestures round the circle with both arms) ...and it's a circle (see Fig. 22 below)...

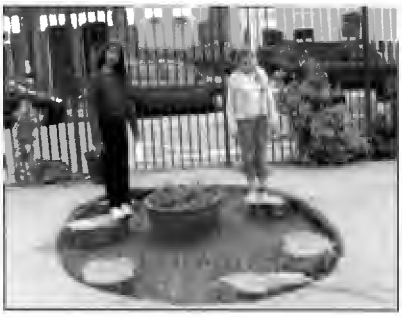


Fig. 22 Aroti and Katie in the opening scene from their video production

Enclosing and encircling gestures and movement are used alongside the framing of the circle where the tree used to be to underline the togetherness of Aroti and Katie and to suggest their separation from the rest of the life of the playground. The choice of a recently removed fixture of school life in the opening scene is recapitulated in the penultimate scene.

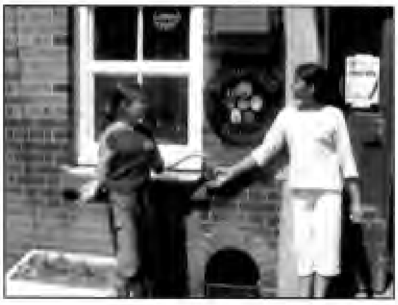


Fig. 23 Closing scene of Aroti and Katie's video

The last scene with the girls in it is a sequence where they move around the site and record the names and location of the school halls (see Figure above). At the time the production was being filmed, major changes were being made to the school. Previously, and throughout their time at the school, the buildings were in three disconnected school halls. During the video production building work had begun to join them together physically to make one complete structure. These building works feature in the background of many of the shots in nearly all the productions from School A. However, Aroti and Katie are the only two producers who make specific use and mention of the fabric of the building in this way. The production opens and closes with images of change and upheaval which are salient in terms of the way in which they wish to represent themselves and the school before they too move on and change. The locative narratives mirror their own state of change, the imminent movement from one school to another and the growing up which that implies.

The visual construction of the shots emphasises the changing landscape but it also emphasises their embodied performance within it. The repeated form is the two-shot or the mid-shot in a specific location around the school. Couples, usually Aroti and Katie but sometimes one or other of them with an interview subject, dominate the shot list. The camerawork and staging emphasises the two of them within the landscape so that what is articulated in their composition is their representation of "two-ness" and their own interdependence, even symbiosis. There are almost no other shots of anyone else in the whole production and that is unique within the videos made for either project in this study. The mise-en-scene of the production is of a unit of two narrating or presenting to camera, as in the following examples (in Figs. 24 on the following page):

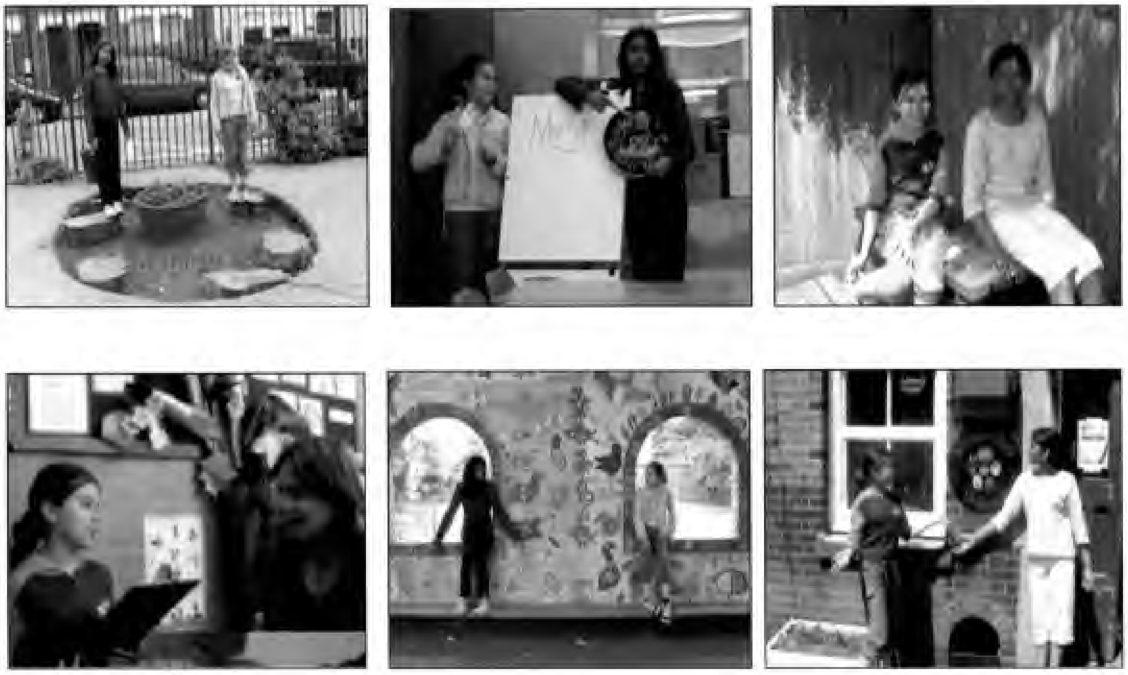


Fig. 24 a - f A set of example two-shots in Katie and Aroti's video

The production visits many quiet areas of the school environment to capture places of importance to the girls. In an early scene the girls employ a bench which Aroti describes as a place she would visit when "feeling sad or happy". This personal observation indicates a high degree of ownership of the video making process, seeing it as something during which they may take the viewer into a confidence. It is also a significant way of expressing feeling in and about a specific school location which is repeated as a motif (as noted above). The repetition of these key phrases suggests habitual or even ritualised behaviours.

The dialogue in the first scene at the first bench is as follows:

> Katie: This is one of our favourite parts of the school because it is very...
> (looks across at Aroti for an idea of what to say next...Aroti carries on and finishes the sentence)
> Aroti:...fun and it's got lots of wildlife...
> Katie: It's very quiet. And this bench was given to us by Sylvia Thompson who was an old secretary of the school.
> (A pause follows while the donation plaque is focused on, broken by Aroti taking up the reason for the choice of location...)
> Aroti: We always used to sit on this bench when we were sad or happy and we always felt better after a while..
> (Aroti looks across at Katie and raises her eyebrows, possibly indicating that Katie should add more, possibly that Katie should call the end of the scene)

At the next bench the dialogue again underlines the use of the school environment as a record of past feelings and of ways of being in the world of the school, the girls' "habitus" (Bourdieu, 1986). More than that, they come to be the principal ways in which actions and reactions are established by the subjects in the setting in which they find themselves. For the girls, their internalisation of their performed "otherness", reliance on each other and lack of connection with the rest of the world of the school is a key element of their production. They present themselves in this way as a representation of their learned ways of coping and being at school.

These structures can be read using tools of visual semiotics; for example this approach is useful in identifying framing devices such as the circles and the enclosed nature of the visual (within the system of "two-ness" identified above). However, this is not all that the medium affords the girls, in the same way as it is not the only analytical frame which can be applied to the work. In order to preserve one of the key principles of the thesis, that of working between disciplines, there are other ways of approaching the data and the visual is certainly not the only dominating mode.

Patterns of movement of gesture and of speech, recapitulated throughout the girls' production underline their desire to perform and record their way of being in the school. On a number of occasions the girls gesture to each other or perform in some way within a closed system of their own making. As they label each of the school halls towards the end of the video they frame the name of each hall between the two of them and gesture across the sign towards each other (See Fig. 25 below)

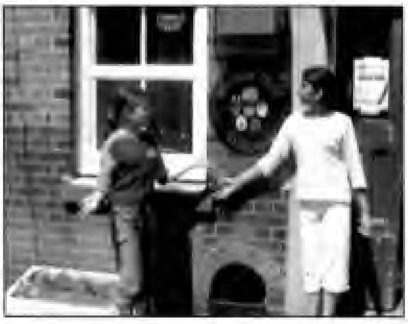


Fig. 25 Closing gestures between Aroti and Katie

When Aroti performs the hopscotch scene she gestures back at Katie behind the camera with open arms (See Fig. 26 below)...

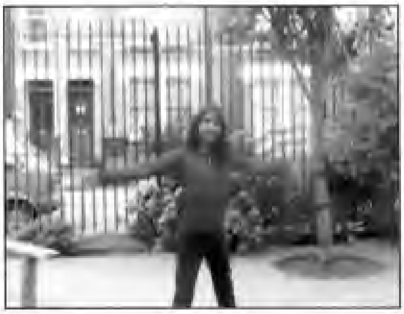


Fig. 26 Aroti's gesture back to the camera

Finally, again towards the end, standing under the shelter near the open space at the back of the school, the open armed gesture returns with Aroti half turning towards Katie (see Figure 26 above)

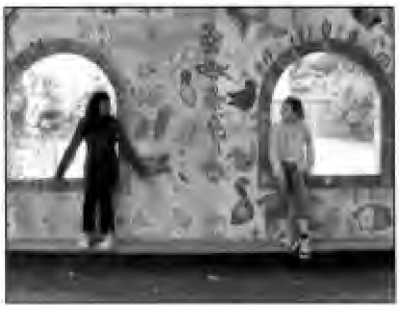


Fig. 27 Aroti and Katie in the shelter

The work of Merleau-Ponty may be important here in accounting for the performed aspect of living and being as it relates to learning (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Engeström, Miettinen and Punamäki, 1999); in particular the idea that learning in an environment and a community is through embodied action and learned responsiveness to a given situation. The revelation of the layers of these meaning-making states in embodied performance is one of the distinctive features of moving image work, as we will see in other productions in the dataset.

For the girls in this production it becomes a matter of record that they place themselves in the various locations, using similar gestures and the same form of words over and over again in the same performance – locating themselves in places of importance in recalling and re-performing their habitualised experience of coping with living and being in the school community, as the following exchange illustrates:

> Katie: This is one of our favourite bits because ... well, whenever I was upset Aroti used to take me to this bench and cheer me up always...
> Aroti: And..although this area is quite new but we had lots of good times and bad times here

> Katie: It's also very good and nice and shady for the summer...when it's very, very hot...

The location affords them the opportunity to be together and to look after each other in moments of stress and difficulty in other relationships at the school. The "whenever" suggests that it was a regular occurrence, and further examples of this are outlined below. It is as important for Katie and Aroti to record this aspect of their lived experience at the school as it is for them to interview and remember key adults. This is because their interdependence is a highly salient feature of their life and times at school A.

The linguistic constructions which the girls use give a corollary with the visual and gestural "two-ness" and recalled performance of being with each outlined above. The passages below highlight words which suggest this repetition and habitualised behaviour, such as "whenever", "always" "used to" et al, as italicised below...

> Katie: This is one of our favourite bits because ... well, *whenever* I was upset Aroti *used to* take me to this bench and cheer me up always...
> Aroti: And..although this area is quite new but *we had lots of good times and bad times here*
> ...
> Katie: This is one of our favourite parts of the school because it is very...
>
> Aroti: *We always used to sit on this bench when we were sad or happy and we always felt better after a while...*

As stated above, there are no recorded interviews or interactions with fellow pupils at any time in this video (other than a very brief transition after one of the interviews). The video is constructed as a way of recording repeated and habitualised behaviour of school life at the same time as celebrating their shared experience and mutual dependence on each other. The cumulative effect is one of intense memory-making through the locative-narrative.

One way of understanding the underlying motivation and purpose in this use of the medium is to see it as a version of the "hypomnemata". This concept, introduced in chapter 3, is derived by Michel Foucault from writings from ancient Greece about a system for recording life events as material memory, as an externalising process which gave the writer a repository of the "self" on which to draw in times of stress or change (Foucault, 1984).

This video has already been interpreted above as reflection of the girls' "habitus", employing memories of their performed, embodied experience, which their peers in the intended audience may be able to read, but it also has a purpose for the girls as a media equivalent of the "hypomnemata", with notes and markers for themselves taken forward at a time of stress and change. The two girls, close friends for all their school life, will be going to different schools in a matter of weeks and this is their recorded response, a locative-narrative assembly of places and people, of responses and strategies for coping which they can take forward into their new life in the new school.

What becomes significant in this instance is the contribution of the material of the medium to the girls' performed and lived memories as inscribed on the tape. This is not to say that the medium is being employed simply as a diary record, in the same way as the hypomnemata itself was more than a diary. There are no specified dates and times in their production. The aspects of the past which are performed and recalled are actual reinterpretations of their earlier years at the school. They are reinterpreting the past and re-presenting it as a set of habitual and learned behaviours which defined their relationship and their way of being and living at the school, supporting them through difficult times. With their move to secondary school imminent, the digital inscription is used here as a reminder of how to live and how to survive transition by underlining embodied experience. For these girls it is about withdrawing into quiet places, finding someone to empathise with in times of stress. The video production becomes an equivalent of the notes and records of the hypomnemata, intended to be viewed later and referred to not as a record of how specific events unfolded over time so much as how life was lived during those experiences, what happened and how was it dealt with.

"What did you think of us?" – Reflexivity in performance of the interviews

The sections where the girls interview the teachers and the other, visiting adult are used as intermissions within the locative narrative. They break up the contemplative personal memory and notemaking of the shots around the school. And yet, in their direction and content, they support the overarching purpose of emphasising the relation of Katie and Aroti to each other and back to school life. Here too, where the overall impression is one of artlessness and a rambling style to the video production, closer viewing and knowledge of the setting uncovers a structure to their choice of interview subjects in the finished piece.

In total, the girls interview four adults and each one represents a distinct phase in their school life. In the final piece they move chronologically out of sequence, backwards and forwards through their experiences. They are organised chronologically in between the other scenes as follows:

1) An interview with Ms Carey, a favourite teacher and a regular cast member across the videos made in school A. She taught them for two years of their school life in Key Stage 1 when they were aged between 6 and 7 years old.
2) An interview with Ms Black, their year 6 teacher for the whole of their final year at school and during the whole period of the video project.
3) An interview with Sabina D'Alessio, a PhD student at the Institute of Education who visited the project during one day of the filming and helped some of the groups. She worked with Katie and Aroti's group (and, as will be seen in section 5.4, Annie, Kyle, Robin and Leon) and she was responsible for influencing the content of the section on "Music", the only part of the video in which it is possible to discern an alternative authoring voice from those of Katie and Aroti.
4) An interview with Ms Able, their teacher when they were in the nursery and one of the longest serving staff members at school A. She, like Ms Carey, was also interviewed in other productions.

Earlier in this section, the interview planning was discussed and drawings in the storyboard were analysed to describe aspects of their relationships to the proposed interview subjects. The headteacher was also shown as a subject but she did not survive into the final edit. The emphasis was, in three of the cases, on adults who knew them well and a fourth adult with whom they were involved during the making of their video.

During the first interview, the first question, about the length of time Ms Carey has worked as a class teacher, is used as an icebreaker. The key finding is the relation of the teacher to the girls themselves and the key question is about what made their class special above all the others she has taught, what will be remembered about them when they are gone. The constructions which find an echo in their own transcribed speech to camera in the locative narrative are those which report habitual memory, the sense of repeated lived experience (as italicised below):

> Katie: How long have you been teaching?
> Ms Carey (counts on fingers whilst smiling): ooh, er seven years, eight years...seven, no eight years.
> Katie: What did you like about our class more than other classes?
> (Camera operated by Aroti moves from side to side to the speaker each time)
> Ms Carey *You were always so much fun.* I *always had so much fun* with you. *Always laughing and making jokes...and you loved doing some artwork* and *you loved drama...*

(Aroti zooms in very close to Ms Carey's face at the close of the scene as she says the final words about fun and drama.)

The retention of this interview in the final edit is explained by its easy sublimation into the overarching structure and mood of the piece, of remembered, embodied experience.

The second interview, with Ms Black, takes a different form. Ms Black uses the medium and assumes control to get her own feelings about the class across. Katie and Aroti push for the remembrance of themselves in the classroom in the same way as they have with Ms Carey. Ms Black has had a difficult time at this point, with the added complication of a video project and her classroom being rebuilt around her. She opens up in a humorous way with Aroti as interviewer because this is also the experience that both Aroti and Katie have had some of the time in the class during their year 6. The looks to camera and the looks back at Aroti attempting to make her smile as she describes what the class is really like indicate a shared confidence about the people in the room. Its place in the overall scheme of the video is assured by its underlining of their experience of being with the class. It is not celebratory but it is a humorous moment in an otherwise solemn and low-key production but it is there because of the shared truth about relations in the class...

> Aroti: What are your favourite things about our class?
> Ms Black: That's a really hard one. I'm going to have to think about that one for quite a long time – come back in about ten years?
> Aroti (smiling now but trying to concentrate on the job in hand): What's your favourite thing about teaching?

> Ms Black (pretending to think hard but knowing the answer): It's got to be ... the holidays.
> Aroti (as before – smiling and then pausing to be a proper interviewer again): Have you anything to say about our class?
> Ms Black I've got lots of things to say about it but I suppose (pauses to think) I must say it's the noisiest class I've ever taught.
> Aroti How many years have you been teaching?
> Ms Black This is my seventh year
> Aroti (now being prompted by Katie from behind the camera) Did you enjoy working at your last school?
> Ms Black Yes I did. The children were fun and it was very nice.

The final question in the second interview looks at life outside of the school and prompts Ms Black to think about happier times in her old school. When, during the third interview, they have the opportunity to question someone from another country entirely (Sabina D'Alessio is from Rome) they ask questions which are mainly concerned with seeking out the feeling for habitual, lived experience in a place with the repeated "What is it you like about...?" line of questioning (italicised in the text below)...

> Katie: This is an interview with Sabina who is from Italy....*What is it you like about it here?*
> Sabina: I like the people...I met so many people...like the students...can you hear me? And the people...
> Katie: *What do you like about* your local environment?
> Sabina: Actually it's the same thing ... the people .. and I like to go to the seaside ... it's about twenty minutes you know and I like to go to the seaside it's about you know twenty miles...(noise of other children talking off camera)
>
> ...
>
> Aroti: What do you like about our school?
> Sabina: I like the way that you... uh... welcome me very well, you know I immediately felt part of the team, you know, part of the community ...I felt as – you know...one of your friends ... that was really nice...thank you

No other children are interviewed in the production, unlike in others where the naming of names and the presentation of relationships with peers by members of the class is important. The interview with Sabina survives into the final edit in the girls' video because it fits the impressions of remembered time but comes from an externalised view. The 'fitting in' that she describes is something that is weighing on Katie and Aroti's mind as they contemplate new relationships but they see how it is possible to do that from the visit of the stranger into their own video production.

The fourth interview takes Katie and Aroti back to the familiar and immediately precedes the trip around the school for the last time. The girls are keen to get to the heart of the embodied memory of the longest serving teacher at the school and to see what she takes with her in terms of her own memories and impressions of being a teacher…

> Katie: What's your favourite thing about being a teacher?
> Ms A: Favourite thing about teaching? I think because I've been here quite a long time – one of the best things is seeing the children as they get older…and just seeing how they are when they're older really…actually now seeing some children working in supermarkets and things…doing Saturday jobs – children who used to be in the nursery here…so that's one of the nicest things
> Katie: How many years have you been a teacher?
> Ms A: Well, 15 here…erm (pauses to add it all up and looks surprised herself) – 26 years!
> Katie: (looks up at her and raises her eyebrows) – That's long… (Mrs A laughs off camera)

This interview possibly survives into the final edit because it looks back at lived experience and the longer view of life outside of the year 6 classroom.

The interviews break up the flow of the locative narrative but retain the mood and the emotional charge of the whole production by focusing on the overriding themes of memory and habitual behaviour. They give Aroti and Katie a perspective on their own movement away from the security of their relationship and their time at the school. This is recognised and noted in the final fame of the production. The image that they choose from the library within the software is of balloons, signifying a party, a celebration. The music which plays is the only non-diegetic sound in their production and the only time they provide a soundtrack piece. Again, the choice of lyrical content, from the boy band, Blue is in harmony with the overall authorial direction, memory, reflection and acknowledgement of change…

> "It's kinda funny, how life can change;
> Can flip one-eighty in a matter of days…"[23]

---

[23] *The lyrics quoted are from the title song from the "One Love" album by the boy band Blue released on Virgin Records, 2002*

5.3 "Do not try this at home"

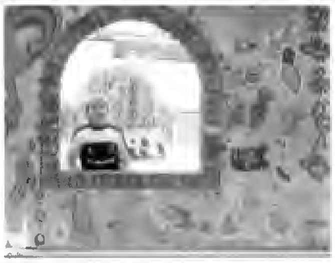
Introducing Ellen, Hattie, Siobhan and Millie

The video by Ellen, Hattie, Millie and Siobhan was, by some distance, the longest of those produced in either of the schools. In its original form it took the brief and stretched it into a lengthy 17 minutes, incorporating footage of many younger children, greater numbers of teachers and longer improvised sketches than any other. After much negotiation the children reduced the content to a little over 11 minutes and only lack of time prevented further editing and re-focusing.

The resulting production meanders where others stay focused on the task. However, it meanders in interesting directions and provides an opportunity to reflect on how it elaborates on the themes of friendship and memory through the lens of play. The lack of focus means that it does not attain the steady, poetic, empathetic and memory-driven locative narrative of Katie and Aroti. Its relative lack of media quotation and sophisticated editing mean that it does not make use of reshaped and quoted media texts in the service of self –representation as in the video by Raymond and Keiron. Neither does it directly appear to elaborate on storying, performance, conflict and identity in the ways described for later productions. What it does allow is for analysis and reflection on the application of play theory and some thinking about creativity to self-representational video production. In its 11 minutes, the makers of the video try on a range of roles in a carnivalesque celebration of themselves and their time at the school. They depart far from the brief in search of ways to capture themselves as documentary film-makers, investigative journalists, players of games, anarchists and, even, at one point, manage to record a moment of what Sutton- Smith refers to as "phantasmagoric" play (1997, pp. 151-172).

This video exemplifies work by learners confident in many other fields, though not used to video making and at times allowing their reach to exceed their grasp as they are challenged to represent themselves. They express themselves and their relationships with each other as a stream of apparently disconnected and rambling episodes of play in various settings, at first trying on the serious role of film-makers and gradually giving in to the impulse to use the medium to record themselves at play. By the end the viewer realises that they have used the video project almost as play therapy, reaching out for new roles to try on at the end of their time at primary school, before moving into new roles in new places.

