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Shifting Fields:

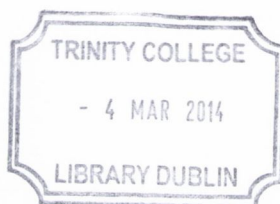
**A Critical Analysis of Film Studies,
Media Studies and Media Literacy,
1990 to 2009**

by Helen Doherty

This thesis is submitted to the
University of Dublin
for the Degree of PhD in the
School of Education,
Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences

January 2014

Supervisor:
Dr Ann Devitt



Thesis 10179

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Summary

Against the background of cultural change in the twentieth century this thesis undertakes an exploration of the changing landscape of third-level media education in the United Kingdom from the 1960s to 2009. This time span represents an era when education was regarded as an agent of radical change to the recent recalibration of education in the service of the knowledge economy. The historical interpretation of media education is brought into sharp focus through a detailed analysis that tracks change from the 1990s to 2009 through the corpus analysis of three media-related journals, *Screen*, *Convergence* and the *Media Literacy Bulletin*.

The analysis of the shifting field of media education integrates theory and practice within a research framework established by Pierre Bourdieu. The hermeneutic interpretation of media education draws on Bourdieu's theory of education as a field of differentiated power. It is then amalgamated with a corpus analysis of the main academic journals in the field which represent the three subject disciplines of media education, Film Studies, Media Studies and Media Literacy. This combined approach foregrounds the role of cultural capital in establishing educational disciplines; it also enables a detailed analysis of the preoccupations of twenty years of Film Studies, and it elucidates why Media Studies had greater difficulty in accruing esteem within the education system. The analysis of Media Literacy illustrates government-driven attempts to harness media communication in the age of the World Wide Web.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Defining the Topic

This Introduction outlines the research questions and aims, the approaches employed, the contribution made by related research and how this research addresses some of the research gaps in the field.

The main question in this study refers to radical changes in media education which occurred at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century in response to massive technological innovations, in particular the invention of the World Wide Web. The specific research question is: how did media education respond to the new challenges arising from the widespread adoption of the World Wide Web and the radical transformation of the entire media sector? These challenges include the interrelated questions of how the field of media education has dealt with

- a) the convergence of media into one digital platform,
- b) widening participation in media production and
- c) the transformation of largely passive audiences into active users.

From an epistemological perspective, the arrival of the World Wide Web not only disrupted established models of media production and distribution, but it also affected the interpretational frames and terms of the debate that had underpinned media education until then. Accordingly, this study focuses on how the constituent subjects within the field of media education adjusted to this challenge within the media sphere and to what extent they embraced widespread media change. In order to examine this question, I adopt firstly a historical lens that illuminates the development of media education since the 1960s to establish the context for my in-depth analysis of significant shifts in

media education since the 1990s based on an empirical corpus analysis. A prerequisite for my study is to ascertain what constitutes the field of media education. A further research question therefore is: what are the constituent topics associated with media education and how do they relate to each other?

To respond to these research questions, I draw on Pierre Bourdieu's work on culture, education and language which offers a valuable interpretive frame for illuminating the struggles of legitimation that have accompanied the history of media education since its development in the post-war period. In the words of