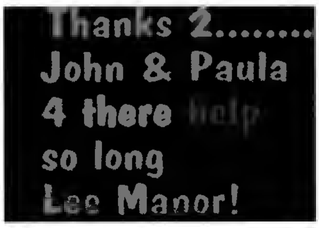
Table 4: Ellen, Hattie, Siobhan and Millie's video: Scene by scene

			
Scene and timing	**1 00:00:00 - 00:00:05**	**2 00:00:06 – 00:01:48**	**3 00:01:49 - 00:01:53**
Scene description	Establishing shot of school and of videomakers	Long formal interview of headteacher, each girl in turn	Walking through school office
Typology within movie	Personal introduction	Formal interview with headteacher	Off the cuff interview
Memories, references	Of playing in the shelter	Playground games / wider culture: basketball	Memories of going to the office on a variety of jobs
Genre / direct media references	Of children's TV introduction	Formal interview	Handheld documentary style
Camera work / technical	Tripod	Handheld, questions from behind camera	Handheld mid shot
Sound	Diegetic spoken greeting "Welcome to our film…"	Diegetic: spoken interview	Diegetic: spoken greetings

Scene and timing	**4 00:01:54– 00:02:54**	**5 00:02:55 – 0:03:31**	**6a and 6b 00:03:32 - 0:03:52**
Scene description	Formal interview with adult – school caretaker	Dancing around and playing - ball pond, special needs area	Voiceover addresses Chuckie doll
Typology within movie	Formal interview	Anarchic play (for first time at about 3mins)	Practical joking/memory
Memories, references	To school routine, role of caretaker	Playful with each other as a unit of four	Imaginative play
Genre / direct media references	Formal interviews by TV presenters with clipboards	Children's TV – games (esp. as in "Don't try this at home")	To animation, to horror (Chuckie doll)
Camera work / technical	Handheld, swapping roles	Handheld mid-shot by visitor	Handheld
Sound	Diegetic: spoken interview	Diegetic – screaming and laughing Non-diegetic "Song for Jack" by Lemon Jelly	Diegetic: spoken to doll

Scene and timing	**7 00:03:53 – 00:04:52**	**8 00:04:53 – 00:05:17**	**9 00:05:18 – 00:05:26**
Scene description	Interview with a favourite teacher	Collection of short jump cut clips, playing and talking	Girls talk on the bridge in the playground
Typology within movie	Adult interview: a teacher	Playing and interviewing smaller children	Direct to camera talking
Memories, references	Significant adult: popular supply teacher	Back to the time when they were in the nursery	Memories of playing in the playground
Genre / direct media references	TV documentary interview – formal with clipboard	Spontaneous children's TV interview	TV documentary interview – spontaneous – on the move
Camera work / technical	Tripod, two-shot	Long shot	Close up – two shot Handheld by interviewer
Sound	Diegetic: spoken interview	Diegetic: spoken interviews	Diegetic: spoken to camera

Scene and timing	**10 00:05:27 -00:06:58**	**11a/b/c 00:06:59 – 00:08:43**	**12 00:08:44-00:09:03**
Scene description	Interview with a favourite teacher	A series of "challenges" , sliding on mats etc.	Interview with a favourite teaching assistant
Typology within movie	Adult interview – a teacher	At play with PE equipment	Adult interviewer –a teaching assistant
Memories, references	Memories of class in infants with a favourite teacher	Playing indoors	Memory of working with her on school journey
Genre / direct media references	TV documentary interview – formal with clipboard	Children's TV challenges, games	TV documentary interview – spontaneous – on the move
Camera work / technical	Mid-shot handheld, poor audio	Tripod interior, various shots, mostly long	Handheld close-up, mid shot etc
Sound	Diegetic: spoken to camera	Diegetic: spoken from behind camera and shouting in front	Diegetic: spoken from behind camera, interviewee in front

			 Thanks 2....... John & Paula 4 there help so long Lee Manor!
Scene and timing	**13 00:09:04 - 00:10:04**	**13 contd. 00:10:31 – 00:11:04**	**14 00:11:04 – 00:11:17**
Scene description	Outtakes - various	Outtakes -various	End titles
Typology within movie	Practical jokes/play with form	Practical jokes/play with form	Credits
Memories, references	Memories of playing in locations in school	Memories of playing in locations in school	Performed memory of times at school
Genre / direct media references	Outtakes added to video or DVD content	Outtakes added to video or DVD content	Documentary style voiceover
Camera work / technical	Various	Various	Credits in selected font over black screen
Sound	Diegetic and non-diegetic sound from Crazy by Beyonce	Diegetic and non-diegetic sound from Crazy by Beyonce	Diegetic and non-diegetic sound from Crazy by Beyonce

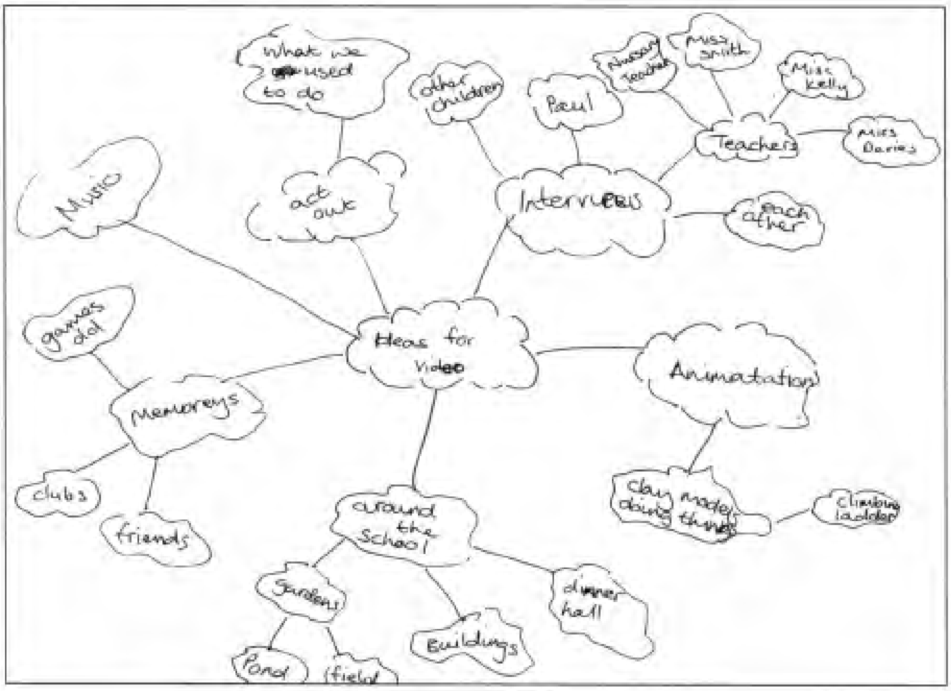
Play, hybridity & creativity

There are connections between this section and others focused on identity and performance. Playing out aspects of identity for the camera, in particular the concept of a front and backstage (Goffman, 1990), the girls in this production became interested in exploring the roles and relationships within school life, though not their specific memories of them. The tone of this production is very different from Katie and Aroti's meditative, locative narrative discussed later. Unlike the case of Katie and Aroti, the focus was not on a direct exploration of their own personal experience intended to show they were buffered by each other from the difficulties and vagaries of school life. This production was designed with another purpose in mind: to have fun, to play. This is not to say that in any of the other productions that having fun and being playful were not on the agenda. The carefully controlled and elaborate referencing system of Raymond and Keiron's video (see section 5.1 above) was also undeniably "playful". The difference in the production by Ellen, Hattie, Siobhan and Millie is that playfulness itself is the organising principle. And whilst it does not break down in the way that other productions do into incoherence (see section 5.6) there are a number of ways in which reading this video requires us to understand playfulness and play as an aspect of media production.

In as much as play allows the exploration of different roles and the "trying on" of a range of guises in a series of self generated games, Ellen, Hattie, Siobhan and Millie were engaged in exploration of different roles throughout, trying on new guises and exploring the roles of others. Their initial approach was to try to document faithfully the ways in which members of staff and students move between their different roles whilst at the same time maintaining their own positions within the group. Whereas Katie and Aroti had spent a great deal of their school life regarded and pigeonholed as "quiet children" and Raymond and Keiron as "classroom jokers", the four girls in this production had spent their school life, more or less, as "model children" who could be relied on in difficult situations in the classroom. They had particular responsibilities conferred accordingly at specific times.

Here they flirted with anarchy and with visual jokes, though not in the tightly disciplined, media referencing way of Raymond and Keiron. Here the girls were concerned with recording the jokes and playfulness which they imagined in their own heads. In this way they use the medium to explore the ways in which play allows them to experience what Sutton-Roberts describes as “alterity”, becoming “lost” in the experience of the “otherness” which play allows (Sutton-Smith, 1997, pp. 66 - 67). Again, it is important to stress that this is not the same state as other film-makers in these productions entered, which was to do with a form of “inchoate creativity” (see Chapter 6 for a fuller discussion of this concept), a loss of control over the conventional meaning-making properties of the medium in pursuit of its expressive and creative possibilities. In the case of Ellen, Hattie, Siobhan and Millie, recording the play whilst simultaneously living it and improvising it became the organising principle. The evidence for these assertions can be found in the production, in the post-production interview as well as within the written artefacts which surrounded the video.

However, this was not how it started and the story of their production begins with Ellen and the others in role as “model students” with a large and ambitious documentary project in mind, mapped out in the figure below:



What we used to do
other children
Paul
Nursery Teacher
Miss Smith
Miss Kelly
Teachers
Miss Davies
Music
act out
Interviews
each other
games did
Ideas for video
Animation
Memoreys
clubs
friends
around the School
clay models doing things
climbing ladder
Gardens
dinner hall
Buildings
Pond
field

Fig. 28 Original mindmap for planning the video by Ellen, Hattie, Siobhan and Millie

The figure on the previous page shows the mindmap for their production. Three of the most populated nodes in the map are listed as "Memoreys" (sic), "Around the school" and "Interviews". Each of these contains straightforward elements for filming, including a range of interviewees drawn from staff and from friends, a record of old games and clubs, and, recalling Katie and Aroti, a list of places of significance. "Music" is represented on its own and, at this stage, unaccompanied by any further thoughts. Two nodes which hint at playfulness to come are represented by "Animations" elaborated as "clay models doing things" > "climbing ladders" and "Act out" elaborated simply as "what we used to do".

Realising that this did not allow them to plan adequately and taking seriously the instruction to provide a detailed plan, the girls produced an A3 version of the map with detailed lists of things to do and things to get, together with a sequence for the production shown in the Figure 29 below:

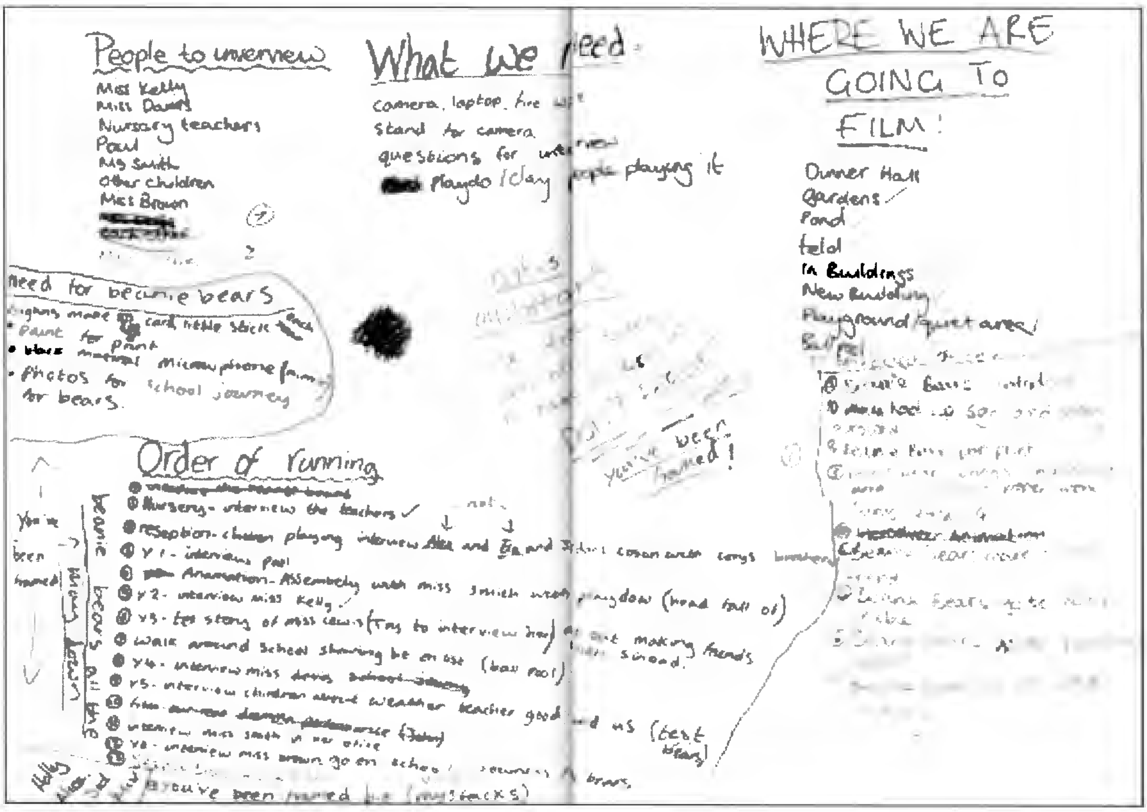

People to interview
Miss Kelly
Miss Davis
Nursery teachers
Paul
Ms Smith
Other children
Miss Brown
What we need
camera, laptop, fire wire
stand for camera
questions for interview
Playdo / clay
people playing it
need for beanie bears
Paint for paint
Microphone
Photos for school journey for bears.
Order of running
Nursery - interview the teachers ✓
Reception - children playing
Y1 - interview Paul
Animation - Assembly with miss Smith with playdow (head full of)
Y2 - interview miss Kelly ✓
Y3 - tell story of miss Davis (Try to interview her)
Walk around school
Y4 - interview miss davis
Y5 - interview children about weather
interview miss smith in her office
Y6 - interview miss brown go on school journey
You've been framed
WHERE WE ARE GOING TO FILM!
Dinner Hall
Gardens ✓
Pond
field
In Buildings
New Building
Playground / quiet area
You've been framed!

Fig. 29 "To do" list from Ellen, Hattie, Siobhan and Millie's original mindmap

Working on this sheet, the girls were in role as model students in the group, producing by far the most detailed lists and plans. Some more detail has also emerged by this point on their animation sequence. Beanie Bears have become a feature in the

planning of it by this stage. The Beanie Bears (popular soft toys at the time for children of all ages[24]) are the characters at this stage whom the girls are now hoping to animate, bespoke clay models having been discounted as a possibility. The Beanie Bears are listed as playful characters who will guide the viewer through the production: "Beanie Bears introduce, hold up sign and play around". They will also become surrogates of the children and undertake a series of activities which are common in school, including, significantly for children at this age, taking banding assessments for secondary school transfer as the sheet indicates on the right hand side:
"(3) Beanie Bear brings bookbag and does some proper work, sums 2+2=4...
(4) Beanie Bears make a new friend
(5) Beanie Bears go to Horton crubie (sic)[25]
(6) Beanie Bears do banding tested (sic)
(7) Beanie Bears go on school journey"

In the final production, however, the Beanie Bears fail to make an appearance due to the ambitious nature of the schemes proposed by the children and the sheer pressure of time. The play with figures becomes sublimated into something else again in the long sequence involving a found "Chuckie" doll and some playful but transgressive behaviour (see discussion of that sequence below, particularly in relation to Sutton-Roberts's conception of commercial toys and children's phantasmagoria (1997, pp. 152-154)).

The dominant aim of the production at the outset was an attempt to create a complete record of the time, to capture all memories of the school in a series of interviews with teachers and other staff. At this stage, the role being adopted by this group is one of serious recorders of events, people and places with the planned animations subordinate to this overall conception. By far the majority of the planning sheet is given up to a logical and clear sequence of events, centred on interviews and visits to locations.

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[24] *Beanie Babies, of which Beanie Bears are a sub-category continue to be popular online and further information can be found at the website of the "Ty" toy manufacturer together with links to discussion forums and online games at http://www.ty.com/BeanieBabies_home [access date: 12.08.08]*

[25] *This is Horton Kirby an environmental field centre in Kent used by the school with all ages, but particularly younger children; it would have been a significant memory for all the girls as a first trip out with the school.*

Looking back at the finished production it is possible to identify a sequence of events which delineate a movement from a tight structure into a more playful experimentation with roles and a loosening of narrative structure, almost to the point of incoherence. Viewers outside the setting cannot easily make sense of events, due to the fractured narrative and the cramming of ideas into multiple sequences which have an almost dreamlike quality to them. This theme will be returned to in discussion of two further videos from school B (see below) and will form part of the discussion in chapter 6.

The girls begin with an establishing shot using the shelter which they had painted when younger (just as Raymond and Keiron had done in their film). They then proceed into the first of their interviews, with a template of questions designed to be addressed systematically to each interviewee, covering their role and time at the school, leading up to their like or dislike of certain sweets. The headteacher is the first of their subjects, in a sequence that lasts a little over a minute and a half. Each of the girls asks a question in turn and all are in role as "model pupils" for most of the interview. The headteacher is also in role, dealing politely and relatively frankly with questions as they come up, for example:

> Girl interviewer: Did you ever get told off at school?
>
> Headteacher: When I was at school, in the grammar school , in the 5th year, which was the year before you did your O-levels which were like GCSEs, the deputy head teacher of the school told me that my skirt was too short
>
> Girl interviewer: What made you want to be a teacher?
>
> Headteacher: My very first day in school – I wanted to be a nurse before I went to school and my auntie actually made me a nurse's uniform, on my very, very first day at school the teacher put the straws in the milk and I thought it would be really, really nice to be able to put the straws in the milk and I went home and told my mum that I wanted to be a teacher.

The headteacher signals a willingness to engage with these children, long established as the brightest and best behaved in the class (confirmed in conversation with class teachers at the school).

As the interview goes on, however, there is a change of mood signalled by a move into territory which is considered off limits. At this point, the headteacher changes the linguistic register of the conversation using language designed to re-establish a professional distance from these children who are beginning to take their roleplay of interviewers and investigators into uncomfortable territory, as follows:

> Girl interviewer: Have you ever had to sack anyone?
>
> Headteacher: Do you think I'd tell you if I had (smiles at interviewer)...
> I'm afraid professionally I'm unable to answer that question...I'm unable to enter into a discourse with you on that subject...
>
> Girl interviewer: (Surprised at change of tone and not sure what is going on):
> Mmm, Ok thank you
>
> Headteacher (clarifying): That means I'm not going to tell you

Playing with roles within the production itself becomes more central to the girls' video as it goes on. The next, bridging section recalls their frequent trips to the school office as regular trustees with the register, dinner money etc. They stroll into the school administrator's room and are greeted on their way through to the caretaker's office. Here, at about two minutes in, comes a very significant passage in the production. Still with their clipboards of questions, the girls visit the caretaker, Paul, in his office and proceed through some of the standard questions as well some particular to his role. Paul responds in a straight-faced but increasingly humorous way, building on their responses to generate an atmosphere of playfulness. After the headteacher, here is an adult who is sanctioning some kind of play with the act of representation, sending himself and the children up at the same time:

> Hattie: How many times a week do you have to get a ball off the roof?
>
> Paul: Er..der, der (thinks) about twice a week?
>
> Hattie: OK (nods, looks at camera)
>
> Paul continues (after glance at camera): Sometimes there might be 30 up on the roof, sometimes I fill a whole black sack up with them if I don't go up there for a couple of weeks
>
> Millie: Do you still ring the bell?

> Paul: Yes I ring the bell. The only time I don't ring the bell is if it's someone's birthday, if someone comes and says it's their birthday, then they're allowed to ring the bell
>
> Siobhan: Have you ever fallen off a ladder?
>
> Paul : Yes
>
> Siobhan (grimacing): Ooh
>
> Caretaker: I don't mind falling off ladders (pause)... I just don't like landing.
>
> Ellen: Are there any teachers in this school you dislike?
>
> Caretaker: (Laughs) You can't ask me that! I tell you what I'll do (puts glasses on theatrically and turns to his to his desk)...look...(starts to write out names on a piece of paper)...I'll write their names down and I'll show you their names ... (shows piece of paper to Ellen)...Right - you know but... (gestures towards the camera)... no-one else does.

This serves to invite the girls to be more playful in the rest of their production. The next cut is to a riotous dance round the edge of the ball pond in the special needs area of the school, accompanied by much screaming and laughing. Logically there is no place for this in the narrative of the production, it did not appear in the planning sheet and it has no formal purpose other than to show another (not often frequented) part of the school. However, it does signal subversion of a kind that arises in video production when permission is given to try on a new role, a new way of being. Thus, the improvised dance around the ball pond with the stunt diving in of Ellen, which follows Millie's advice (in a catchphrase borrowed from TV), "Don't try this at home."

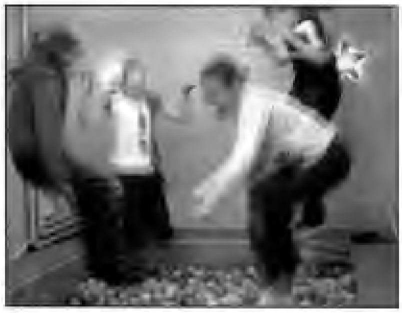


Fig. 30 Ellen, Hattie, Siobhan and Millie leap off the edge into the ball pond

In this behaviour we find echoes of "carnivalesque" behaviour noted in some media production activities (which will be discussed later in more detail), a license to behave in a certain playful and almost anarchic way given the presence of cameras and the tools of editing afterwards which afford a less structured form of play (see, for example, the discussion of this in relation to "digital drama" by Carroll, 2002). It also allows them to try different roles; that of misbehaving children.

In some ways the most subversive section follows with the introduction of the Chuckie doll, borrowed from an adult horror film, sitting atop the gnome in the school garden, clearly, and clumsily, manipulated by hand from beneath. This, given time restrictions, replaces their proposed animation sections but allows for play of a different kind.

Fig. 31 Scene with "Chuckie" doll and gnome from Ellen, Hattie, Siobhan and Millie's video

During the scene one of the girls moves the doll's arms upwards and tips back dragging it backwards over the back edge of the gnome. She returns the doll to show the doll's bottom to the camera, and then it waves goodbye. The dialogue which accompanies these movements runs as follows:

> Girl one (in American accent): You're my only friend
>
> Girl two(in American accent: "My name's Goofy and I need to pee – aaargh -
> Look at me…
> Bye
> dur dur dur (dance music sounds)

In this scene the girls explore an aspect of play not often captured and not envisaged in their original plans. The toy which they are manipulating references a horror film series featuring a malevolent doll. They subvert this in their play with the figure, with the mooning and with the toilet humour. This is far removed from the planned production and in territory far away from the interview with the headteacher. They have, however, quite deliberately placed the sequence after the jumping in the ball pond; the anarchy of both settings and both scenes belong together. This scene evokes Sutton-Roberts's words on toys in the modern era in "The Ambiguity of Play", where he writes:

"...children still have their private imaginary gardens, even if the content of those gardens may not be as sweetly Victorian as the prior era might have supposed..."(Sutton-Smith, 1997)

It is notable that, at the point of editing and selecting the most important scenes, remembering that the girls were attempting to go from 17 minutes down to 5 and were under pressure to make cuts, they did not wish to leave out an element which reflected an aspect of their play which was normally unseen.

There is a recapitulation of this unseen play and subversion in the interview captured "on the run" with the classroom assistant, when subversive play on school journey is alluded to:

> Girl (doing a live voiceover for viewers from behind camera): Sal ... came with us on school journey...
>
> Sal: (in a whining, playful voice): It wasn't me – I never done anything...It wasn't me...
>
> Girl: She was our best teacher...'cos she didn't tell on us when we played with the mattresses...don't tell Mrs Roberts ...
>
> Sal: (running off to lunchtime supervision) I never told anybody...and I'm naughty, naughty, naughty...

By now all semblance of formal narrative structure is gone and the video presents a series of "play episodes" intermingled with interviews. Even in these interviews, the girls are adept at drawing others into their play, as in the exchange with the classroom assistant above. At this boundary point, of crossing over into secondary school, growing up and moving on, they invite a number of adults to be complicit and to take part in the playful sketches and commentaries as they look forward and back. The only adult who is not drawn into the play is the headteacher who maintains her own roleplay as a responsible leader of a school and never lets the mask slip (in Goffman's terms, she never lets go of the front stage appearance (see Goffman, 1990)). The caretaker, as we have seen above, not only joins in but adds his own anarchic dimension to the proceedings in his jokey rebuttal of their questions. This sets the tone for further adult interaction as when they involve the visiting Italian PhD student (as seen previously in Katie and Aroti's production) in their play in the ball pond area. In Scene 5 they goad her into taking part by diving into the ball pond and provide a commentary in the style of television presenters but mingled with playful talk ("...she is going to dive for her everlasting life...")

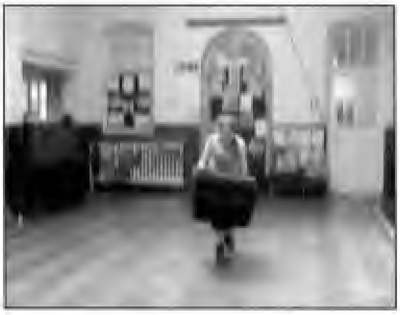


Fig. 32 "Challenges" with mats in the hall in Ellen, Hattie, Siobhan and Millie's video

The "play episodes' themselves include a long, subversive session of unsupervised activity in the hall, messing around with gym equipment and mats in a series of "challenges". In this they mimic TV talent shows and contests, but the media references are not as lengthy or rehearsed as those of Raymond and Keiron. Instead, with a single camera shot the children take turns to slide as far as they can on mats across the floor of the hall. When they have finished this they take part in "sumo wrestling", wrapping the mats around themselves and bundling each other to the floor in fits of laughter. By this point, in this scene, all thought of the viewers or the original brief for the production appears to have faded from view, along with the formal historical record of their time at the school. Instead, we have an account of children on the brink of moving to secondary school who are using the project to record aspects of their play as it unfolds in real time, trying on new roles before they leave and possibly indulging in behaviour that would not be sanctioned at their new schools. The idea of making a finished media-savvy production from which meaning can be made in conventional ways has been supplanted and subverted by a desire to record aspects of their play.

Interview with the producers

The most revealing sections of the interview centre on the turning point when the video changes from being a serious documentary and becomes a record of a playful set of experiences. Asked why they deviated from all the careful planning and when, the girls answered:

> Ellen: ...so we changed our storyboards as we went along.
> Interviewer: Right, because I wasn't there when you did all of that, so how did you plan it? I don't know kind of how it worked. At what point did you decide not to stick to it and why?
> Ellen: It was a few days ago...
> Hattie: And we just got bored with it...
> Ellen:... and with interviews and with people talking all the time...
> Interviewer: So what did you put in that you didn't plan to put in?
> All: (Laughing) the Sumo wrestling...
> Hattie: to make it more fun ...
> Siobhan:...and we do sumo wrestling sometimes like at Millie's house...

One section of the video which attempts to mimic the conventions of video and DVD production, like Raymond and Keiron's, is the "outtakes". The reasons for including this are explored in the interview. They are given as being because they were "funny" and there is an admission that while "most of them were actually mistakes...some of them were fake". The idea was to extend the play further, as one of them says "at first we tried to do them on purpose but they turned out really badly..."

There follows a long section on the use of the camera. Here they are again at play with the process. They assumed that the view of themselves upside down in the camera's LCD sidebar monitor when they flipped it out from the casing would be re-created onscreen. When this inevitably didn't work they resorted to pulling their hair upwards as they walked unsteadily across the floor. Here are the girls talking about this aspect of the production:
"...we are walking like this (waves hands up and down) and were like going...we are walking on the ceiling – and pulling up our hair...(lots of laughter from all of them)...it was so funny..."

Significantly, this was qualified later in the interview by saying that, when they watched the completed production (which they still claim is unfinished), "...some things you thought were funny at the time, really weren't that funny..." Play is much more of the moment and doesn't bear the weight of too much scrutiny. Often the girls were caught up in the moment, lost in the process and unable to think beyond it, so much so that, when viewing it back, they were surprised by how little came across to a viewer. There will be further discussion of this issue in later sections and chapters.

5.4 "Me and him are close and everyt'ing"

Introducing Kyle, Annie, Robin and Leon

It is certainly the case that Raymond and Keiron were regarded as successes as producer-directors and that their production was widely admired by their peers. In the previous section we have seen how they combined media references and quotation in highly entertaining ways. In the analysis of Aroti and Katie's video, however, we saw that there were other ways of thinking about productions where several features were not as successful, where the technical proficiency was lacking but where, nevertheless, important evidence of dispositions and skills arose. It was suggested that, in Aroti and Katie's work, the video assumed importance as a record of a way of living and being in a school community in the form of a media version of a hypomnemata.

The video produced by the group comprising Annie, Kyle, Robin and Leon contained elements of both Raymond and Keiron's and Katie and Aroti's, revealing deeper explorations of performed identity, as well as tensions in relationships within the group. The contribution which this video makes to the analysis in the thesis is as an example of distributed authorial purpose and negotiated outcome. It is also concerned at heart with issues around performed identity and storying, relating to the themes discussed in the theory chapter. The next section presents a thumbnail overview of the video "Back in the days".

Table 5: Kyle, Annie, Robin and Leon's video: scene by scene

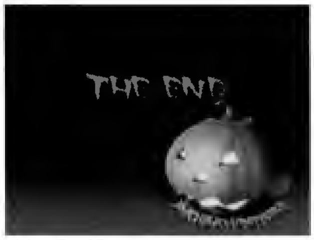
	back in the days		
Scene and timing	1 00:00:00 - 00:00:16	**2 00:00:16 – 00:00:18**	3 00:00:18 **- 00:00:29**
Scene description	Title sequence	Rapid introduction to Kyle	Introduction to Annie
Typology within movie	Editing software library image and titles	Performed, embodied mode of identity: playing basketball	Performed, embodied mode of identity: playing football
Memories, references	Sets scene immediately with title: Back in the days…	Playground games / wider culture: basketball	Playground games / wider culture: football
Genre / direct media references	Scrolling left to right – TV title ticker-tape style sequence	Introductory, opening credits	Slow-motion replays of football incidents
Camera work / technical	Assembled on screen in software after the shoot	Long-shot handheld, written title: Kyle	Long-shot handheld, written title: Annie
Sound	Non-diegetic: opening of Beat It by Michael Jackson	Non-diegetic: continuing with Beat It by Michael Jackson	Non-diegetic: continuing with Beat It by Michael Jackson

Scene and timing	**4 00:00:30– 00:00:42**	5 0:00:43 – 0:00:47	**6 0:00:48** - 0:00:57
Scene description	Introduction top Robin and Leon	Still image of Raymond and Keiron	Exterior – Annie taking a shot in pretend football game
Typology within movie	Performed, embodied mode of identity: throwing things	Naming of other class members	Practical joking/memory
Memories, references	Chaotic play in forbidden area: Special needs room	Documents interior of school	Memory of regular events – playground football
Genre / direct media references	Children's TV - Playfighting in competitions	Beginning credits in a production – over still frame	Football TV
Camera work / technical	Mid shots handheld titles of Robin and Leon added	Handheld – long shot – screen capture from video footage	Long shot – tripod - handheld
Sound	Non-diegetic: continuing with Beat It by Michael Jackson	Non-diegetic: continuing with Beat It by Michael Jackson	Diegetic (commentary "Watch this") over faded non-diegetic: Beat It

Scene and timing	**7 00:00:58 – 00:01:02**	**8 00:01:03 – 00:01:58**	**9 00:01:59 – 00:02:06**
Scene description	Interview with dinner lady	Long sequence of naming children on a framed photo	Running interview with a favourite teacher
Typology within movie	1st interview	Performed memory of class with storytelling	2nd interview
Memories, references	Significant adult: popular dinner lady	Memory of class members	Memories of walking after teachers, trying to get their attention
Genre / direct media references	TV documentary interview – spontaneous	Documentary - historical	TV documentary interview – spontaneous – on the move
Camera work / technical	Handheld	Close-up handheld	Handheld by interviewer
Sound	Diegetic (interview “Hello Annie…”) over faded non-diegetic: Beat It	Diegetic (narration names of whole class) over faded non-diegetic: Beat It	Diegetic (pursuing interviewee “This is…) over faded non-diegetic: Beat It

Scene and timing	**10 00:02:07 -00:02:19**	11 00:02:20 – 00:02:22	**12a/12 b 00:02:23-00:02:36**
Scene description	More formal interview with the teacher from Scene 9	Brief transitional scene – almost like a wipe between scenes	Footballing, taking shots
Typology within movie	3rd interview	Class members on screen	Film makers on scene performing football as
Memories, references	Formal interview style to camera	Memory of class members	Memory of playground games
Genre / direct media references	End title sequence from another movie	TV documentary interview – spontaneous	Football on TV
Camera work / technical	Mid-shot handheld	Handheld close up	Handheld long shot, shaky with zoom in part b
Sound	Diegetic (interview) over faded non-diegetic: Beat It	Diegetic over faded non-diegetic: Beat It	Diegetic over faded non-diegetic: Beat It

Scene and timing	**13 00:02:37 - 00:02:45**	**14 00:02:46 – 00:03:19**	**15 00:03:20-00:04:02**
Scene description	Teacher interview	A classmate performs gymnastics for camera	Narrated version of contents of "memory box"
Typology within movie	4th interview fragment	Class members on screen	Personal reflection
Memories, references	Memory of a teacher	Memory of class members	Performed memory of times at school
Genre / direct media references	TV documentary interview	TV documentary interview – spontaneous	Documentary style voiceover
Camera work / technical	Mid-shot handheld	Handheld close up	Handheld close-up
Sound	Diegetic (interview) over faded non-diegetic: Beat It	Diegetic over faded non-diegetic: Beat It	Diegetic over faded non-diegetic: Beat It

			
Scene and timing	**16 00:04:03 -00:04:09**	**17a 00:04:10 – 00:04:18**	**17b 00:04:18 – 00:04:29**
Scene description	Two of the video makers joke with false teeth	End credits	End credits
Typology within movie	Comedic element – interview parody	Credit sequence	Credit sequence
Memories, references	Playing at acting	Halloween reference –back to joke teeth	Football reference
Genre / direct media references	To children's TV / possibly to horror	From library of stills in software	From library of stills in software
Camera work / technical	Close-up handheld	Library picture/graphic match with Kyle's teeth	Each name has a different font in credit roll
Sound	Diegetic (interview) over faded non-diegetic: Beat It	Silence replaces Beat It	Silence

Names and faces: planning for “Filming friends”

In the fourth production to be analysed it is possible to trace the roots of a desire to record and create the relations within a community from the paper plans onwards. For Kyle, Annie, Robin and Leon, the initial planning was carried out as a mind map which showed which aspects of their time at school the group were keen to represent. The joint authorial hand of Kyle and Annie is present over and above any of the others in the production. (see Fig. 32 below).

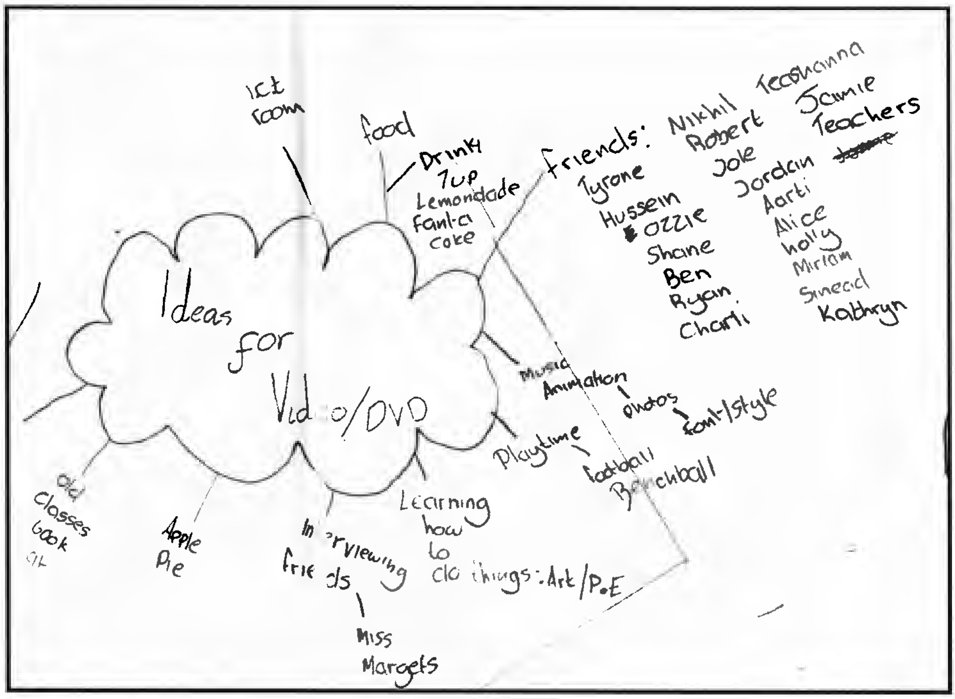

Ideas for Vid o/DVD
ICT room
food
Drink 7up Lemondade Fanta Coke
Friends: Nikhil Robert Tyrone Hussein Ozzie Shane Ben Ryan Charli
Teeshanna Jamie Teachers Joe Jordan Aarti Alice holly Miriam Sinead Kathryn
Music
Animation
photos
font/style
Playtime
football
Benchball
Learning how to do things: Art/P.E
Interviewing friends
Miss Margets
Apple Pie
Old Classes book

Fig. 33 Planning sheet by Kyle, Annie, Robin and Leon

The most salient item in the original plan is the long list of friends at the top right of the picture, neatly divided along gender lines. These are the people whom it is important to include in the finished product. With 23 names showing on the sheet as “friends” they represent nearly all the class members. The salient point for these video makers is the opportunity to represent the whole social and cultural milieu of the class.

Around the edge of the plan are lists of interviewees (such as Ms Mitchell, a favourite teacher, who did make it in to the final version) and some food and drink items. Also present are a series of activities, formal and informal. Sport and making things feature very heavily. The formal literacy and numeracy curriculum is not represented. Some items are listed as follows "Learning how to do things: Art/PE" and in the other choices there is an emphasis on agency and activity, as in Playtime/Benchball/Football. Other active elements include animation and music and the "ICT room". These items were moved over into the linear version of the storyboard shown below:

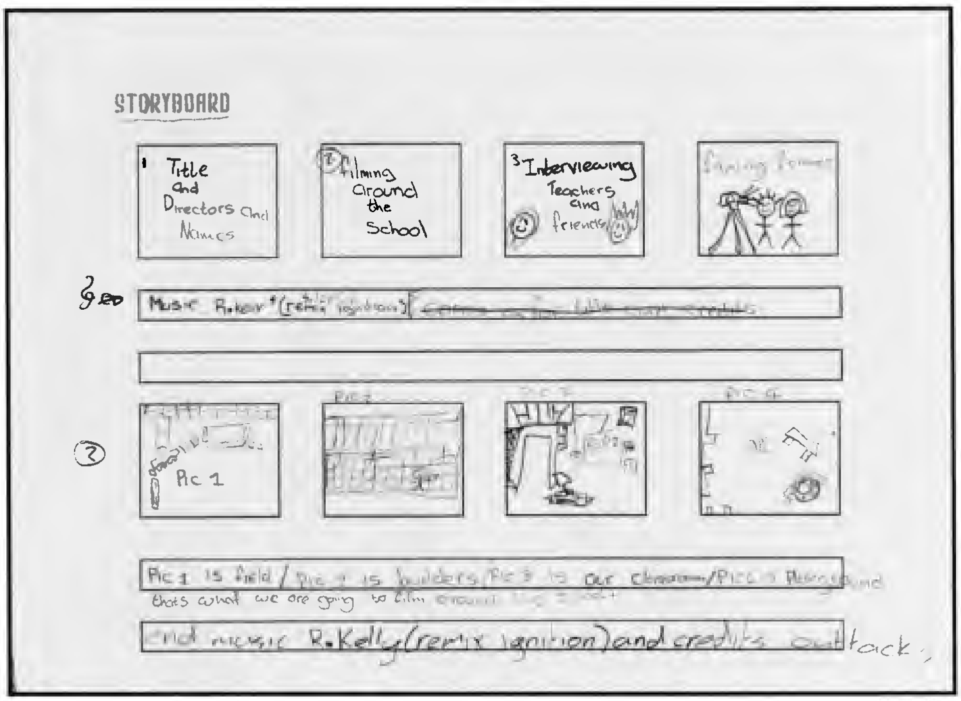

STORYBOARD
1 Title and Directors and Names
2 filming around the School
3 Interviewing Teachers and friends
Music R.Kelly (remix ignition)
Pic 1
Pic 2
Pic 3
Pic 4
Pic 1 is field / Pic 2 is builders / Pic 3 is our classroom / Pic 4 ... and thats what we are going to film around the school
end music R.Kelly (remix ignition) and credits out take

Fig. 34 Storyboard from Kyle, Annie, Robin and Leon

Naming names and filming friends are key elements brought over from the mindmap. The fourth square is shown as follows:

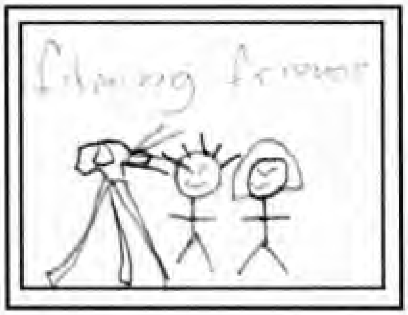

filming friends

Fig. 35 "Filming friends" extract from the storyboard by Kyle, Annie, Robin and Leon

This survives into the main production as the long sequence in the centre of the video where Kyle and Annie list all the names in a photograph which they hold up to the camera.

Fig. 36 Naming the names and performing the story of each one

Naming the names of the participants is, in fact, at the core of a long central sequence. A framed class photo of that year's school leavers, this class and the parallel class, is held up to the camera and Kyle places a finger beneath each face, listing characteristics of and/or memories about each one, as follows:

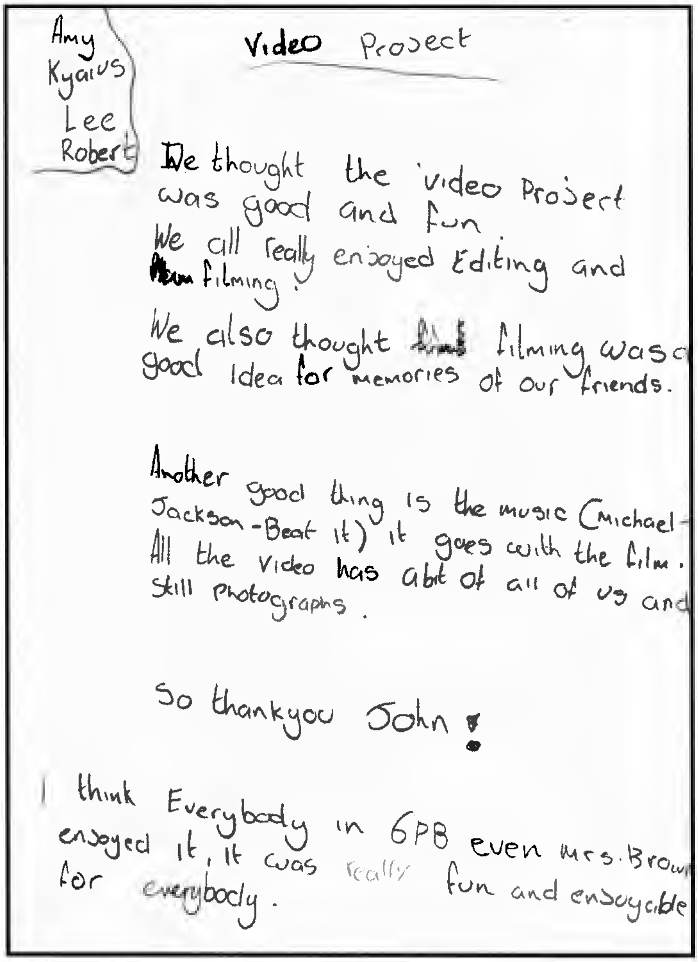
> "M he's alright...Y · we call her skinny mini (ooh oooh)...J she's cool and evryt'ing...G – well, I ain't gonna say it cos' it's on TV...and we've got my personal friend O ..we got B there – he's big and every'ting...we got Hattie ...we got (pauses and gets prompted by Annie) L . ...we got F – he's my brethren, me and him are close and everyt'ing and 't'ing...we got F ve got H we got B and we got Miss Hicks...and there's Miss B again or Miss Black" [A fade out to black and back in again leads into Annie taking over the narrative...]"D H , J N G L S K , B E (Kyle interrupts as Annie's finger gets to his picture with "And Me" as Someone in the background also calls out :"Kyle" whilst Annie is talking) and...)"

Kyle names each of the people in turn while it is his turn to do it - the culturally important touchstone of his very close relationship to another class member – Funda – is direct and intact. The narrative pauses as if there were more to say and Kyle stays focused on this face for longer than the others. Both boys are from the same cultural background (British Black Caribbean) and this signal of respect to that culture and of friendship is a significant point in the video. Telling the story in this way, waving a still image in front of a video camera and naming the constituents of the picture is an effective and knowing use of the medium. Whilst Annie eventually adds in names of her own as bluntly stated facts, Kyle actually performs the task of naming the class as a narrative about the past, the present, the filmmaking itself ("...ain't gonna say it cos it's on TV...") as well as about important relationships ("...me and him are close..."). The view of Glen is stated in the full knowledge that it will be heard and understood as a negative aside by his peers. It falls short of foul or abusive language, obeying a convention of television before the watershed.

This suggests a use of the performed element of the video as a marker for particular kinds of cultural identity. The performed storying of each member of the class in the top line of the photograph recalls Bruner's *Acts of Meaning* in the way it is framed as a commemoration of an agentive self defined partly at least by bonds and relationships to others (Bruner, 1990, pp. 41-42). Digital video allows for the spontaneous oral performance of the storytelling.

Right from the opening screen the authorial intention is made clear. The opening screen shows an image taken from the picture library which is supplied with the software. It is of a sunset and juxtaposed with the text in the title running right to left: "Back in the days..." The text is used to mark out the production as being based in the realm of shared memory and experience and announces that it will be adhering closely to the original brief, representing memory and time at school. The sunset adds pathos and irony to the scenes which follow.

The common ground between the children is further underlined by the choice of music, a Michael Jackson track – "Beat it" which serves as a common denominator. All of the team involved are fans and they know the majority of the class are. In the choice of music, the video makers appeal to a shared cultural sensibility. They wrote their evaluation afterwards that "Beat it" had been a big contribution to the success of the video. Their written evaluation is shown in the figure below:



Amy
Kyaius
Lee
Robert

Video Project

We thought the video Project
was good and fun
We all really enjoyed Editing and
filming!

We also thought filming was a
good Idea for memories of our friends.

Another good thing is the music (Michael -
Jackson - Beat it) it goes with the film.
All the video has abit of all of us and
Still photographs.

So thankyou John!

I think Everybody in 6PB even Mrs. Brow
enjoyed it, it was really fun and enjoyable
for everybody.

Fig. 37 Evaluation of the production process by Kyle, Annie, Robin and Leon

The evaluation focuses on the shared experience of the group in commemorating the class identity. The salient features are (repeated again and again) the “friends”:
“everybody in 6PB”
“all the video has a bit of all of us”
“filming was a good idea for memories of our friends”
“we all really enjoyed filming and editing”
And the long, central sequence with the framed photograph receives its own mention:
“All the video has a bit of all of us and still photographs”.

Videomaker interview

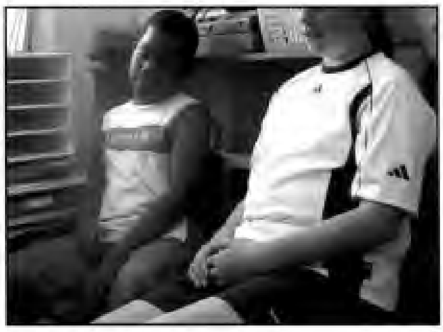


Fig. 38 Kyle and Annie interviewed

Although billed as being the work of Annie, Kyle, Robin and Leon, this third video was, in fact, as attested in the interview, mainly the work of the first two people in the list and, as such, the first mixed gender group in the study, Annie and Kyle. The two who did eventually compile the video are able to take some satisfaction from having completed it and from having represented themselves in role as completer-finishers in front of the class. They also express some enjoyment at working together well in the face of difficulties in other aspects of the group.

For the post-production interview, Kyle and Annie sit side by side in the same position as the one adopted by Raymond and Keiron in the previous interview (see Fig. 37 above). There is no winking at the camera, however, nor is there continued roleplay as film directors. These are two children talking about the completion of an activity with a stranger. Kyle sits in relaxed pose on the left of the screen and Annie sits up, leaning forward occasionally, the top of her head just slightly out of shot.

The interviewer opens with "You are just going to have to tell me about your film..." to which Kyle immediately responds with an impression of the whole thing, saying, "It's basically (rolls his eyes and pauses for dramatic effect)...crazy!" Annie, on the other hand, opts for a list of the elements which are criterial and salient to her understanding of what she has just helped to make...

> "It's got parts of everybody in it and um names rolling across the bottom of the screen and at the end we have the football pitch – no before that we have a Halloween thing with a pumpkin – saying "The end" and next we have um a transition which sticks it together as a picture – then we have a football pitch and it's got produced and edited and filmed by Annie, Kyle, Leon and Robin..."

Here, the recording and accurate naming of people involved is the most important aspect of the work alongside throwing in some technical terms from the filmmaking process (edited, produced, transition).

At the outset both children give a positive response to the enjoyment question and talk about the camera as the most enjoyable element with "editing it and stuff" coming in a close second. They look back on the aspect of working with people they do not normally work with as being a positive thing (at least in the early part of the interview), and allude to the fact that, whilst working, everyone had only good things to say about each other.

When discussing problems it emerges that Leon was unhappy because of being unable to film aniseed balls and Coca Cola. However, Kyle reveals that "instead of doing that we let him put his friends in it." Kyle and Annie were gatekeepers to the project, the overseers allowing group members access to the means of representing. Again, the common element around which the group was able to agree through this was the representation of "friendship", the allowing of "others" into the finished product.

The interviewer asks the group to consider how things had changed from the beginning of the film. Kyle playfully rewinds an imaginary tape with his hands in the air, nods and moves on. The planning at the beginning is described by both boys as being useful and a record of everything that had to go into the production. The ball-pond sequence in the special needs area with the fighting and throwing was added "because we had more time". This aspect has a similarity with both of the previous groups where the template of the video may have been established in the planning stages but the execution of the project was dependent on a degree of flexibility with regards to time and the sudden availability of resources. Further, the question about sticking to the plan once filming had started was dismissed with a simple "no" – as in no, we did not stick to the plan because we got ideas from other people and from the act of filming. Time and again, the interplay between the filmmakers and "other people" comes across as a really important aspect of the work. This group's most salient vision is of the classroom as a nexus of relationships which they wish to acknowledge and to preserve through representative acts. Making a statement about the whole class and their place within it becomes the central purpose of the video.

Other aspects which become salient in the interview include a long section on technical difficulties, as they relate to filming aspects of their chosen identity. For both children, football was an important aspect of daily life, part of their performed identity at school. Both Annie and Kyle played in school teams (with Annie also playing for a local team at weekends). The technical difficulty of filming live football was often remarked on. So salient was football in their production that the only external media influence quoted in the interview was "Match of the Day" which is what they were trying to simulate on the backfield with handheld camera shots and live action. In fact, Annie recalls "We was trying to get a Match of the Day theme or something…" from the Internet to add to the music and sound onscreen.

An indication that there were some difficulties in production occurred during a discussion of the way in which Leon behaved during the editing. Significantly this was around the shared interest of adding friends to the production. Leon added some at the editing stage (the still of Raymond and Keiron) and then "was moaning when we added ours". Again, relationships and their recording are pivotal in discussions around the final form of the video.

When the interviewer comes to wrap up the conversation with questions about the overall levels of satisfaction, both Annie and Kyle are interested in describing how they overcame the difficulties through teamwork between themselves when Leon and Robin were not around. Although claiming they were flexible themselves they were keen to point out when people would become irate and delete things which had been added in the absence of others who owned it. Their level of satisfaction with the whole project was, however, quite low in comparison with others though this mainly hinged on the fact of losing content in software incidents and in dealing with other people. Annie said she would, in the future, only be interested in working with friends.

Whilst the aspects of group identity are important there are also clear moments of personal performed identity across a series of contexts.

As the title and opening image fades, the main sequence introducing the members of the group begins. Here the names are superimposed over actions which they have chosen to represent themselves. For Kyle, the action is putting a toy basketball through a small hoop and dancing on the spot. For Annie, a keen footballer, it is faking a foul and falling in slow motion. The others relish the prospect of being in the ball pond (an area usually denied to them) and able to throw the plastic balls around the room. There is an echo of the playful anarchy of other productions in this, of the project giving licence to a form of carnivalesque play (see the discussion of this aspect of media production in Buckingham, 2003, pp. 162-164). Most importantly, the establishing shots give the production its key focus, which will be on naming people and telling stories about them.

Fig. 39 Ms. Mitchell followed by Kyle in the video by Kyle, Annie, Robin and Leon

If Kyle presents one aspect of himself as playful, enjoying basketball and dancing in the opening scene, he also wishes to demonstrate the ease with which he moves into the world of significant adults in the school. He chooses a popular teacher, Ms Mitchell, as a significant adult in his representation of himself and the school in this production. He pursues her in a flirtatious way with the camera (see Figure above), in role as paparazzi, or independent video-maker, trying to get a comment from his subject, making as he goes along the potentially transgressive statement about the teacher's prettiness. There is an element of flirting and an element of humour, reflecting the carnivalesque moment at the end of the time at primary school. The choice of her moving away from him as an establishing shot for the scene shows her as an important adult who is very busy in the school. He is always trying to get her attention and he can with the camera in his hand. This is an aspect of performed self rendered in media.

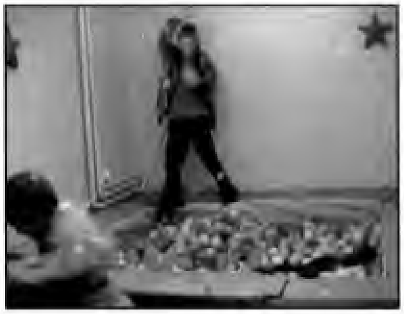


Fig. 40 Robin and Leon attack each other in the Ball Pond in School A

Robin and Leon, the two other members of the group in this video, are not as involved in the production as the other two. When, however, they are shown on camera it is early on in the scene which takes place in the ball pond area of the school's Special Needs centre. Normally out of bounds, the camera crews used the licence to film provided by the project to go and play in forbidden areas, doing forbidden things like throwing the balls around in the ball pond (see Fig. 39 above). Leon is just in shot initially on the bottom left of the screen and is throwing a series of balls at Robin who is standing up in long shot against the back wall. First "Robin" and then "Leon" scrolls across the screen – again in blue lettering from right to left.

This was the sequence which Leon wanted in the production as a marker of his performed identity as an anarchist, albeit a playful one. The special needs area became a marker for other video productions for this
whilst recording transgressive behaviour had an even greater impact in videos in the second project school.

5.5 *"Sorry for that disturbance"*

Introducing James, Poppy and Heather and School B

A constant theme of video production as we have seen in the literature review and as discussed in the theory chapter is its presumed relevance and authenticity as a medium for younger learners. The final two videos for analysis in this chapter represent two different aspects of this authenticity and reflect on them in relation to the issues and themes already identified. The first of these is the attempt to use video production as a way of accessing "learner voice", the authentic and unmediated voice and input of learners, which, as has been discussed in chapter 3, has proven not to be without its problems and difficulties. The second, which will be addressed in the section which follows this video, is to look at the issue of the creative activity with new technologies.

The videos produced in the project in school B differ in some ways from those in the preceding four sections. The project took place with a group of 12 students drawn from all ages in Key Stage 2, not a single class at a specific age and time in the school. In this project there were children for whom some referral had been made to the "School Action" part of the special needs process in England[26]. The children were part of a nurture group which met on Friday afternoons. Just as in school A they were asked to make self –representational videos as part of a way of communicating to the wider world something of themselves and their experience of life at the school. Very similar organisational strategies were employed: one camera and one laptop were shared by each group of three children.

The children were already, in some major respects, set apart from the rest of the school. The school management took the view that this group would benefit from a small, time-limited, digital video project which they could take home at the end and which would be available for screening to the school and to the wider community. The perceived benefits were those of an "off-timetable" activity, which, it was assumed, would lead to higher levels of engagement, motivation and excitement. The emphasis for the school was on these issues alongside learning how to work together (which has often been discussed as a benefit of media production (cf. Buckingham, 2003, p.129)).

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[26] *"School Action" is one of the four stages of the scale of Special Educational Needs which children are placed on in schools in England. It is the stage at which support is arranged above and beyond normal provision but within the staffing of the school and not by external agencies. Full definitions of the stage are available here http://www.teachernet.gov.uk/wholeschool/sen/parentcarers/ [access date: 13.02.08]*

Despite the negotiated interest of the researcher, at no point was it apparent that the school was interested in learning more about issues to do with self-representation in media production. However, the learning mentor was very keen on the idea of giving children a voice in a medium with which they were familiar (although up to this point, as stated above, they were essentially positioned as consumers, rather than as active producers).

Learner voice has subsequently become a "live issue" (as seen in preceding sections) with projects around technology and media seeking to elicit input from students and give them a sense of ownership and participation. One example in recent years is the Learner Voice and Technology Project for BECTA which, as we have seen previously, partially made use of self-produced digital video texts by learners in its evidence base (Selwyn, Potter and Cranmer, 2008). The conception of Learner Voice used in this instance is derived from Michael Fielding's suggested stages of eliciting "Student Voice" in pedagogical design (Fielding, 2004) which has been discussed in preceding sections in chapter 3.

The section which follows looks in detail at one of the productions and examines what was said afterwards for evidence of "learner voice". The children in the video productions were all individuals for whom classrooms were difficult places, as described in Chapter 4 in the section on school contexts. In the ordinary course of events, they were unable to take a full part in the daily subjects of literacy and numeracy in the morning and science and arts activities in the afternoon. They were identified as having Special Educational Needs for one of two reasons. Eight of the children were there because their behaviour was identified as severely disruptive in classroom and playground settings. The remaining four were in the group because they behaved in a mute, withdrawn manner, unable to take part fully or communicate with other members of the school community. As a result, as noted above, they were often in trouble, or overlooked and excluded from activities within the school setting.

The children made four video productions in groups of three, two of which are focused on here because they represent the productions with the best evidence base from planning through production to exhibition. The running time for all videos ranged from 3 minutes to 7 minutes. All of them were mixed genre, hopping, for example, between news satire and music video, between personal video diary and sketches involving characters from film and TV. Given the nature of the project, covering such a short space of time, working on the productions was pressured and, at times, chaotic. The setting was very similar to the situation in school A. However, as in the earlier project, working time was never less than fully utilised by the children themselves, swapping between roles as performer, camera operator, editor and producer. Planning sheets lay around the workspace, alongside cables, tape boxes and music CDs. Observation notes, photos and some video taken while the children worked reveal the fluidity of the situation, the negotiation, communication and role taking. As before, there were very high levels of engagement, co-operation and motivation, all of which were nevertheless extremely uncommon for these children in their usual roles in the school.

The video described below is the first one from the school B setting, by James, Poppy and Heather, and went under the title of "Morning News", at first a straightforwardly parodic news broadcast, but subsequently taking a different direction as will be seen.

Table 6: James, Poppy and Heather's video: Scene by scene

Scene and timing	**1 00:00:00 - 00:00:05**	**2 00:00:06 – 00:00:22**	**3 00:00:23 - 00:00:30**
Scene description	News broadcast intro	News reporter interrupted by person in background	Back to newsreader
Typology within movie	Parodic reference to news TV	Parodic reference to news TV	Parodic reference to news TV
Memories, references	Playing in different roles	Disruptive role play	Roleplay
Genre / direct media references	News broadcast	News broadcast	News broadcast
Camera work / technical	Tripod / mid-shot titling added at end and into scene 2	Tripod/ mid shot / titling still scrolling from previous scene	Tripod / mid-shot
Sound	Spoken intro to news – read from sheet	Diegetic: spoken to camera, non-diegetic mobile dialling	Spoken outro to news – read from sheet

			en dir cted pr duced filmed edited perform by Jacq
Scene and timing	**4 00:00:30– 00:01:16**	**5 00:01:17 – 00:01:30**	**6 00:01:30 – 00:01:46**
Scene description	Dance sequence in school hall	Parody of wedding ceremony	End credits
Typology within movie	Play / parody	Role play / parody	Frozen image of revealed parody /Listing of participants
Memories, references	Playing in school hall / dance lessons in PE?	Acting /Imaginative play	Acting /Imaginative play
Genre / direct media references	Dance sequences in video	TV comedy –sketch show or trick show	TV comedy –sketch show or trick show
Camera work / technical	Various shots, tripod	Tripod mid shot	Still image grab / credit roll from software
Sound	Non-diegetic – music added at editing stage	Diegetic – dialogue	Silence

Learner voice, identity and subversion in media production

In "Morning News", the children take on a recognisable form, that of a news report. It opens with a girl sitting at a table announcing some "late breaking news". She is in role as an anchor to the production, handing over to an older child, a boy, who is reporting from inside the school. He stands in front of some infant PE apparatus in a head and shoulder mid-shot. As he begins his report a soft, foam ball lands on his head thrown from off-camera by an unseen hand. He pauses to comment: "Stupid kids". From behind him and to his right (and the viewer's left) another girl appears walking in the background. She stops and notices the filming, taking out her mobile phone and calls someone to tell them, also pausing to wave to the camera. Noticing this further interruption the boy in role as a reporter says to camera: " Right, that's it, finish, FINISH..." gesturing in a cutting motion with his hands. The viewer is returned to the girl in role as newsreader who apologises for the "disturbance". An extra edit before this scene finishes allows the newsreader to tap the pages in the table after shuffling them. This detail was added at the insistence of all the children. The scene then shifts to another part of the school where two of the children perform a dance routine to a piece of music used in television advertising, *"I see you baby"* by Groove Armada. In the dance the children visually address the camera, approaching it and performing to it.

In the final sequence, the news reporter has now become a priest or registrar at a wedding, standing in profile with some flowers in the foreground. He announces that we are all gathered together for a wedding, before destroying the illusion with a turn towards the camera and an announcement that "I'm a joker, it's a fake!" The credits roll up the screen with a list of the tasks performed by the three children ("written, produced, filmed, edited, performed by...")

Several elements were added to the production at the editing stage. Near the beginning, the title, "Morning news" scrolls from bottom to top in Arial 24 pt type, and we hear the sound of the phone keys being pressed (taken from the software sound library). The music for the dance scene was added afterwards when it was downloaded at a later stage.

In interview, the children all felt that they could have done more with more time, whilst still expressing satisfaction with the production given the constraints of only having the four sessions. Poppy added that given more time she would "make it more real" and James noted that he would put more comedy in a newer version, in both cases moving it closer to a sense of themselves and their roles or identities in the world of the school.

One aim of the project described in this study was to give a voice to a section of a school community which is usually marginalised and unheard, to try to get to the highest level possible described by Fielding (2004), referred to in Chapter 3. The children in these productions were either extremely behaviourally challenging or very withdrawn. The medium afforded them the opportunity to express themselves in ways which were hitherto impossible, drawing on cultural references well beyond school in order to align themselves with the media culture of their time. This was challenging to the viewer in two senses: firstly, in the amateur look and feel, shaky camera work and basic editing and, secondly, in the perceived inappropriate behaviour on display in all the productions, albeit at different levels.

The expectations of the school, unlike School A which was happier with freer, less polished productions, were that the children would make finished movies which replicated a notion of what finished production looked like from an adult, broadcast-minded mentality and which made meaning in more conventional, audience-friendly ways. They were also concerned that the amateurish nature of the camerawork and technical difficulties in editing would open these vulnerable children up to critical responses and even ridicule from the wider school community. Perhaps the biggest reservations expressed by the school concerned the transgressive nature of some of the activity represented in the videos, in the case of "Morning News" the inappropriate dancing of the children, in particular the girl, on the empty school stage. It was felt by one of the teachers that the girl's dance moves were sexualised and that she was potentially inviting problems during the exhibiting of the film in front of the wider school and possibly the parents. This was not a view held by other teachers or by the learning mentor, nor, as it turned out, by the child's parents.

Whilst the school managers were not happy with the finished productions, the videos were, nevertheless, celebrated by parents and carers in a screening and party in a community room away from the main school. The children introduced the productions and described their work in the project over the previous four weeks. They took some questions from parents and carers. They were also able to take away a copy of the finished DVD comprising all the productions. This difference in perception of the success and value of the projects themselves represents an interesting dichotomy between the players in the micro-politics of the situation in the school.

Viewing "Morning News" it is difficult to spot the transgressive nature of the production in either its form or content. At least initially, it is a piece of innocuous parody, in this case of a news broadcast. This problematic section described above (the dance scene) is the longest take in a very short production and dominates the screen time. In some ways we are in the same territory as the previous video from school A with the Chuckie Doll sequence (see above) and an adult viewer can again make the connections to Sutton-Roberts's work, aware that some kind of private "play" is being enacted which does not conform to acceptable behaviour. Indeed the quotation applied previously fits this section, where he writes:

> "...children still have their private imaginary gardens, even if the content of those gardens may not be as sweetly Victorian as the prior era might have supposed..."(Sutton-Smith, 1997)

However, "Morning News" also contains notions of disruption at other levels within its overarching narrative. In the first part of the video, the news itself is interrupted by "late breaking" events from the school. When we cut to the school we find the "reporter" being disrupted by child in the background, waving to the audience.

Morning
news

Figs. 41 a & b Disruption of news report in James, Poppy and Heather's video

The soundtrack is disrupted by the bleeping of a mobile phone from the sound library in the software. We return to the "studio" only briefly before we are disrupted by the dance sequence in the hall (itself a disruptive activity in the space, the infant gym hall).

"Morning News" has as its closing image a wedding parody, with the boy in profile intoning the words of the marriage ceremony only to reveal that "I'm a joker, it's a fake…" Here there are echoes of the fakery in Raymond and Keiron's video, but the "joke" is again an act of disruptive play, this time centering on breaking in to the wedding ceremony. In each of these cases, the reporter, newsreader or vicar – all of them in some way figures of authority - are undermined or interrupted.

Disruption and subversion are recurring themes in the production. Whether these are attempts to exploit wider possibilities which the medium has for revealing student voice is more debatable. However, the children were not accustomed to the degree of freedom which the production conferred on them for the five weeks they were involved. They were given access to longer stretches of time for a single activity (which was not the norm at the school at this point, lessons being short and discrete subject based sessions). They were allowed to be in parts of the school where they were not normally permitted. They were given a degree of freedom in a new authoring medium.

However, notwithstanding all the ways in which the children in "Morning News" were working outside of their norms it is, perhaps, over emphasizing the point to suggest that the media production itself liberated and authenticated their true voice. They were still constrained by having to come up with something inside the brief ("Find a way to express something of yourself in a specific genre and make a video production of it."). They were still constrained by having to make something which would allow an audience to make meaning from it in a conventional sense. And, ultimately, they were constrained by ways in which their "voice" was limited to things which adults wanted to hear. There will be a discussion of this and related findings in chapter 6 below.

"Morning News" producers interviewed

The makers of "Morning News" were interviewed together. Their responses, in common with every other video crew, indicated high levels of satisfaction and enjoyment with the process. Given the off-timetable nature of the project and the excitement around using the equipment, this was an expected response. When the questions approached issues of authorship and identity, the answers became more complex and divergent from one another revealing more hidden and less obvious aspects of the process. They differed widely from the responses around identity in the previous project school, except in the area of performance. For one of the girls the performing was the key element. She saw herself in a new light but, equally, worried about how she might be seen, saying:

> "It's kind of not really acting...it's just kind of fun stuff and everyone's going to see it. But when it's really on today I'm going to be like that (covers face) because I'm probably going to be really embarrassed."

In terms of the technology, many of the interviews revealed a tendency towards personification of the camera (noted in the earlier interview with Raymond and Keiron), a sense in which the camera is performing as well, borne out in "Morning News" by the dance which directly includes the camera as a character, addressed by the movement of both the boy and the girl towards it (see example in the figure below).

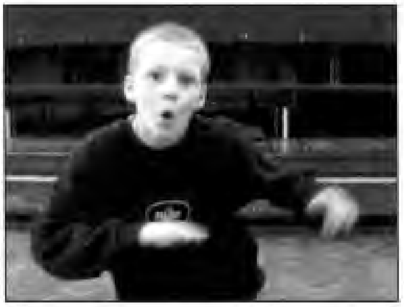


Fig. 42 James "addresses" the camera directly in James, Poppy and Heather's video production

James's gaze looks through the camera into the audience, but also remains rooted in the play at the time of its capture. This was a boy who could not relate easily to other people in his class, working happily with two younger girls. He pointed out during the interview that:

> "It's been good...(working with) different people that we don't normally play with...and we all have to agree on the idea that we want to put in it..."

Interestingly there is a thematic connection here with Raymond and Keiron's expressed desire to plan in order to avoid any resulting lack of quality at the point of assembling the piece.

On the other hand, the laptop and the editing interface were repeatedly referred to as "the controls". The boy from "Morning News" summarised his experience as "It's all fun…it's fun in front of the camera and behind it because you get to set it up (with) all the controls…" This idea of "control" is significant in the light of the theories around both literacy and identity introduced in chapter 3.

5.6 "007 meets Dr X, King Arthur and a news reporter"

Introducing 007 meets Dr X, King Arthur et al

"007..." was a more complex but far less obviously coherent piece than "Morning News". It moved from spy movie into music video, via news and documentary reportage. It appears experimental and jarring in terms of its narrative drift and its genre hopping. It contained many of the elements raised previously which will also form part of the discussion in chapter 6, namely, roleplay, improvisation, use of school locations in narrative and media quotation.

The overriding issue is more the difficulty with which meaning is made by the viewer. The ways in which the different resources are assembled obfuscate and obscure meaning outside of the immediate circle of the producers. This was the concern of school managers when they viewed the production; it would not be easily understood by other children and might expose vulnerable children to ridicule. It was simply not as polished as it should have been. Indeed, as will be seen, it became an issue for one of the children involved who said he was happy whilst making the production but very unhappy that it would be seen by anyone (particularly his mother).

In this production the crew used the license granted by participation in the project to gain access to areas where they were not normally allowed to go. Two of the boys are in the office area and make use of the paper shredder as a prop. The production is introduced as the credits roll at the beginning, announcing "007 meets Dr X, King Arthur and a news reporter at *** school..." The music chosen after introducing the characters was the introduction to a Justin Timberlake album where he is himself introduced to the listener. A note about Dr X ("Find Dr X and after reading, please shred...") is discovered and a news reporter takes up the story, standing in front of the railings overlooking one of the school's playgrounds. Several attempted takes of the news report are included with the background music mixed too high to hear any of the dialogue. A sequence follows in which the children abandon the plot in favour of playing on some of the younger children's play equipment.

The scenes which follow incorporate a fight a between a 007-like character and King Arthur. One of the boys dressed as the king is armed with a wooden sword and waves it around while play fighting with 007, armed with a toy gun (this scene was filmed during a toy amnesty as part of book week in the school, toy guns of any kind not normally being allowed on the premises). The music added later to this sequence was an extract from "Toy soldiers" by Eminem. This group's video concludes with a dance sequence, skillfully edited with appropriate transitions to "Lose my breath" by Destiny's Child.

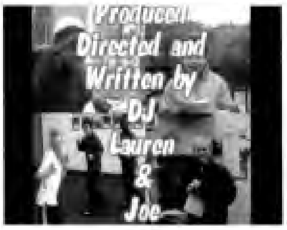
With the exception of the editing at the end of the production, by which time the children were highly adept at manipulating the raw material in the software, the overall impression remains one of confusion at the lack of structure and at the poor camerawork and sound. And yet, with its interweaving of different characters drawn from a range of media references, it appears to be a highly "creative" media text, particularly in its choice of music, one song for each of the children in three different sequences.

Table 7: John, Denzil and Lily's video: Scene by scene

	007 meets Dr X, King Arthur and a news reporter at JB school		
Scene and timing	1 00:00:00 - 00:00:27	2 00:00:28 – 00:00:32	3 00:00:33 - 00:00:44
Scene description	Establishing shot of school, main characters	News reporter reading to camera	Reading then crossing school photocopy room to shred note
Typology within movie	Parody of spy movie	Parody of news broadcast	Parody of spy movie
Memories, references	References to roleplay	Roleplay	References to roleplay
Genre / direct media references	TV / spy movies	TV news broadcast	Handheld spy movie
Camera work / technical	Handheld, titling, some speed increase in editing software	Handheld mid shot	Handheld close up then tracking shot
Sound	Justin Timberlake and cock crowing from sound library	Diegetic, over faded non-diegetic Justin Timberlake	Diegetic, over faded non-diegetic Justin Timberlake

Scene and timing	4 00:00:45 – 00:00:51	5 00:02:55 – 0:03:31	6 00:01:03- 00:01:27
Scene description	Lily skips round hopscotch	Lily interviews Denzil who is trying to disguise being Dr X	Playfighting in and out of roles in the playground
Typology within movie	Play	Roleplay	Playground references to past play in the shelter
Memories, references	To school routine, playing in playground	Play	Imaginative play
Genre / direct media references	Partially in role as reporter	Documentary and spy movie parody	Handheld shots – children's TV?
Camera work / technical	Handheld, long shot from above	Handheld mid-shot / v poor sound	Handheld /sound added later
Sound	Diegetic, over faded non-diegetic Justin Timberlake	Diegetic, over faded non-diegetic Justin Timberlake	Diegetic: spoken / non diegetic JT and sound of dog

Scene and timing	**7 00:01:28 – 00:01:36**	**8 00:01:37 – 00:01:39**	**9 00:01:40 – 00:02:16**
Scene description	Playing at falling over	Close up on John lying "dead" in the playground	Long play fight between King Arthur and James Bond
Typology within movie	Play	Play	Play
Memories, references	Of playing	Of playfighting	Memories of playing in the playground
Genre / direct media references	Possible children's TV	Documentary / footage of dead	Action adventure movie
Camera work / technical	Handheld	Mid shot	Mid shot / tripod / speeded clip at editing stage
Sound	Diegetic	Diegetic	Diegetic: spoken to camera Non-diegetic Eminem

		
Scene and timing	**10 00:02:16 -00:02:50**	**11 00:02:51 – 00:03:01**
Scene description	Dancing (interior)	End credits
Typology within movie	Play	End title sequence
Memories, references	Dancing	Of the video production itself
Genre / direct media references	Dance videos	End title sequence
Camera work / technical	Mid-shot handheld – variety of shots	Screen grab
Sound	Non-diegetic: Destiny's Child	None

Videomaker interview

The children who made "007..." spoke initially about their production in relation to the rest of the curriculum. "It was quite hard to do but it was better than doing spellings or writing" was one reaction. For Lily, the girl in the group, the editing and the production were the main elements of interest and excitement, specifically how these were used to make representations using the features of the software. This group added the most music to their production, with each person allowed to choose one representative piece for the finished product, as noted above. Each of these is very carefully chosen to make the most of the multimodal properties of expression in the medium. The most successful in capturing a mood or a moment is acknowledged in interviews as Eminem's deconstruction of a personal conflict, "Toy Soldiers". As the boys fight, waving the sword and the toy gun at each other, the lyrics intone:

> "There used to be a time when you could just say a rhyme
> And wouldn't have to worry about one of your people dyin'..."[27]

The "007..." group valued planning highly although they acknowledged a significant degree of improvisation in their production and one boy said "I just had the pictures going round in my head". He also added that there are many moments where decision making about the representation was confused by the sheer number of possibilities on offer within the software interface. Afterwards, he added, "You just go 'oh, I could have changed that bit or that bit...'

All the interviewees expressed the view that the productions had represented a version of themselves. However, a strong element of all the answers was the realisation that they had only just begun to explore the medium. A common refrain was "Yes, but this was our first one..." alongside "I could do more if I could do it again."

The response of Denzil, one of the boys, is significant in expressing his annoyance at the possible interface with the adult world. He is concerned about parental disapproval of where the issue of his acting as King Arthur, Dr X and play fighting throughout:

> "I was all happy, happy, happy, happy ...but then when I heard my mum was coming...not happy about who was going to be seeing it..."

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[27] *Lyrics from "Like Toy Soldiers", track 5 on the album "Encore" by Eminem released in November 2004 on Interscope records*

Part of the interpretative act by the viewer consists of their ability to make deductions about a particular media text based on multimodal units of meaning. The viewer requires an understanding of the choices of the makers in terms of (at least) speech, image, gesture and music. The analysis of production in a multimodal sense depends on an awareness of all the elements which went into that production, the circumstances in which the children composed the videos, the nature of the teacher-intervention (which in this case was minimal). If the production makes no sense to the peer group, is not something of which the authors can be proud at the point of exhibition, then something has occurred which pedagogically speaking is not well designed and which requires more time and more attention given to the structures and layers which underpin the work. It also suggests different kinds of input at the planning stage, more reflection on outcomes and a series of related issues which will be raised in the implications and proposals in the closing chapters.

Nevertheless, simple expressive projects with digital video suggest that there is value in the activity which goes beyond the surface features of the finished text. Time and again the interviewees expressed the gains from the teamwork, the shared endeavour in production. Educational assessment systems and value judgements are all in need of review in the light of learner activity, particularly shared learner activity, in its range and freedom and its ability to allow them to explore and move between aspects of their identity (this will be a theme which is discussed in chapters 6 and 7). This is a particular feature of representational projects with new technology where many of the decisions and techniques in production are themselves unrecorded.

In terms of the pedagogical design of the activity, the experience in these productions suggests that time was too short and forced compromise on all concerned. At the same time, more could be achieved by an examination of the earlier practice tapes, in which poor camerawork and sound could be explored and some basic difficulties overcome. The pedagogical implications of this will form part of the discussion in Chapter 7.

5.7 Gesture and performance in the video interviews

One of the main aims of the interview analysis was to use the transcription to triangulate on themes around agency and identity which were asserted and elaborated in the main data analysis sections. Looking back through the interviews as a set, it is also possible to identify some commonalities based on the children's performance during the interviews, looking at their gestures, the ways in which they addressed the camera and the interviewer. Some of this evidence has already been used in support of specific arguments above, but, taken as a whole, there were, once again, some emergent themes across the whole set.

Firstly, to a greater or lesser extent, the children viewed the interviews themselves as a performance and an extension of the project. Having just come straight from either shooting or editing, children were acutely aware of the frame they were in as they sat and answered questions.

Secondly, gestures within each of the interviews mirrored the performances themselves within the editing and shooting. Similar relationships to each other, to the task itself and to the historic record of the event were exemplified in seating position, gesture and addressing of the camera.

Thirdly, the children often reflected the ways in which film and performance are discussed with hindsight in film review programmes. Their experience of interviews with film stars, filmmakers and musicians on television was reflected in the authenticity of their gestural behaviour during interviews. They were playing a part which they had seen played before.

Examples drawn from each of the video interviews will be helpful in elaborating these points.

In the interview with Aroti, focusing on the video in which the two girls explore their relationship to the location and to each other, Aroti sits on her own and looks back at the interviewer. Clearly uncomfortable at first, particularly since she is being interviewed without her partner, who was unavailable, she is very quiet and only drawn into the process by skilled questioning.

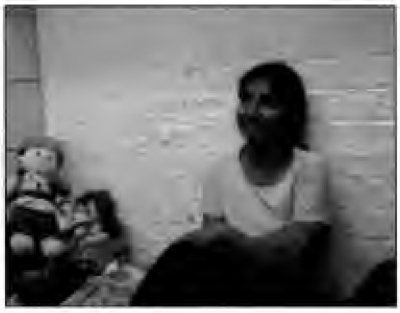

Fig. 43 Aroti being interviewed about her production

Aroti's body language (See Fig. 43 above) suggests that she is enclosed within herself. For almost the entire interview her arms are folded (as in the still image above), echoing the encircling movements used in the production, by which means the two girls delineated their separation, their otherness and their togetherness. The posture she adopts throughout the interview suggests that, in the absence of support from her partner, Aroti is going to maintain the same authoring strategy as she performs herself during the interview.

For Raymond and Keiron, the two boys who produced the video which embraced media quotation, visual humour and a huge range of roleplay, the interview is an opportunity to continue to explore these forms. They give serious and thoughtful answers to the questions but they never lose sight of the camera (see Fig. 44 below). Raymond frequently adopts the following gestures and poses; winking conspiratorially at presumed viewers, moving his arms into explanatory poses, struggling for the right way to perform the answer, particularly when thinking about the use of the camera, acting out the editing process, pinching his fingers into a small shape and expressing physically how very, very difficult the sound editing was, even as he is elaborating it in speech.

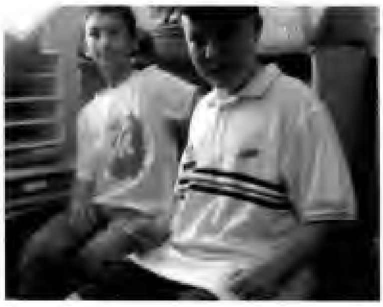

Fig. 44 Raymond and Keiron during their interview

Keiron also performs, half turned away from the interviewer, half towards the direction of Raymond, the camera and the watching audience. He makes visual contact with the audience beyond the camera as well as with Raymond. Their gestures and ways of performing the interview match the schemes and tropes of their production perfectly.

As noted previously, the pressing concerns for the mixed gender group at school A were recording of friendships and of group identity, including difficulties in relationships but, centrally, a concern to preserve names and record them accurately.

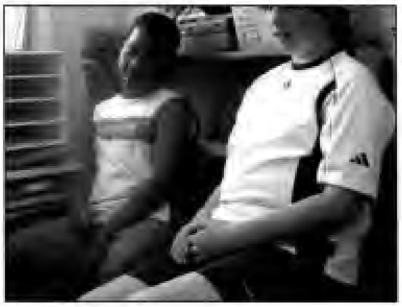

Fig. 45 Kyle and Annie side by side during their interview

Gesturally, their interview contains some elements in common with Raymond and Keiron, with looks to camera and between the two children being interviewed. Kyle seems concerned that he preserves a cool look, sitting in a relaxed pose, looking downwards but aware throughout of the camera on him. He wishes to project distance, seriousness (see figure 45 above)

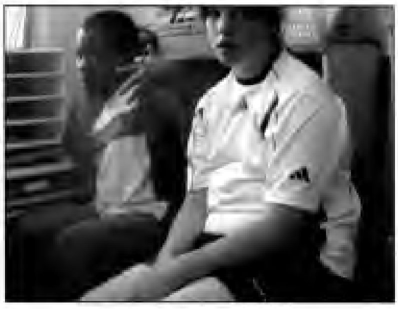

Fig. 46 Kyle and Annie right at the end of their interview

Just at the end he adds a further dimension adopting a significant gesture, raising his hands and splaying his fingers, addressing the camera, using a 'street' gesture, a variant of "Westside" or neighbourhood signifier, as a cultural marker (See Fig. 46 above). Annie is serious throughout and looks at the interviewer, only breaking eye contact and staring towards the camera as Kyle turns to make his own visual statement;

this could be read as an attempt to make a connection with the viewer and provide counterpoint to the take on things which Kyle is providing. Annie is exploiting the possibilities inherent in the act of subverting the interview.

In the video constructed by the girls, in which play, and trying on new ways of being, are the dominant themes, gestures and posture during the interview suggest they have returned to the role of compliant high achievers. They attempt to please the interviewer but are clearly more interested in pleasing themselves, explaining some of the more difficult-to-understand passages in the production. With one of the girls absent, the three who remain sit side by side with the most dominant of the three in the centre (see Figure 46 below).

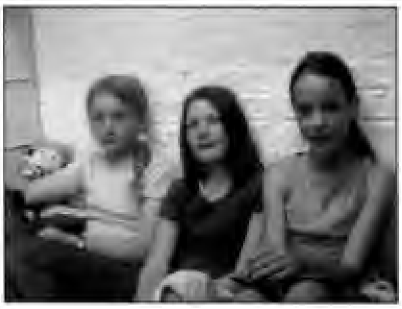

Fig. 46 Ellen, Hattie and Siobhan interviewed

Glances are frequently made in her direction by the two on either side whilst answering questions, perhaps checking that permission is granted to say certain things in certain ways. As with Aroti's interview, the group is, to an extent, closed off from the outside, looking more inward. Their only real look at the camera shows them side by side, looking out at an audience beyond but with no sense of playing up or enacting the role of interviewee as Raymond and Keiron and, to a lesser extent, Kyle and Annie do.

The interviews in the second school were conducted in the same way in the production groups. The children in the two groups featured in the data analysis above, did not so explicitly mirror their representational practices in production as in the first set of interviews. There were, however, moments in which it was possible to see gestures and body language reinforcing certain aspects of their work.

In the interview with the Morning News videomakers, the two children who made the long dance sequence in the middle sit side by side, emphasising their separate role in the production. Heather, who played the role of the news anchor, sits some way back from the others and needs to be coaxed to join in (see Fig. 48 below).

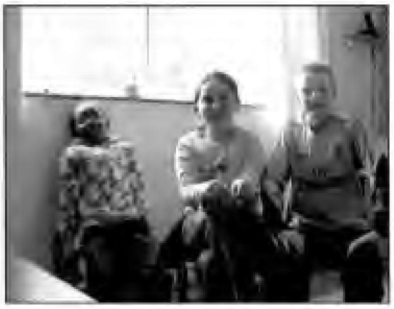

Fig. 48 Heather, Poppy and James interviewed

She does not readily take part and has to be invited by both the interviewer and the other children to contribute. Her shoulders are raised in a tense way throughout and she rocks back on her chair as through hoping to disappear from the frame. In the video production, as a newsreader, she was able to introduce a barrier between herself and the viewer, hiding (literally) behind the script.

The other two are in role as successful filmmakers, confidently talking through the production. The boy sits with his hands on his knees and moves forward to answer. The girl in the centre dominates the discussion with her interpretations of the video production. None of the children has any sense of difficulties with the video in terms of its impact on their teachers or peers.

The second group struggles with expressing itself in much the same way as they did on screen. They contradict and talk over each other, three authorial voices who did not quite manage to produce their vision in the way they wanted.

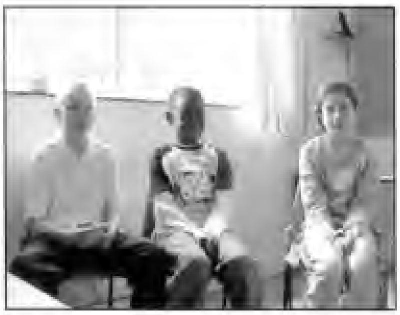

Fig. 49 John, Denzil and Lily talk about their video

Of the three, the most comfortable, John, sits on the left in a relaxed pose, happy to talk and to explain. The boy in the middle, Denzil, and the girl on his left are more defensive, legs closed with hands together in the middle (see Fig. 47 above). Denzil is the most uncomfortable, both in what he says (see section 5.7 for a discussion of Denzil's unhappiness with performance and his attempts to distance himself from the production) and in how he sits, defensive. Lily has a better outlook on the whole thing but is generally overwhelmed by James's responses.

The video production is still very much in the minds of all the children involved and perhaps the most interesting aspect of all of these interviews are the ways in which the performance of identity continues to be elaborated. Having engaged in digital inscription and been at play in the onscreen world of editing the children are aware of how a version of the interview could be shaped. They are aware of performance as might be expected, but they are also continuing to reference themselves in the ways they describe in their individual productions.

Chapter 6 Discussion

The research question - What *forms and organising structures are used by young learners when negotiating and representing identity in digital video production?* - is worded in a way that bridges two sets of theory, drawn from *media literacy* and *identity.* The words on the left of the colon in the overarching title of the thesis, *Curating the self: Media literacy and identity in digital video production by young learners,* propose that the key bridging concept resides in the idea of children as active curators when they represent their identity in digital video and that this, in turn, is a key skill and disposition of new media literacy more widely.

In this chapter I want to look back across the work in both schools and describe how these findings emerge in a heuristic way from the case studies. Later, Chapter 7 will outline some proposals for thinking about teaching and learning which are predicated on the ways in which the children in this study worked with digital video production. In the later chapter I will also draw out the limits of the claims from the available evidence and suggest ways in which further research could be designed in order to add to them.

I am aware of the fact that these overall findings are built upon a series of elements drawn from the intersection of the theoretical fields of *literacy* and *identity.* As a result, this discussion is set out with a structure that consciously reflects that of the theory chapter. The opening sections are concerned with media literacy issues and I have set them out under the overall heading of *Forms, editing and coherence.* The later sections are concerned with identity and grouped under the heading of *Fashioning representations: Location, memory and voice.* A final section, *Curating the self: a set of new literacy skills and dispositions,* will bridge the two fields, illustrating their interdependence on one another.

6.1 Forms, editing and coherence

Media forms

In both schools, the children produced a range of media forms, from parody through to documentary through to personal storytelling. Children became characters, played with roles for themselves, improvised, planned, joked, parodied other media texts, switched voice, switched genre, worked with pace and timing, worked with no timing, miscued, timed things expertly, recorded audio badly, added music skilfully, made exceptional use of the resources or left some unexploited and unexplored. This was a very time-pressured process, with little teacher-directed input and with the research effort directed at investigating nascent forms, readiness for video production through self-representational form. Notwithstanding all the inherent difficulties, in all cases, in all interviews, some level of satisfaction was expressed by the children, alongside the frequently expressed regret that more could have been done. The sheer range of output across both schools, and evident in the six samples analysed, demonstrated a range of expressive success with a variety of media forms. However, not all productions succeeded in equal measure or even in the same way. Some were challenging to a viewer and disappointing to their makers. Whilst some undoubtedly managed to produce forms which conveyed specific meanings, even if only in short bursts, others became fractured and dissonant.

To recap on the forms and surface features of the productions:

Figs. 50 a – c Foreshortening jokes and two-shot in the "let's get on with the show" video (School A)

Video 5_1 Right Lets get on with the show by two boys in school A with its jokes, slapstick, visual tricks and use of sharp editing, well-chosen music and sound set the bar for their peers in terms of its construction and use of intertextual resource. See figures 50 a - c above.

Figs. 51 a - c The girls in *This is where we used to sit*

Two girls at school A produced *Video 5_2 This is where we used to sit.* In complete contrast to the previous video, this was a piece in which the settings of school locations, such as the playground and pond, and the overall organising frame of (occasionally painful) memory created a meditative, even sombre, experience which had moments of quiet and an artlessness not in keeping with the celebratory mode of other productions. See figures 51 a - c above.

Figs. 52 a - c The girls in *Do not try this at home*

The confident, high achieving girls in *Video 5_3 Do not try this at home (School A),* flew at the task and found it enjoyable, frustrating, fun and just out of reach of their ideas of themselves and what it could be. Combining interview, documentary style, anarchic play, breaking down under the weight of ideas and the need to represent all aspects of themselves in one space, it felt like a starting point and, at its close, the girls were all surprised at how little came across to a viewer and were beginning to see what more they could have done to make it clearer. See figures 52 a- c above

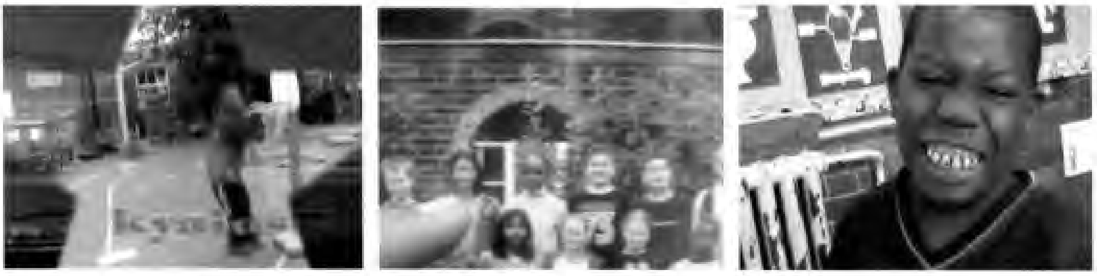

Fig. 53 a - c The makers of *Me and him are close*

The makers of *Video 5_4 Me and him are close* jumped at the opportunity in a similar way to the previous group, with an ambitious programme of documentary and anarchic playfulness. They ended up considering the medium as a record of friendship, describing this at times with a similar impact to video 5_2. See figures above.

Morning
NEWS

Figs. 54 a – c Thumbnails from ***Sorry for the disturbance***

In school B children making *Video 5_5 Sorry for the disturbance* recorded similar levels of anarchic play in spaces in a variety of forms, including news parody, a dancing session and wedding sequence. Disjointed, rapid, comedic and strange to an outside viewer they seemed to derive benefit from their attempt to wrest control of a form and from working with others with whom they did not usually work. See figures above.

007 meets Dr X,
King Arthur and a
news reporter at JB
school...

Figs. 55 a - c Thumbnails from ***007 meets Dr X...***

The makers of *Video 5_6 007 meets Dr X...* produced a montage containing many forms, from news parody, through to recorded play and dance and play-fighting, accompanied by personalised use of sound (one chosen representative track per film maker). The whole thing was perceived as a good effort and very interesting (by the main editor) and very displeasing (by one of the stars) in terms of how his mother would react to his part in it. See figures above.

With some of the similarities in form in evidence, including parody of news and interviews, or anarchic free play interspersed with more obviously narrative forms, there were clear distinctions in terms of the successful use of expressive qualities across productions. However, it is possible to locate aspects of Street's proposed model of "ideological" literacy (Street, 2003) across all these practices, in the children's rich engagement with the medium in so many forms. Likewise it is possible to locate evidence in the videos and the interviews afterwards which suggests that the video makers had internalised many of the processes themselves and become aware of engaging with a new literacy practice. Thus: Kyle is able to name teamwork as a key component in his vision of himself as a new literacy practitioner in digital video production; Raymond and Keiron give interviews in role as famous directors; Lily quietly describes her joy at finding herself undaunted in the many possibilities of editing when others couldn't cope. Equally, there are times where this awareness breaks down or arrives too late in the day, as with Ellen, Hattie and Siobhan's regret that they only saw the potential of the medium and their relation to it, after they had finished.

Gee's "affinity spaces" (2004a, discussed in Ch. 6, pp. 77 - 89) in which people successfully take part and make meaning inside groups or networks has something to offer the discussion of the children as new literacy practitioners, certainly in so far as some of the defining characteristics of this concept are apparent in relation to the videos. Affinity spaces, which Gee suggests are usually found in networks outside of formal school structures, offer opportunities to access higher order thinking skills. Even though these video projects take place within school, as I have pointed out in Chapter 4, the aim is to be outside of the normal curriculum activity; perhaps they illustrate a way to create the kinds of opportunities which Gee mentions, within the school environment. Affinity spaces have eleven characteristics in Gee's original conception and these projects exemplify six of them as follows (from proposals by Gee (ibid.) with each characteristic quoted in italics):

- a "*common endeavour*" is established in the brief at the beginning of these projects, with its high stake emphasis on self -representation;

- there is no attempt to separate children into skill sets and to establish mastery of some over others, *"newbies and masters and everyone else share common space";*

- in the editing, of which more below, *"content is transformed by interactional organisation*"- the children bring in media assets to be added to the production and discuss their place;

-*"intensive and extensive knowledge are encouraged"* – thus children may value each other's ability to work *intensively* with a specialised part of the process, with editing for example (Lily, Raymond), at the same time as *extensively,* for example, by bringing in an idea for the overarching narrative (Keiron);

- *"tacit knowledge is encouraged and honoured"*- such that even if not articulated in words, people's individual contributions are incorporated in the form of their tacit understanding of form and their generation of new ideas for content, even where this is sometimes hard to express (Katie, Aroti)

- *"there are many different forms and routes to participation"* – this takes account of the different roles in production in new media; the affinity space in production fosters engagement by a wider group across different skill sets for different lengths of time, at different times.

Some of these issues have also been addressed specifically in relation to younger learners (Marsh, 2004; Larson and Marsh, 2005), in arguing for a wide and inclusive definition of, and engagement with, new literacies; which takes into account the range of practices undertaken by young people with new technologies in the home and at school, such as we have seen in these productions. Marsh for example, notes that:

> "...an insistence on the inter-relationship between literacy and other communicative practices is essential in the current social, economic and technological climate."
> (2005, p.4)

Marsh also points out that the necessary inter-disciplinary engagement between these domains is still in its earliest stages, certainly where the youngest learners in the education system are concerned.

The next two sections will attempt to look across the videos to identify how literacy practices are operationalised in the productions, identifying two key further issues. The first of these is to do with editing and specifically the organisation of intertextual space, the uses of onscreen editing in intertextual, multimodal production. The second issue is the way in which some forms of output are evidence of a continuum from play through to realised form in children's work.

Editing: Organising intertextual spaces

Beginning with editing, as established in the analysis, Raymond and Keiron's video from school A was viewed as highly successful both by the performers and the audience of their peers. The key to this appears to lie, at least partly, in the overt and relatively easily read intertextual organisation of the elements in relation to one another. The boys' production built on years of appropriation of media into their embodied and lived experience at the school. Their humour - sketches and skits in the playground, in school assemblies, performed and embodied ways of being in the school – were all key resources. These were organised, layer-by-layer into the production and incorporated into parallel references to media texts.

This is the kind of activity undertaken by the "textual poachers" envisaged by Henry Jenkins; fans taking the media elements of their choice, re-appropriating and re-presenting them in order to make new meanings (Jenkins, 1992). The facility with which the boys were able to do this may have been unusual. The fact that they did provides pointers and possible templates for work with other learners by tapping into the potential interrelationship between performance and media appropriation. Certainly they exhibited relatively developed levels of many of the skills which Henry Jenkins and others propose for the new media literacy, including...

> "...the capacity to experiment with one's surroundings...the ability to adapt alternative identities for the purposes of improvisation and discovery...the ability to meaningfully sample and remix media content...the ability to pool knowledge and compare notes towards a common goal...the ability to follow the flow of stories and information across multiple modalities..."
> (Jenkins et al., 2006, p.4)

The ways in which Raymond and Keiron operated successfully at an intertextual level suggests that key skills in production are the ability to borrow the cultural capital of other resources of text, sound and video from the "heteroglossia" (Bakhtin, 1981) and align yourself with them, however fleetingly and in the context of the overall organising scheme of the work. Thus, in their video, the White Stripes and the Red Hot Chilli Peppers are set on the timeline alongside and between textual elements of anarchic play, media quotation and appropriation, which allows the shared knowledge and cultural experience of life inside and outside the school to be in intertextual dialogue with one another. This depends on knowing where these resources are in a collection of media assets and how they may be re-purposed in juxtaposition with one another.

This successful intertextual play also finds echoes in other productions which did not communicate their meaning so immediately to audiences. There were examples throughout of nascent aspects of this facility with media, unformed and incoherent as it sometimes was. These were aspects which could potentially be revealed and developed in later experiences in digital video production, after adapting pedagogy (see the discussion below and in Chapter 7). I am thinking here, for example, of the work of Ellen, Hattie, Siobhan and Millie. The girls reference a wide range of media forms, from the documentary interview to children's TV programmes to horror film and to the outtakes from DVD extras. Their aim as expressed to the interviewer was to change and adapt as they went on, to have more "fun" in the accumulation and inclusion of these elements. Their success at the editing stage was more limited, with some elements overrunning and not as coherently or succinctly arranged on the timeline as others, but the process had huge potential in recording aspects of their performed selves in school and this was recognised and invested in by the girls. Only after it was finished did they realise how little came across to an external audience and how much remained private and even disorganised and impenetrable. There are other reasons for this centred on their "play" in the form and this will emerge in discussion in the section which follows.

In experiencing difficulty in organising the resources, the girls found themselves struggling to come to terms with de-centering their self-representation from their own experiences and conceptualising their audience's needs in the ways that Raymond and Keiron were able to do. This finding has been noted as an issue elsewhere in youth media production (Buckingham and Harvey, 2001) in the analysis of two contrasting outcomes from a shared project. In that project, one of the filmmakers who produced a video based on montage and non-narrative form, revealed how her conception of the audience and its needs was strictly limited by her wish to please herself. In this research, with much younger children, the girls also revealed that they were absorbed in the making of the piece as a true representation of themselves to the exclusion of other issues. Here the overarching organising principle was not that of being audience-aware so much as pleasing themselves and hoping that what they made would be understood. By mutual consent, for example, they altered their production substantially when they found that they did not capture their capacity to "have fun" in their original use of the documentary form. This resulted in long sections which broke into the structure of the piece established in the early interview sections. This was of little concern to them. As they recalled in their interview they simply got bored with the interview format and put in sections with play on the mats and "Sumo wrestling". If the inclusion of these and the other, phantasmagoric episodes and play noted in the analysis, combined with the mats in the hall resulted in audience confusion and disrupted an easy reading, it was, nevertheless, a deliberate choice aimed at a representation which pleased them more.

As a result of their experiences in the project, the same girls discovered that there was a wide gap between successfully organising traditional written texts, as they had been doing in class up to that point, and organising media texts. In interview they went so far as to claim that the status of the production was "unfinished" and they would have enjoyed returning for a second attempt with new thinking about how to organise it. They viewed the process of making meaning in this way as a kind of drafting process, but a much more complex one, engaging with multiple modalities and involving many hours of decision making in front of the editing software of a very different kind from writing. This adds further weight to the lack of a perfect fit of the analogy between writing and media production described in Chapter 3. The girls discovered that although all the elements were in place and ostensibly allowed them to be responsive to their compositional intentions and meanings, working with them required more than just inserting different resources into the space on the timeline and hoping they would work. The whole endeavour required a knowledge of how media texts actually 'speak' to one another. They needed to know more about both grammar and lexis, or to borrow another theoretical frame, which was outlined in chapter 3, they needed to understand how the centripetal and centrifugal forces of the form (Bakhtin, 1981) may work together and be reconciled in successful productions.

Other productions in both schools enjoyed varying degrees of success with organising resources and in nearly every case children were pleased with, and proud of, the finished output, even where their audience experienced difficulties with reading the texts. In analysis, almost all the responses across both schools indicated high levels of enjoyment and reasonably positive comments. There was, however, some ambivalence about the ability to quote from other texts and there were frequent admissions of failure and frustration at the editing stage.

This occurred even in productions which included popular and typical elements which were successful elsewhere. The video from school B, 007 *meets Dr X...,* has some similar cultural touchstones to Raymond and Keiron, as does *Sorry for the disturbance* from the same school. In these productions we can identify a manipulation of staple media references, from news broadcasts to movie genres and so on. The difference between their productions and the video by Raymond and Keiron is a lack of coherence across the whole text, a lack of success at both the form and the content, the grammar and the lexis. This does not arise out of a lack of imagination, nor from a failure to gather usable resources nor usable self-produced clips, as any scan of the individual elements in the analysis grids will show. The relative lack of success arises from an incomplete grasp of the intertextual possibilities of the medium. Across all productions, the organisation of intertextual space emerges as the key determining factor in coherence. At this stage of their development, these children would benefit from privileging editing over other factors. The work at the "multimodal mixing desk" (Burn and Parker, 2003a) is real work after all, as even adept users such as Raymond and Keiron discovered in their frustration and expressed at interview. One of the longest stretches of conversation in the interview with those boys concerns Raymond's obvious frustration with needing to be accurate and "just right" with the placing of the sound (during the monkey fight sequence) or the whole segment would not work and would not speak successfully to the other textual elements in the production. This process is more than the simple act of placing things in the right place and joining them together; it is an act of authorship and marshalling of key meaning-making resources into a cohesive whole.

Throughout both projects, editing represented by far the biggest technical challenge to the children. Statements such as the following recurred throughout the interviews:

- *"Sometimes it went wrong and we cut out more than we wanted to";*
- *"We lost a bit of our work";*
- *"Editing is difficult because of the number of possibilities";*
- *"Not knowing when it is finished";*
- *"It was complicated to get the volume up / sound issues";*
- *"Very frustrating";*
- *"Working with text – putting it in the right place – is hard."*

The "number of possibilities" and "not knowing when it is finished" stand out as key frustrations. They suggest that editing engenders dissatisfaction in the authoring process despite, and perhaps because, expectations were high that it would be straightforward. It takes place, after all, onscreen with devices that look familiar and on which they experience success in other types of software. The affordances of the software even present them with a partially visually familiar onscreen workshop, as discussed previously in chapter 3 (c.f. Sefton-Green, 2005). The degree of surprise expressed by the children at the difficulty they encountered is high but so too is the overall surprise at the confusing array of opportunities of the process of editing itself.

"Provisionality" is sometimes quoted as an inherently positive feature of ICT "tools" which engenders creativity, and represents the potential of technology to confer agency on the part of the user in relation to many possible versions and outcomes, instantly erasable and re-creatable again in software (Loveless, 2002). The experience of children in this project was that the "provisionality" inherent in the editing software was certainly engaging and exciting, but was just as equally daunting and frustrating. What was needed was a much closer, more measured integration of skills with knowledge, and of function with ideas about form, which took account of this, alongside time to evaluate the consequences of actions taken and decisions made step by step. The children were familiar with the functions of some tools from their use of other software (c.f. Sefton-Green, 2005) but needed support to realise the greater effect, meaning-making potential and significance when using them in video editing to weave together multimodal resources, particularly in a high-stakes project involving self-representation.

The placing of editing at the heart of the process links back to thinking about the overall pedagogical design. It is important to allow markers to be placed somewhere in the planning which reflect the eventual possibilities of the editing software and, perhaps, in a future design of these activities to foreground it even more. This may not necessarily take place until some basic familiarity with editing has been established, perhaps through in-camera work initially, as has been suggested before (c.f. Burn and Durran, 2007, Chapter 4). This would allow part of the process to be reflective and evaluative at an earlier stage and to layer in discussion and development of media literacy skills (this point will be raised and developed later in Chapter 7).

Indeed, at the outset, this aspect of the work, of planning and considering form more carefully, could have been signalled even further in the planning paperwork around the two projects. In both of them, the storyboards which the children produced only became significant when they were used as planning spaces which anticipated editing in a multimodal form, rather than as planning tools for shots alone (c.f. discussion in Fraser and Oram, 2003, p.52-57). Others have pointed out that children rarely, if ever, ascribe significant value to storyboards (Buckingham, Grahame and Sefton-Green, 1995).

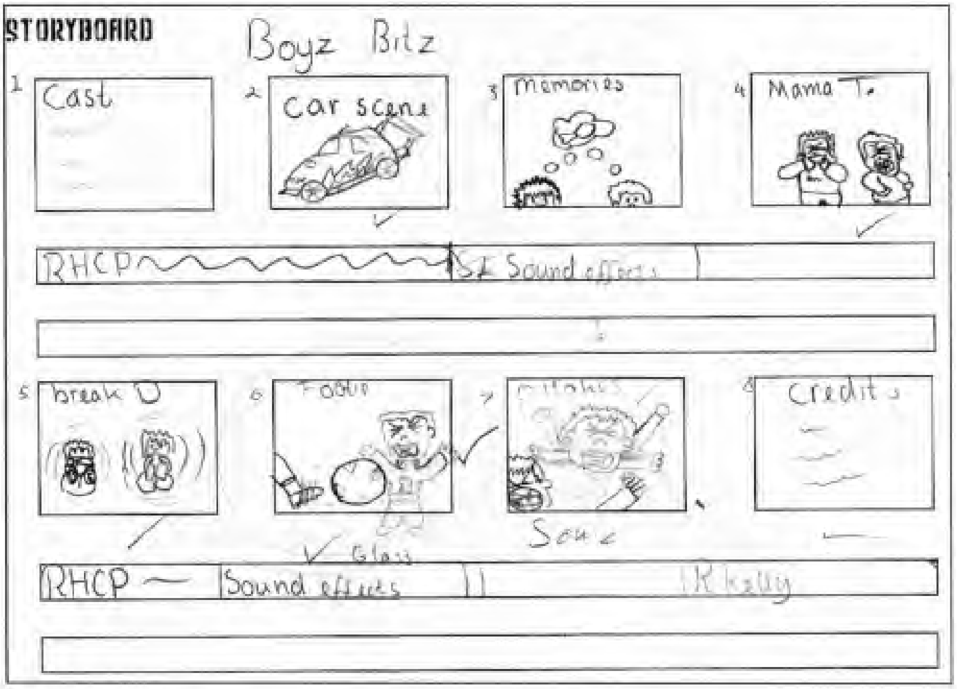

Fig. 56 Raymond and Keiron's storyboard

Raymond and Keiron, however, made use of theirs, pictured above, as a series of notes to themselves as editors for later in the process, with spaces for sound design and other notes beneath each of the shots. In their interview, they asserted how if their production had not been planned it would have been "rubbish". I would argue that it is no coincidence that this most successful production was also one in which the use of the many modes and intertextual possibilities had been signalled most clearly at the outset; perhaps this is something that could be developed across the ability range represented in the projects. Raymond and Keiron's storyboard showed how the texts would actually be arranged with one another as movable assets arranged in layers and perhaps future pedagogical design should consider carefully how and when to introduce multimodal storyboards into this process; this will be addressed further in proposals in Chapter 7. In terms of other project paperwork, certainly the planning sheets themselves were popular in the form of mind-mapping the production at the outset; as seen in the analysis section these were well used to indicate the direction a production should take.

One aspect of media production which arose out of several videos and which was mentioned in particular in the interviews, was the awareness on the part of the children of the camera as a key "partner" in the process, certainly in terms of its recording of the visual performed mode, even if frequently they were not so sure how to address the recording of sound. I have stated the case for editing to be central in any process above, however, I also believe that consideration be given to the ways in which children act around and with the camera. This is not necessarily to do with the composition of shots or how things were framed in any technical sense, though these would undoubtedly have become a feature of any developmental work (at the appropriate time – see Chapter 7). Instruction in this project, as noted in Chapter 4, was limited to a very basic set of reminders about, for example, not shooting into the light.

In the projects, on the part of the children, the way of thinking about the camera was therefore frequently *not* to do with looking *through* the camera, or even at the sidebar, so much as looking *at* the camera while it was filming *them*. In these terms, its meaning making potential in the process was often commented on as though it were personified. Raymond, for example, pondered the fact that the camera gave him ideas, though he couldn't quite explain how ("I don't mean it talks to you"); he addresses it conspiratorially by winking at it throughout the interview. In performance, both James and Poppy in school B quite consciously address the camera in their dance.

In these examples the camera is a gateway to the audience beyond, one which they realise is a mediating tool influencing their action (Wertsch, 1998; Engeström, Miettinen and Punamäki, 1999); but one after which, as they realised later, the action is malleable and mutable through the post-production process. In some productions it occurred to the children that the camera was the gateway ultimately to the editing space. By the time Raymond has winked at the camera in the interview, he has already connected it and its presence in the room as something in front of which he alters his behaviour and which captures his performed self. He realises that his action is now also a media asset which will be collected and may eventually be edited by someone at some stage in the future. I will discuss later how this awareness of making and collecting as part of a continuum in the experience of media production is a marker of a new literacy skill which can be characterised as a form of "curatorship" following theoretical models explored in chapter 3.

Incoherence/Coherence: The play - creativity continuum

In a celebratory mode it is possible to conclude that the work of Raymond and Keiron provides evidence of an advanced state of readiness by younger children to make successful video productions. The three main achievements of their video seem to have been the way in which the medium was used simultaneously to connect with the wider world of popular media culture, to reflect their lived experiences in school to date and to address their audience's needs. At the screening to the whole class it was by far the most popular production. It contains sophisticated shots and tight editing, with an ambitious use of the resource of sound, both diegetic and non-diegetic. Very little instructional adult input was given during its making. Raymond and Keiron were completely reliant on each other and on being left more or less alone to "get on with the show". They are successful with their video on their own terms, in front of an audience with a multilayered piece of work exemplifying forms of media appropriation and intertextuality.

Other productions were successful to a greater or lesser extent, in different ways and for reasons which reveal much about the nature of other shaping forces in the process, some of which are in tension with one another. Some of the videos in which the cues for meaning-making were not as immediately accessible or coherently linked revealed themselves as more sophisticated pieces in systematic analysis, ways which give value to certain expressive features of these texts at the same time as acknowledging issues and suggesting ways forward (see further discussion in Chapter 7). Furthermore, even at the time or soon afterwards, as noted elsewhere, authors such as Katie and Aroti experienced satisfaction with their overall conception; they worked happily and on their own terms, within their own parameters, even if their video was difficult viewing for the target audience. The organisational structures and aims in their production were only revealed after carefully framed viewing, interviews and conversations outside of the scope of the initial audience. In order to access the meaning-making resources of their production the viewer required access to the video for longer and a knowledge of the symbolic system employed, and its relation to habitus as described in the analysis (and, of which, more in later sections of this chapter).

This was the case to a greater or lesser extent in nearly every other video across both project schools. There were discontinuities in the organisation of shooting, editing and sound design which impeded a straightforward interpretation. I am thinking here about the way in which the structure of Kyle and Annie's video fractures under the weight of "filming friends" and of the ways in which Ellen and Hattie's production loses focus and direction in the recording of "fun" and anarchic play; similarly in school B, where the narrative drive in "007..." is not sustained beyond the introduction and where in "Morning News" the narrative arc introduced by the news reader is not sustained.

Partly the explanation for this fracturing lies in the inexperience of the videomakers and the pressure of time. Partly this was due to the relative lack of teaching input in a project designed to research nascent and even innate knowledge of production. Moving away from this deficit model, it is possible that part of the reason for the problematic use of meaning-making resources in some productions lies not in their inability to use the medium in conventional ways but, rather, in their organisational complexity and ambitious scope which far exceeded the capability of beginner video authors to produce. None of these other productions lacked the ambition of Raymond and Keiron and nearly all of them were felt by their makers to have achieved a measure of success; they agreed that their videos had indeed represented them and their time at school, as per the brief. In other words, something of themselves had at least been partially expressed. Nevertheless, since this account seeks to problematise such texts rather than celebrate every output as successful, there is a message in the lack of coherence and problematic finished output of these videos.

I would argue that two ways of thinking about the issue of coherence/incoherence in these videos which arise, firstly, from recalling the themes of literacy and the wider culture and, secondly, from conceptualising play in a Vygotskian sense, as the beginning of an organising continuum in production.

Firstly, in terms of the issue of dialogism outlined in Chapter 3, it seems that the makers of these less coherent pieces were caught in the tension between participation in media language and their own personal dialogic and imaginative response to the task; in other words they were caught between the "centripetal forces" and the "centrifugal forces" of language (Bakhtin, 1981), in this case, of media language. As discussed earlier in chapter 3, Bakhtin defines "centripetal' forces as those which constrain speech acts in their subservience to the unifying organising forces of the conventions of language systems. These are in continual tension with the "centrifugal forces" of the wider "heteroglossia", the word he used to describe the varied and stratified wider systems in which all utterances take place (ibid.). The two girls, and the others who produced videos which were similarly difficult to understand immediately, immersed themselves in the latter at the expense of the former. By this I mean that Katie and Aroti, for example, aimed their video squarely at the resources of memory and location without completely fitting either of them into the conventional structures and forms of media language. This is not to say that they were unaware of this as a feature of their work but that they were happy for this video to preserve the relationship of people to place and not to make something which was completely readable in a conventional sense. In terms of their own development and facility with editing they were operating with the lexis of the system of media language, the actual vocabulary or units of meaning as disconnected utterance, at the expense of the overall structuring grammar of the form. At this stage, for this project, for these particular purposes – self-representation in a chosen form - that may not be a problem; later in working in another context with media language more developmentally there would be much to draw on in this project with which to teach and engage both of them (see Chapter 7).

A second way to view this issue resides in the notion of "internalisation" drawn from Vygotsky (1978). In the model of child development and language acquisition he proposed, its rules, structures and forms are internalised and constitutive of understanding in an inner speech. The externalised versions of this speech in which meanings are negotiated in the social world are partial and dependent on the context in which the utterances take place (so there are parallels with Bakhtin's theory above). Where this applies to the productions lies in only the partial realisation of this process as far as media language and its representative system is concerned. For the members of the groups, the meaning made from the resources can only be apprehended and re-applied on the basis of the dialogue between members of the group, where there exists between them a "zone of proximal development" (ibid.). Mercer (2000), in a similarly useful concept, derives "interthinking" from Vygotsky describing "a process by which *intra*mental (individual) processes can be facilitated and accelerated by *inter*mental (social) activity." (ibid. p.141) In *Words and Minds*, he applies this to teaching and learning to suggest that where learners in a setting are able to sustain an...

> "...intermental development zone" on the contextual foundations of their common knowledge and aims...if the quality of the zone is successfully maintained...they can become able to operate just beyond their established capabilities."
> (ibid.)

Where this has not occurred has been because the potential of the changed nature of the representation, working with multimodal resources has not been fully realised. The group, all of whom are at similar levels of experience in media production has located resources and tried to structure them, but without successfully externalising them in transformed form. This has implications for pedagogy in the field. As a group engaged in production, knowing where the resources are, thinking through what you would like to say, and being able to express this to each other, is not the same as being able to assemble and externalise that meaning. Neither is *simple*, transmissible instruction enough in this case. If we accept the concept of "interthinking" in this context, the *transformation* occurs in the dialogue around the activity between the users and is dependent for its success on one or more of those participants being able support the others. In the productions where we are seeing less success at conveying meaning beyond the group we are seeing not so much a finished piece, perhaps, as a version of recorded play (in the Vygotskian sense (1933) of a form of conscious activity, a response to an exploration of what is possible and demanded in a given situation) and its associated internalised references and dissonance. We could take the view that all these productions are in a "halfway house", somewhere on a continuum between internalised play and realisable, communicable, externalised creative action. The aim for any pedagogical intervention would be to move learners in the direction of creative production, towards an externalised version of the resource in which the meaning making potential was more fully realised. This notion is partnered with a further useful conceptualisation from Vygotsky in the form of his conception of the development of creativity in adolescence. He proposed that as they grow up, children undergo a gradual "liberation" from concrete thought and "imagistic" features towards a greater integration of "elements of abstract thinking" (1994, p.274). In some productions this process has not yet taken place, or is only partial, resulting, again, in productions which are not easily understood by an external audience. Such productions have some of the features described above of incoherence and dissonance as a marker, not only due to the lack of transmissibility mentioned in the preceding paragraph but also due to the earlier developmental stage of the children in the process of acquiring abstract thinking.

Bridging issues: From forms and coherence to self-representation

Evaluations of media production by children and associated instructional texts have sometimes focused exclusively on teaching formal aspects of narrative and editing concepts, drawn from the tradition of film language (Barrance, 2004). Whilst these are important elements to consider in a pedagogy around the construction of meaning it is no longer the only way of framing the subject for learners. In an era in which the short video form is growing rapidly, made and exchanged online, and sits alongside other media assets, readily appropriated and exchanged, we need a way of understanding children's engagement with digital video as a rapidly changing social literacy practice in the experience of new media and popular culture (Tyner, 1998; Street, 2003; Marsh, 2005). In the view of Sefton-Green (2000a) and Buckingham (2003) we further need to align this with a socialised view of creativity which is much more closely connected with group work, situated peer-review and an awareness of group roles in cultural production than with individual auteurs and the realisation of a personal expressive goal.

The children in these productions would, of course, have benefited from some further instruction at a technical level, about the use of the camera, better ways to record sound, the various rules around the cuts in editing and so on. However, the practices with which they were engaged in representing themselves no longer depend solely on a foregrounding of these aspects, but, as we have seen, on a range of other overlapping and intersecting factors which are to do with play, experimentation, appropriation, intertextuality, multimodality and performance; and all of these operate within a digital literacy context, the exchange of meanings in new media. Even allowing for the fact that a very small proportion of people who use the online video sharing facility YouTube actually produce work for the site (Auchard, 2007), the exchange of such short texts is predicated much more on their rapid distribution, mutability and remixability and, we can probably assume, this is going to increase over time. At the outset of such production work in future, not all children are going to be experiencing or seeking to make media texts which fulfil the criteria of "correct", expressive use of film.

It is possible that, instead, building on viewing and evaluation in the very public spaces of YouTube, would allow an eliding of the process of media production with the end-product more closely. Writers are already commenting on the ways in which such spaces are changing the nature of the process of composition and consumption of media texts and are becoming a form in themselves, based more on cultural resonance and exchange (Davies and Merchant, 2009); this happens frequently, for example, in the presentation of spoof videos on YouTube (Willett, Forthcoming).

As the short forms become more common and are perhaps used in social spaces in school contexts in ways suggested by some commentators (Davies and Merchant, 2009, pp.61-63), it should be possible to layer in teaching and learning about structures and the expressive possibilities of media forms over time, alternating analysis and production as suggested by Burn and Durran (2007), adapting them for younger children, and working in self-representational activities, such as those suggested by this study.

The children were making productions at some speed in a medium in which they had previously had little expressive experience as producers, as distinct from their experience as consumers (Buckingham, 2003). Their relative levels of success were high on their own terms and I have shown in the previous section how they employed a variety of forms in pursuit of a video which satisfied the brief of self-representation in a space. They did not all experience the easy levels of success or satisfaction which is sometimes claimed for digital video production. Explanations for this have arisen so far in the discussion of both their formal engagement with media literacy, their use of editing software to work intertextually and their engagement with one another in a process which sees them on a continuum from imaginative play to imaginative fashioning of a resource. However, as is clear from the analysis of the texts, this is only one half of the issue. The other major starting framework in Chapter 3 was built on theories of identity, memory and voice and it is to these I will return in the section which follows, before drawing the whole together.

6.2 Location, memory and voice

Storying the self, making the self

In the project schools the production work was combined with an overarching imperative for the whole endeavour, that of self-representation. Here we have the possibility that investment in the activity means investing in it as a practice with an explicit communicative or social action, remembering also that production conceived as social action is taken in this thesis to be at the heart of what it means to be literate (see Sefton-Green, 1998 and discussion in Chapter 3). Certainly for the children concerned in both schools this was a high-stakes activity, learning how to make something which represented them in a short space of time and exhibit it to peers. For those in school A, leaving school was an imperative, and so they were making something to record relationships, memories and spaces. For those in school B, the focus was again about leaving school (for some) and connecting with a community in which they were marginalised (for those who were staying).

The children in school A certainly had “memories” in mind throughout the project. In addition to the stated purposes of this project, making a video representation of themselves, they were also, as previously described (see Chapter 1, Introduction) decorating shoeboxes into which they were placing objects of significance to them from their years at school. This was a physical metaphor for their virtual experience and one which contributed to the eventual theoretical formulation of curatorship in the thesis. For those in school B, the boxes were replaced by the idea of bringing in physical resources from home for filming, media resources (such as songs of significance etc) and contributing to the shaping of the packaging for the resource, their own customised self-representation.

Chapter 3 proposed some possible frameworks based on theories of identity which might subsequently be useful in thinking about the processes which the children underwent, as well as providing ways of looking at the artefacts which they made in the schools. To begin with, we have seen throughout the videos that the children used a variety of “symbolic resources for constructing or expressing their own identities” (Buckingham, 2008, p.5) and how in many productions these were layered, to a greater or lesser extent successfully, intertextually in production. The resources included objects from home (Raymond and Keiron’s car, Hattie and Siobhan’s Chuckie doll, Kyle’s fake teeth, Annie’s football) which were used to generate narrative meaning across modes, echoing the storytelling in media found by other researchers who have worked with the use of physical artefacts in this way (Pahl, 2003). These objects ended up in the shoeboxes too, indicating a physical resource, akin to those used with much younger learners to manipulate and construct narrative forms from play artefacts in small worlds in boxes (Bromley, 2007).

The organisation of content for these boxes was significant in focusing the children on real artefacts which were of cultural significance as markers of both “anchored” and “transient” aspects of identity (Merchant, 2006), concepts described in Chapter 3.

Figs. 57 a - d selection of memory boxes from school A

In the memory boxes pictured, action figures, Pokémon and football cards sit alongside rings, trophies, awards, and so on. The intention in the project was to place the video alongside these objects in the boxes, for the children literally to leave school with all of these markers of self-representation, with narratives made across all the different modalities. This aspect of construction and performance ran in parallel throughout the second half of that final summer term in school A. We can see in the analysis sections where the video was used to present further units and assets on the timeline which correlated with these physical versions of the project. Thus in the boxes, the contemporary memes of the Matrix, the England football team, Scooby Doo and the Hulk sit alongside more personal, anchored objects, and these memetic objects and resources are echoed through the productions in the arrangements of clips from the Matrix, from footballing and from playfighting.

Chapter 3 posited the idea that the children in the productions were making the self at the same time as storying the self, collecting and assembling visual and audio resources which told a specific story. However, identity is not made in isolation. In these projects the conception self and "affect" arises from a re-imagining of cultural resources in the context of the group and from the transactional nature of the exchange of meaning in relation to the ultimate viewing audience. These transactions are located partly in the cultural markers (the transient) and partly in the lived experience or performed memory (the anchored) (c.f. Merchant, 2006). The productions sit on a continuum between the two, with, for example, Katie and Aroti's as the most abstracted and reduced form, the most distant from the resources of the wider culture, and Raymond and Keiron's the most related to the markers of time and place. Each contains elements of both aspects, but mixed in different proportions and with different "affective" outcomes for both audience and maker.

Sefton-Green (2000a) has pointed out that school is a setting which, under the right conditions, provides a space, a time and an audience for the explorations of these kinds of shared cultural and creative productions. This is somewhat at odds with some of the more antithetical positions towards school as an institution which shuts down such opportunities for higher order activity with its reductivist stance on activity in the curriculum (Gee, 2004a). Certainly the opportunity to explore the "project" or "trajectory" of the self (Giddens, 1991) belongs at least partly in the hugely significant lived experience of school and, clearly, there are ways of creating the halfway house between the two worlds, bridging them with collected and recorded assets from outside and inside the spaces of the formal setting. This may be particularly the case, but not exclusively, in the later years of primary school, looking back. It is this aspect of looking back, within the spaces of school, which the next section goes on to consider.

Locative-memory

Figs. 58 a- c Place and memory in Katie and Aroti's video

All the videos make reference to place and to memory. This is most salient, as seen in the analysis in chapter 5, in Katie and Aroti's production where they chose to put themselves into the frame in a variety of locations, talking to camera, quietly and quickly, making an effort to record secret places around the school which were of special significance to them (see the figure above). It did not have many camera or editorial tricks but what it did contain was a measure of performed, embodied identity. Space was marked out around them by gesture and by movement. They existed in the production as a unit of two people in the space, just as they had always remembered and experienced it.

Katie and Aroti's video amplified the potential for personal inscription in digital media of a kind which was not self-referential, straightforwardly parodic or dazzling in its techniques and execution. These techniques of personal inscription in digital form, as noted above, meant a more problematic and less accessible reading for the wider audience in ways in which Raymond and Keiron's video did not. What they achieved, rather than a well assembled and complex set of quotations from media sources, was to make a collage of quotations from their own lives and experience of living them. And yet, the surface features of the production were much more of an enclosed system, not available fully to the outside world.

For Katie and Aroti, digital video production meant recording embodied action through movement, framing, direction and selection which could subsequently become encoded and recorded. In this way the video itself would be able to take its place in the set of quotable media assets of their own lives in the future, alongside later digital images, web spaces, sound recordings, clips on phones and so on. In turn this video would become part of the curating of their life experience – a permanent moving image recording at a moment in time, shaped and composed by the authors themselves, whose meanings were nonetheless only available by being able to read the different elements and resources in this way, as a system.

Place and memory were however, key factors in the representation in other ways in other productions. I am thinking here, for example, about the way that Raymond and Keiron moved from interior to exterior shots to record aspects of their play together, as in the figure below…

Figs. 59 a - c Locations in Raymond and Keiron's video

In the still frame on the left they are standing in front of the shelter which they had painted in year 2, playing the music they had performed in year 4 in assembly (see chapter 5). In the middle frame, they have taken ownership of the hall outside their classroom for the long, central "interview" sequence. In the frame on the right, they are out in the playground where they have played football for many years. These shots were composed with specific quotations in mind from the lived experience at the school, layered in alongside the media resources and assets, and their overriding purpose was to combine these in ways which made self-representational meaning from them. However, there are echoes in all the locations chosen of Katie and Aroti's need to move around the space and to record embodied play and ways of being at the school (as in the final frame above, breaking a window with a careless shot of a football). They also spoke in interviews about the joys of being able to move around the school as a key element to the work. In this way hey were exploring the freedom of access to the spaces that were sometimes denied to them. This also, of course, had potential for recording their lived experience of the tactics deployed to resist control of their movement therein (c.f. de Certeau, 1984).

In the study there are other signs of this locative-narrative and embodied experience within other video productions across the two schools. Kyle, Annie, Robin and Leon introduce themselves in the playground, the hall, and, in the ball pond in the special needs area, enact a scene of mildly transgressive behaviour. Ellen, Hattie, Siobhan and Millie follow a similar path to Katie and Aroti around the school and into some of its more secret locations; for those girls, the purposes are different, connected to the ways in which their production made meaning from play and invention, but they re-tread many of the familiar paths. In "Morning News" the reporters are in the Key Stage One hall in front of the apparatus, or taking over the main assembly hall for dancing. In "007..." the school spaces are liberally spread throughout the production, many of them transgressive in nature from the key stage one playground, through to the AVA room and the shredder, through to the community room where the final dance takes place.

Notwithstanding all of the above, Katie and Aroti's production remains the most intensely realised in terms of recording ways of being in specific spaces (as discussed previously in the context of Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" (1986)). The use of place as a location, and a trigger, for memory is an archetypal response to the task of storying the self in new media. The idea that a video might record and reveal aspects of a child's lived and embodied experience of being in a school at a sophisticated level is a powerful one at a time when the locus of control of the curriculum and its performance is out of the control of most children. Aroti in her interview singles out the "different" nature of the work when she says:

> "(Yes, I enjoyed it because...) you get to do something fun in school (lifts right arm up to point back at interviewer, raises eyebrows and then gestures with an upturned hand)...and something new...because we don't normally do projects"

However, there was more taking place in their production than a chance to be off-topic or off-curriculum for a few hours. The elements of the production which are key for successful meaning-making for Katie and Aroti are those which enable the recording not only of their friendship, the things they used to do together but the opportunity to place a high value on a set of ways of being in the world which they can take forward into new experiences. The regular patterning of location and interview creates the cumulative effect of embodied, learned experience. For the viewer of the production, the effect is occasionally frustrating, not particularly technically competent and at times uncomfortable. Even so, it does have a structure driven by the need to be faithful to representations of space and memory.

In Chapter 5, Foucault's "*Hypomnemata*" (1984) was suggested as a further metaphor for the digital inscription in videos made by the children, notably in the one by Katie and Aroti. The choices of framing themselves were significant, repeatedly in two-shots and performing their time together as a way of preserving aspects of their identity and relationship. Some other productions also inscribed names and events into the performance, many with their repeated cycle of interviews (Ellen, Hattie, Siobhan and Millie's for example) and references to events drawn from the past.

The *Hypomnemata* serves as a useful concept distinct from a diary or journal form, more a record of events and lessons learned and preserved for use in situations in the future. Other videos did not take this on so explicitly and in school B where the purpose was not to make a record prior to leaving there was less obvious need to sum up and to move on. Nevertheless, even in "007..." and "Morning News" there are recorded ways of being, of dealing with situations and with each other, through roleplay and even subversive activity, such as where the wedding is satirised or the school hall is used for the dance.

Where there is apparent assembly without such care to record, we may well view the record more usefully as "palimpsest"; a record to be brought together, assembled, wiped, discarded and begun again. This is not necessarily in tension with the notion of preserved and recorded aspects of the self. The idea that in new media, one can assemble and re-assemble information for different purposes is consistent with the notion of shaping the self and with resisting the structures which attempt to fix and determine our identity through life. These resources are memetic too but in the exchanges within the world of the class and its relation to the school; for example, in the way of shared patterns of thought about playground activities in the space (Katie, Aroti) transgression in those spaces (Denzil, John and Lily), and within the school building (Ellen, Hattie, Siobhan, Millie et al). At the same time these resources are gathered and presented for these purposes as both a self-reflexive project (Giddens, 1991) and a narrative of selfhood (Bruner, 1987).

Voice

Many of the videos depend on the organisation of particular patterned communication which reflects the children's lived social experiences up to that point; how they have found their voice and exhibited the general, performed self in the spaces of the school. To an extent this is how Annie, Kyle and the others were organising their material in this way for themselves and for their audience. They are not simply organising the scenes in their videos as memes, Lankshear and Knobel's "contagious patterns of thought" (2006), but also as personal communications, which reflect their ways of being in the world as part of a cultural construct (Bourdieu, 1986).

Nevertheless, rather than become too celebratory it is worth noting that some learners find themselves in situations where their preferred mode of learning or mode of expression has little value within current educational assessment systems. In looking for opportunities to reach out to those learners, as outlined in previous sections, media projects are sometimes seen as possible ways of ensuring "authenticity" for the learners and, therefore, engendering participation and even hearing the "learner voice". I discussed in chapter 3 how this exaggerates and simplifies the potential of the medium and the process of engagement with learners. Indeed, as we have seen, the situation is far more complex than this in the case of school B; the outcomes are often unexpected, even unwelcome, as in the case of the disruptive and apparently incoherent outcomes. A willingness to engage authentically with learners through media production comes with a price, namely, an ability to work with outcomes that are potentially challenging and a recognition that these may well emerge in the chosen narrative voice.

Morning
News

Fig. 60 a - c Scenes from "Morning News" from school B

One example, "Morning News", although criticised by senior managers, was the best received of the productions in school B when it was eventually viewed. Other videos were regarded as being either too subversive or too low in finished quality to be shown to the whole school, running the risk of exposing the makers to ridicule by other children. All the videos were ultimately screened in the community room, a quasi-autonomous space existing – like the videos themselves - somewhere between the informal and the formal worlds of school.

The remaining two productions roamed around the school in similar fashion to "Morning News" but with far less narrative focus. Children in one of these videos explored place with locative narratives as used by Katie and Aroti and the performance of names as used by Kyle, Annie, Leon and Robin. In the other, there were attempts at improvised play and media quotation as seen in school A by Raymond and Keiron and the larger group of girls.

However, both of these productions fell foul of the school managers because they depicted children talking to each other in "inappropriate" ways (c.f. Chan, 2008). They also featured trees in the playground which were known to be out-of-bounds. Although they were allowed to be screened in a separate space within the school, to parents and carers, they were deemed anarchic and amateurish, lacking the sheen and literate values of properly finished media productions and therefore unsuitable for a wider audience within the school itself.

This response to an apparently authentic media representation of authorial voice in production was a common reaction to the productions by children in school B. The school managers clearly felt that the adults in the process (including the researcher) could and should have shaped the outcome and exercised more control. However, this would have placed the experience far lower on the previously discussed scale of student voice (Fielding, 2004).

Once again, if becoming literate in new media suggests some form of social action, the videomakers in both schools, particularly in school B, were more than happy to exploit this potential by testing out school rules, investigating forbidden spaces and for taking part in mildly transgressive behaviour in "official spaces" such as the school assembly hall. These playful and transgressive responses are noted in other accounts of media production (Grace and Tobin, 1998; Grace and Tobin, 2002). In them, as in the video by the girls in school A, we find versions of recorded play which Sutton-Smith reminds us is sometimes beyond romanticizing and is frequently challenging (1997). Media representations of these aspects of childhood are often revelatory of transgressive behaviour which moves beyond the rules, and we need to know how to account for these and respond to them. I have outlined previously the potential benefits for learning about making media through self-representational video production; these videos suggest that there is nothing simple about this process, that hearing the learner voice in them means accepting their micro-political (and potentially wider) effects, or risk locking down and suppressing media activity as happens in other settings of youth production with older students (Chan, 2008). It has also been noted in looking at the "rhetorics" of creativity that there is a tendency for only pro-social activity to be seen as "creative" and the question has been asked as to whether other sorts of dissident or transgressive activity can be accommodated within a definition of the term (Burn, Banaji and Buckingham, 2006)

6.3 Curatorship as a new literacy practice

The research question asked: *What forms and organising structures are used by young learners in negotiating and representing identity in digital video production?* The answer suggested by the evidence from the children in the study and presented in the light of the analysis under the themes of literacy and identity is a set of active practices which can be gathered together in the metaphorical conception of "curatorship". This is not "curatorship" in a sense which suggests the static management of an unchanging set of resources or assets; it is not intended to suggest simply "custodianship" or "guardianship". Instead, I am characterising it as a practice and a process involving ways of being active in gathering together and assembling the resources needed to represent both the anchored and the transient forms of identity (Merchant, 2006) in a variety of spaces for different purposes and audiences.

The acts of self-representation described above could take place in any form in which the user can organise and re-engineer combinations of media in an online or offline affinity space. In these projects, the imperative was the making of a self-representational text in the medium of digital video. In both schools, the process was multi-faceted, mutable and malleable, one of continual change and re-making. Even immediately afterwards many of the children were no longer locating themselves as the same people they could see in the productions at the outset; they were aware of themselves as an ongoing project for self-making, for self-representation. In the process, some of the meaning-making resources were no longer applicable, or the ways in which they aligned themselves with them, or affiliated with them, were changed.

The aspects of "curatorship" which suggest themselves as new literacy practices entail the conflation of many skills and attributes into one, all of which involve being literate and functioning in new media. Curating, as a verb, incorporates many sub-components and actions; it suggests at least the following: *collecting, cataloguing, arranging and assembling for exhibition, displaying.* Some of these, as we have seen, have been posited as actions which are taken by young children in assembling their physical collections (for example, of toys), and refracted through the lens of new media (Mitchell and Reid-Walsh, 2002; Pahl, 2006)

Firstly, *collecting* resources or media assets: this refers to assets that you create yourself and save, such as video clips, sound files, still images and more. Equally, it could be assets that you collect from family and friends. These could be in many forms, such as comedy, parody, news, drama, documentary, tutorial video. The assets may have been gathered in from TV broadcast, mass media, re-edited and posted for direct quotation and re-purposing. These could take the form of very small clips, barely lasting more than a few seconds or even parts of seconds, up to much longer sequences. They could take the form of sound from a favourite mp3 file or CD track, recorded from the immediate environment, downloaded or ripped from a music library. Furthermore, they can, as in the case of many of the videos in this study take the form of re-enacted and re-imagined media assets. As we have seen in the case of the "Let's get on with the show" video, and in parts of other productions, these re-enactments are themselves intertextual references which are collected, played with and incorporated.

Secondly, *cataloguing*: As the children discovered, it is much harder to edit in digital video without knowing where your various media assets are, what they are called and what they contain in the way of meaning-making resource. At the time you come to prepare an edit, you need to be able to locate the files you have made, the files you wish to include, the audio and any still images and so on. You need to know where these are on your computer or elsewhere. They need to have been organised and catalogued, tagged for their location in ways that are meaningful to the producers themselves. The software will ask for the location at some point, so that you can import it into the new exhibition. And with social software and online spaces for sharing media assets of course, the cataloguing is for others as their tagging and organisation is for you, to be shared and incorporated into new exhibitions and spaces.

This has already been noted as an area for potential development as both skill set and resource in educational settings, developing learners' capacity for working with user-generated folksonomies as opposed to author-generated taxonomies (see, for example, Davies and Merchant, 2009, esp. Ch. 4, pp. 35 - 51). This has also recently emerged as a research focus by the *Futures of Learning* new media study group in the United States in work directed by Anne Bolsamo under the heading *Virtual Museums: Where to Begin?* (2009) and in practical application development in the global tagging of web artefacts by end users in *"Steve: The Museum Social Tagging Project"* (SteveProject, 2009).

Thirdly, *Arranging and assembling*: these skills are those of planning for elements to be in dialogue with one another, to suggest specific meanings by their location and juxtaposition in the timeline of the video, on the screen, in the production when it is complete. This is an active process of working with intertextuality, using the tools in the software to assemble a coherent whole – not necessarily a narrative whole, but a coherent and cohesive whole which stays together for the overarching purpose of the project, of lasting or short duration, and which communicates something of the original intention.

All of these skills map onto those suggested by Jenkins and Gee earlier, and suggest an active authoring practice within lived culture. Curatorship as defined above for new media and identified in these productions incorporates elements of Jenkins' "new skills", such as *Play, Performance, Appropriation, Collective Intelligence, Transmedia Navigation* and *Networking* (Jenkins et al., 2006). It further suggests an active engagement with Gee's "affinity spaces" in that it features a conception of all of the following at some level...

> "...common endeavour" (in which)...content is transformed by interactional organisation...intensive and extensive knowledge are encouraged...tacit knowledge is encouraged and honoured...there are many different forms and routes to participation..."
> (2004a, discussed in Ch. 6, pp. 77 - 89)

In all of the videos something of those processes occurred. Yet, in the study, I have also noted those moments where this process was not as successful or straightforward and working with children in future adapted forms of this self-representational work will entail an engagement with pedagogical design for experiences in digital video (see Chapter 7).

We saw in the closing sections of Chapter 3 how cultural anthropologists were beginning to look at the ways in which new media worked in self-archiving. Miller wrote how, in this respect, digital media create their own "sensual field" which respects "the larger integrity of connections between the media it incorporates" (2008, p. 71). This "integrity of connections" is an important concept because it suggests a set of organising principles. The particular kind of production in new media dictates these to an extent so that, in the examples of new media in these studies, the short moving image form has its own conventions, the breaking of which results in incoherence and lack of a viable representational form. Where it works, however, it allows users to control, select and publish aspects of their performed, recorded self in new media; and we can see here an essential life skill; the management of resources and assets made for, by and about us in a range of media, as posited in recent work which focuses specifically on the digitisation of personal memories in media assets (Garde-Hansen, Hoskins and Reading, 2009; Williams, Leighton John and Rowland, 2009).

Finally, as raised in chapter 3 and noted in analysis of the videos, this kind of curated productive activity extends further, out from the self, to include the creation of cultural resources which record and resonate with wider affiliations, group and even tribal identities and their associated social and cultural practices. The idea of social relations as a determining factor in the literacy practices within a group was noted in chapter 3, where to be literate was to negotiate cultural and social identity (c.f. Buckingham, 1993). The socialised version of curatorship as a metaphorical literacy practice in new media is a further marker of its potential role in formal and informal educational spaces and its potential development within literacy pedagogy.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

Part of the first chapter of this study presented an autobiographical account of my early working life as a primary school teacher. I connected this account with the themes of literacy and identity explored in subsequent chapters by means of a linear narrative, set within particular historical and geographical circumstances: East London, in the late 1980s to mid 1990s, in linguistically and racially diverse classrooms. In recent years, I have realised that my outlook on teaching and learning is framed by an inherent interest in what it means to be literate and to participate in lived culture; I am curious about how, why and what people make, produce and share. As a result, this thesis has been a continual process of attempted connection with, and understanding of, the changed social arrangements, practices and artefacts of new media (Lievrouw and Livingstone, 2006), and how this impacts on literacy practices inside and outside formal educational settings, and with what potential effects on teaching and learning, particularly in the years before secondary school.

Reforms of primary education are underway in which learners are envisaged as more active and productively engaged with learning than they have been since the strategies for teaching the National Curriculum were first introduced in the 1990s. Reviews of schooling in the primary years (Alexander and Flutter, 2009; Rose, 2009) propose changes which, if they are fully implemented, will see some recognition of the changed ways in which children are literate in a world full of new media forms of all kinds. This could potentially move primary schools towards a critical engagement with making and evaluating texts in many modes. A more pessimistic view is that the proposed core skills of ICT will inevitably privilege a technologically determinist and reductivist view of learning, disconnected from anything but itself as a provider of expensive "solutions" to the "problem" of teaching and learning. If, instead of this, we are entering a phase of much closer negotiation and integration with lived media and popular culture, then there is hope that learners and teachers may be about to become more productively engaged with new literacies.

Michael Rosen, whom I was privileged to watch working with children in my class, was one of a number of early influences on me, instilling a sense of children as actively literate within a culture; children came to school with rich experience of literacy practices which could be valued, shared, and worked with. Writing recently in the Guardian, Rosen connected these ideas to a syllabus which was devised some fifty years ago by his late father Harold, and which still has resonance today, namely:

> "Whatever language the pupils possess, it is this which must be built on rather than driven underground. However narrow the experience of our pupils may be (and it is often wider than we think) it is this experience alone which has given their language meaning. The starting point for English work must be the ability to handle effectively their own experience."
> (Rosen, 2009)

Building on children's experiences in this way and valuing their cultural heritage is a long way from the deficit model of children's learning which seemed to be inherent in the implementation of the National Curriculum and its assessment systems - and which ultimately led to highly prescriptive literacy teaching (DFES, 1998). It is just possible that a new primary curriculum will return to a view which framed my own earliest experiences as a teacher, a starting point in which children's culture is once again valued, their experience is built upon and we regain a more holistic engagement with the child as a learner. And, some twenty years later, this will involve engaging productively with the all of the modes and meaning making processes in lived media and popular culture.

In this final chapter I would like to reflect on how working with children in self – representational video production has enabled me to draw conclusions about some of the potential changes to literacy practices and make suggestions for ways forward in both pedagogy and research. Once again, I would like to reiterate that this is not a celebratory and uncritical account of everything that children make and do with new media but, rather, one which has attempted to understand the nature of their engagement with, in this case, video production. I analysed and then problematised these case studies at the same time as describing emergent new literacy skills and dispositions.

I will set the conclusions out in two main sections as follows:

The first section is concerned with future directions for both pedagogy and research and seeks partly to draw together the strands connected to teaching and learning which are present throughout. Partly it also contributes to the debate on "reframing literacy" which seeks to incorporate moving image forms as part of reconceptualising and re-defining teacher and learner engagement with literacy (BFI, 2008; Reid, 2009). In particular, I want to examine the implications for children's development, progression and growing critical understanding in their productive engagement with moving image forms and conclude with some suggestions for further research on the basis of the study, weighing up what can be asserted from this work and acknowledging its limits, alongside what lay just out of reach and how it may be explored in the future.

The second section revisits and re-emphasises the curatorship metaphor introduced in previous chapters, as a way of defining a new literacy practice which is emergent in these self-representational productions by young learners and which may also form a frame of enquiry into new media and learning in the future.

7.1 Future pedagogy and research

The earlier chapters outlined how the work in both schools took place in a formal setting but in an informally organised space and time, because it was the end of the school year (school A) or the children were off timetable for other reasons (school B). Nevertheless, I wanted to try and discover something of the knowledge of cultural forms and literacy practices with the moving image which the children had already, and on which teachers could build in the future. In taking this line, the study anticipated a time when the organisation of the curriculum would be loosened and the debates about changing literacy in schools would perhaps become more focused on moving image work.

In the few years since the children made these videos, the primary curriculum in England has indeed been thoroughly reviewed; both of the reports mentioned above (Alexander and Flutter, 2009; Rose, 2009) raise the prospect of a greater engagement with moving image work in primary schools and, as such, have been employed in debate around the reconceptualising of literacy itself. The head of education at the British Film Institute, for example, has proposed an inclusive "re-framing" of "literacy" which involves...

> "…developing children's understanding of how the dominant cultural modes of speech, writing, performance, pictures, and moving pictures with sounds operate; how to choose from a wider range of texts than they might otherwise; how to read, interpret and analyse those texts; how to make them and use their language systems to express themselves…"
> (Reid, 2009, p.22)

In this Reid seeks to draw together themes in the work of writers who have linked literacy to popular culture, semiotics and new media (e.g.Burn and Parker, 2003a; Marsh, 2005; Merchant, 2005a; Burn and Durran, 2007) into a holistic and inclusive engagement with the reconceptualisation of literacy itself.

Clearly the research in this thesis has been concerned centrally with the nature of this engagement at the level of the child in the primary school. The first half of the research question, shown here in bold - ***What forms and organising structures are used by young learners*** *in negotiating and representing identity in digital video production?* – implied learning from children about their own understandings of this literacy practice, from their experience with self-representational video.

In the analysis and discussion chapters, I outlined the ways in which children took the opportunity in these videos to express themselves in a variety of forms, drawn from their knowledge and experience of popular culture; how they attempted to combine these elements onscreen using editing software which presented them with options for mixing media assets and different modes together. As seen earlier, in carrying out this work, the children in the study produced a very wide range of responses to the task of self-representation. They told personal stories, they made parodic references to other media texts, they composed short sketches, they undertook personal storytelling, they recorded their play and that of others, they improvised and they sometimes worked from detailed plans. Taken at face value they appeared to suggest an innate understanding of the medium and yet they were not all equally successful in making the elements in their production fit together coherently or accessibly for viewers or, sometimes, for themselves.

So, whilst the children appeared to have nascent ability to work with the *lexis* of moving image forms, on the basis of their previous experience of watching them, when they operated intertextually and mixed assets and sources together, they sometimes struggled with the *grammar* of the medium. What this suggests is some way of working with both which supports children's development in producing moving image texts but does not risk a lack of engagement.

As a starting point, I would argue, on the basis of this research, that activities in moving image production should be self-representational. This finds a corollary in print literacy where thematic work around the self is often the earliest writing experience. However, it was clear in these productions that the activity of moving image production of itself did not confer a simple, liberating experience of productive creativity on the children. Instead, the ability to organise intertextual space onscreen was identified by the children themselves time and again as a key determining factor in their production's success or failure. The children frequently expressed dismay at how the huge potential of the editing tools was hard to realise in their productions. This suggests that it is time to think seriously about how the affordances of editing tools are introduced to children and to think about how activities may be designed which foreground the organisation of modes of speech, image, gesture, sound and music in intertextual space much more, much earlier. I would suggest that this notion supports and is supported by thinking about commonalities across software editing interfaces in the ways suggested by Sefton-Green (2005) and referred to earlier in the study.

Storyboarding and other paper activities supported some of the children, some of the time, in thinking about content, about media assets and some basic shot composition; editing however was not supported in quite the same way by these artefacts. For many of the children, the use of the editing space or "multimodal mixing desk" (Burn and Parker, 2003a) held too much challenge and the paper planning did not support them. They simply could not assemble things in the way that they wanted to and, in such a high stakes activity as self-representation, this became a source of frustration. The exception to this was the video produced by the two boys in school A which achieved a high degree of success and in which it was possible to see the links through from the planning to the final work, including cues on paper which supported combinations of modes in the editing software. Making this clearer and more obvious in the artefacts used to support the making of the pieces may have helped, although simply producing better planning sheets is unlikely to provide the whole answer. Instead, it makes sense to try to connect with proposals for slightly older children which appear to result in successful engagement with moving image work. Burn and Durran (2007), for example, as noted earlier, have suggested analysing moving image texts before making them, layering this in alongside significant amounts of simple in-camera work. For primary school children this could be worked in alongside opportunities to make short, simple self-representational texts of the kinds in these projects, alongside frequent review and evaluation, demonstrating not merely the function of the tools but how certain juxtapositions and appropriations produce different meanings. In this way, an understanding of the grammar of the moving image, its construction of shots and edits, transitions and cuts can be layered in with critical study of moving image material in which learners have a real investment.

The study has shown throughout how aware the children were of the camera and of the potential content they could create with it. However, they still needed support to see how the smallest changes in decision at the point of final assembly of their videos, alongside sound and titling and so on, affected the overall meaning-making process. I believe that this could be achieved in an approach to 'learning by doing' which was accompanied by regular reflection and evaluation. This is certainly possible in many of our primary classrooms in which large, 'interactive' visual displays have been introduced. However, this is emphatically *not* the approach which has characterised strategies for print literacy teaching in recent years and which has emphasised teaching of "basics" *before* learners have any wider experience of production and publication. Rather, this is layering in space and time in which to learn in actual production how the many modes may successfully be combined; making media texts, evaluating them and making more media texts, a progressive model of learning in primary school media work.

As the Cambridge primary review has reported, pedagogy in recent years has been driven by a "standards" agenda, an unwillingness to undertake activities in which reflection and breadth of experience are the centerpiece, as it stated:

> "...primary education is increasingly but needlessly compromised by the 'standards' agenda... The most conspicuous casualties are the arts, the humanities and those kinds of learning in all subjects which require time for talking, problem-solving and the extended exploration of ideas...Fuelling these problems has been a policy-led belief that curriculum breadth is incompatible with the pursuit of standards in 'the basics', and that if anything gives way it

> must be breadth. Evidence going back many decades, including reports from HMI and OFSTED, consistently shows this belief to be unfounded. Standards and breadth are interdependent, and high-performing schools achieve both."
> (Cambridge_Primary_Review, 2009, pp. 1- 2)

Earlier in the study, I described how recent re-conceptualisations of literacy which incorporate new media have been seen to be predicated on problem solving and collaboration, on "tacit knowledge" and "participation" (Gee, 2004a; Jenkins et al., 2006), all of which suggest the Cambridge Primary Review's identified "time for talking" and the "extended exploration of ideas". And for the younger learners, described in this study this productive and inclusive engagement with popular culture, including moving image forms, which will necessarily frame the re-definition of literacy and pedagogy, also suggests breadth of study and time for critical engagement. The compartmentalisation of subjects is changing and will continue to move in primary schools in the directions proposed by the reviews towards "areas of learning". Literacy, as a practice of making and exchanging meaning in culture, will be the thing which holds all of these learning areas together and, since literacy practices reflect lived culture, we should reasonably expect to see a productive engagement with new media at the heart of learning in the primary school. The Rose review, after all, recognises the situation of a curriculum within a culture and that this changes through time:

> "Because it is a cultural construct, the school curriculum is dynamic rather than static. Hence the curriculum should be subject to well-managed, periodic change in response to national and global developments that influence how our culture is transmitted, conservedand renewed, for the benefit of all, through the process of education in school and beyond."
> (Rose, 2009)

Progression in a productive engagement with new media in literacy practices in the primary years also suggests an understanding of the developmental aspects of children's lives in pre-adolescence. The earlier discussion of Vygotsky's notion of creativity in adolescence offered some explanation for the way in which the videos made by the children were positioned on the play-creativity continuum, in parallel to the incoherence-coherence one, with the more successful ones moving away from play or fantasy, and from incoherence to coherence. As seen earlier, Vygotsky proposed that, in adolescence, children undergo a gradual "liberation" from concrete thought and "imagistic" features towards a greater integration of "elements of abstract thinking"

(1994, p.274). In the pre-adolescents working on these videos it is possible, in some cases, to see the ways in which this process occasionally overwhelms the authors. In such cases the audience could not connect with fully abstracted, easily decoded creative forms and instead found themselves witnessing aspects of recorded play, with all of its hidden codes and shared meanings, fully accessible only to the children themselves. Frequently, they struggled to contain their embodied and performed version of their play within a form that could be understood by an outside viewer. Those who could understand it belonged to the group and recognised codes, quotations and affiliations in the responses to the task of representation because they had also enacted and encoded the play. This is not a judgemental issue which sets up such productions as somehow failing; neither is it one which celebrates everything as fully formed. Instead, I am positioning these texts on a continuum from incoherence to coherence. Future pedagogical design should therefore be aware of, and responsive to, this issue; in the same way that teaching print literacy involves (or should involve) understanding developmental processes through which children move (Beard, 1993; Whitehead, 1997). With sensitivity on the part of the teacher, critical awareness of how these forms reach out beyond the world of the children, as well as how this changes over time, could be developed.

Engaging children in a critical response to the work seems to be helpful with regards to the issues raised above; in the interviews, as seen previously, many spoke with candour about their productions. There was enthusiasm and pride but there was also a degree of self-criticism; even amongst those who said that they would not change anything, there was an acknowledgement that more could be done another time to make things more communicable to an external viewer.

Many of the children in the study were capable of responding positively to sensitive evaluation. Perhaps, with this in mind, the work suggests that children are ready for taking on some of the meta-language around media production in order to frame evaluation and reflection. For example, in both schools, some of the children talked about the camera as a key "partner" in the task and, as noted in the previous chapter, it was apparent that they viewed it as a powerful mediating tool which influenced their action (Wertsch, 1998; Engeström, Miettinen and Punamäki, 1999). After this initial period of experimentation, they would benefit from reviewing and being introduced to some of the ways of labeling and describing shots which made up their compositions. This would not be with the purpose of overloading younger learners with unnecessary technical vocabulary, but rather with equipping them with a way to describe some of the processes in production through which they move in creating these short pieces. Neither is it in any way, as with the print literacy strategies, to suggest that the "basics" of shooting come first. These principles are wrapped up in making something for meaning, not for undertaking arid and removed technical exercises. The point would be to foster an understanding of moving image *grammar* as an ally, as a mechanism for making communication in the modes of the moving image clearer and enabling a more successful engagement with the *lexis* of production.

With this in mind, it should be possible to go further still and introduce an age-appropriate meta-language within the video-editing process which we have already seen was a key area of development identified by the children themselves. Once the recorded images are loaded on to the computer and are on the shelf or in the bin (depending on the software being used), alongside the other media assets, stills and sounds, there could follow a similar negotiation with the vocabulary of multimodality at a simple level, enough to enable control over the onscreen organisation of intertextual space. Children routinely work within other software at some level of technical vocabulary; in some ways they are already adept at operating with word processors between the "cultural layer" and the "computer layer" (Manovich, 2001), choosing *fonts* which are fit for purpose, moving *blocks of text*, *copying*, *cutting* and *pasting* in posters, poems and stories. Taking this a stage further into video editing is suggested for older children (Burn and Durran, 2007) and the thesis earlier pointed out how the affordances of software are convergent, with the representations of controls assuming a common look and feel across editing software of varying kinds (Sefton-Green, 2005). It would be worth exploring this notion of control across the modes and developing a vocabulary with children which encompasses the technicalities of controlling the computer layer in an authoring activity which has an outcome in the cultural layer.

Finally, it is worth acknowledging that some of the work needed to put in place the suggestions raised above lies beyond the scope of this study though it emerges directly from its findings.

Progressive and developmental frames have emerged in the thesis as potential ways of thinking about the nature of the media texts which have been produced, particularly as they relate to pedagogy in the first section above. In order to map this territory more completely it would be necessary to take a longer-term view of the work. A study which set out to discover the impact over time of some of the suggestions made in the preceding section on pedagogy, would enable a more detailed map to be drawn. In particular the study would need to focus on areas which have only been hinted at in this and other work in the field. A longitudinal study which aimed to map over some years the nature of children's developing metalanguage in regard to moving image production would help to test some of the assertions made about progressive acquisition of concepts discussed previously. Each of the processes involved would yield findings which could be fed back into teaching and learning in a cyclical, action-research way (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007).

Some of the less explored territory with younger learners is the actual nature of support for different modes in teaching and learning. In the pedagogy section above, I suggested that developing a metalanguage could accompany progressive work with editing and that this could build on the ways it is handled with regard to other kinds of software. Yet as Burn and Durran (2007) point out in discussing support for older children's experiences of moving image production, it is not always possible to locate support or expertise for the whole range of modes within a particular setting, particularly one as compartmentalised into subjects as the secondary school. Perhaps the primary school as it returns to a more holistic, topic-based approach, organised into broader themes of learning as anticipated in the Rose review (2009), also mentioned above, and in the discussion of "breadth" by the Cambridge review, (Alexander and Flutter, 2009) offers greater support for teachers who want to "work with what they have" (Burn and Durran, op. cit., p. 93) in the way of knowledge of different modes in production.

This study has been focused on learners and the opportunities which they have to develop metalanguage, skills and dispositions in video production. There is potential for research here which takes teachers through similar processes, since they are also present in the setting. I was involved in a project which attempted to do this with regard to teachers in training and their experiences of moving image production in a cross-curricular context (Potter, 2006). In that research however, there was no direct mapping back onto the areas which have emerged as significant here, namely, the organisation of onscreen spaces, the activity of editing as an assembly of multimodal elements with its own specific skills and dispositions and with its own vocabulary. This seems to be another potential site of related research and could be as longitudinal in nature as that suggested by the work with children above.

A further potential area for future research arose from watching the children in both schools, but particularly in school A, work with material artefacts in the context of the video production projects. The memory boxes were a valuable resource and generated much discussion. They were not centrally part of the research but their presence in the project suggested that there was much potential in exploring this relationship further. I would suggest incorporating at an early stage in a future project some space within the work for making an exhibition on the themes of important objects in children's lives to date; this would be particularly important at times of transition. This would have to be handled with sensitivity since there may well be things which children would not wish to reveal and not all experiences will have been happy ones. By locating the autobiographical element in objects of significance, a study which looked more closely at the links between the personal, physical objects and their media representations, in moving image work, perhaps extending work already done in still images and sharing sites (Merchant, 2005b; Pahl, 2006; Roberts, 2008) would be a significant area of exploration.

7.2 Curating the self

In making their videos, assembling cultural resources drawn from their own lives and from wider popular culture, the children took part in a productive engagement with new media in which they were gathering media artefacts and assets together into a new arrangement. I have suggested in both the theory and discussion chapters of this study that the children thereby took part in a new kind of literacy practice which can be metaphorically characterised as curating. The resources from which they made meaning were collected, catalogued and arranged for exhibition. These included practices which were previously unseen, acts of memory and habitualised behaviour which were not previously recorded in this way, but which were part of their everyday, lived experience. As some of the projects showed, this revelation was not unproblematic and was not in itself a process without risk or critical issues.

As revealed in the analysis, in the adapted multimodal frames employed in chapter 5, the children's videos were full of references to specific places and memories and their performance in these spaces reveal an embodied and affective response to their "habitus" (Bourdieu, 1986). I also described earlier how some of the children used their performance in the spaces of the school to record a version of the "hypomnemata" (Foucault, 1984) as both a record and a resource. Others made use of the video form as a kind of "palimpsest", a performed and recorded version of their movement in the space as a kind of strategic resistance to the tactics of control (de Certeau, 1984). We have also seen how the concept of anchored and transient versions of identity (Merchant, 2006) was a useful one for seeing how the representations moved between aspects of the self which were fixed and those which were demonstrations of affiliation and subject to change over time. Increasingly, participating in lived culture means taking part in a continued project of self-representation in many of these expressive tactical modes, whether in the spaces of social networking, writing the self online in blogs, posting still or moving images or combinations of all of these. It further involves display of collections of artefacts and texts made by others, shared music, images or videos which have been found, tagged and re-presented alongside images which have been created by the person themselves. These may be "anchored or transient" (ibid.) but their selection involves a combined set of skills and practices which may be gathered into the metaphorical construct of curatorship.

I would like to return to one of the examples I used earlier in the study, the *"Mark Wallinger curates the Russian Linesman"* exhibition in the first half of 2009 at the Hayward Gallery on London's South Bank. The exhibition guide describes *curating* as *making*; it describes the process undertaken by the guest curator, the artist Mark Wallinger:

> "An exhibition devised by an artist – especially a multi-disciplinary show such as this – is an *act of creation*, similar in many ways to the *making* of a work of art. Inevitably, as in their own work, the artist's ideas, interests and enthusiasms underpin both the exhibition's *rationale* and the *process* of selection and display."
> (SouthbankCentre, 2009, p.1, my italics)

The italicised portions of the quotation above show how the language used to describe the process of curating positions it as active, agentive and evaluative; "creation" and "making" are used alongside "rationale" and "process". "Rationale" in particular chimes with the earlier discussion of Vygotsky's account of the developing *rational* aspects of creativity (Vygotsky, 1994) through adolescence. It also relates strongly to the earlier discussion of *externalisation* (Vygotsky, 1978; Kozulin, 2005) which in this case refers to a process by which assets are curated in such a way as to produce coherence for an audience through their assembly and exhibition.

If we apply the processes of selection, display and assembly familiar from the language of exhibition creation to video production, we uncover a range of skills and sub-skills which find corollaries in other media forms and spaces, not least in the associated skills of gathering, cataloguing, tagging and exhibiting in blogs and social networks. Furthermore, the Wallinger exhibition guide goes on to suggest that the exhibition represents the maker just as much as any individual artefact within the collection. The sum of the parts is the representational act of meaning-making about the self at the particular time the collection is made.

This view of production and proposed way of thinking about associated skills and dispositions proposed in chapter six (*collecting, cataloguing, arranging* and *assembling*) represents curatorship as an active but complex literacy practice in new media, multi-stranded and developing over time. It arises from seeing representational digital video production in its many modes across these projects as a form which makes explicit the processes involved; speech, image, gesture, music, diegetic sound are all gathered in, a collection of self-made assets which have been collected alongside media taken from the existing collection.

An earlier section proposed a developmental model for mapping progression in children's video production. A further proposal for schools, based on curatorship, would be to build on the metaphor and find ways of inviting children to think of themselves as curators across media forms and spaces from an early age. This should not be difficult. Participating in lived culture means making many kinds of digital image and moving image and sometimes all that is required of educators is that they draw attention towards the previously unseen. Children could be encouraged to think of themed exhibitions, self-representation on and offline, the use of shared still and moving images to create collections which are stored and archived over time. This implies an active and social engagement with a new literacy practice such as we have seen proposed earlier (Gee, 2004a; Marsh, 2005; Jenkins et al., 2006; Lankshear and Knobel, 2006). It also parallels emergent dicussions of "digital memories" concerned with how these are managed through life in the many spaces of new media (Garde-Hansen, Hoskins and Reading, 2009).

In the closing stages of writing this thesis I found myself sitting once again watching Michael Rosen performing in front of an audience, as I had already been many times before in my early professional life as a teacher. This time the audience I was among were not children in a primary school; they were student teachers from a partner university in New York. Over the course of an hour and a half, Rosen took them through the experience of connecting with the past, with the present, with lived experience. In so doing he presented a way of connecting the elements together, painful experiences lived alongside happier ones, all were performed and embodied with gesture, rhythm, metre, the tactics of memory. I realised sitting there that I had come full circle. With my mind on completion of the study, the principles of literacy as a kind of curatorship activity of selection, organisation and shared cultural markers began to gel as Rosen described a book he is writing, around the methodically recorded and performed notion of his various childhood misdemeanours which his father used to remind him about, and which he now collected and catalogued in a new book, beginning on page one with an incident in which, at the age of two, he threw his mother's ring out of the window. For this talk, for this particular audience, he selected, catalogued, arranged, assembled and performed from previously created assets and improvisation and interaction. All the elements were drawn from lived experience and a lifetime of engagement with the act of re-combining, re-aligning and performing with a particular audience in mind and a particular point in time. The children's video productions also contained those elements; the difference being that the performance drawn from their lived culture and experience was captured and encoded within the meaning-making systems of moving image production, not that of performance poetry, and took its place within an overall conception of new media as a space in which the various assets could be grouped, shared, viewed and evaluated.

What we see in these processes of authoring and collecting and appropriating is a process in which the unperceived accretions of passing time along with the very many processes of growing up and changing relationships with ourselves, and with others, has become the centrepiece of the project of the self. We have also seen how the interdependence between productions and the representations have been of the self within a specific context of others, in the case of the children in school A, for example, their immediate contemporaries and colleagues at a time of profound and accelerated change in their lives.

In the light of the exploration of the children's videos in this study, I would argue that the curatorship metaphor represents a way of conceiving literacy practices in lived, media culture and one which is worthy of future study across a range of modes, media and settings in years to come.

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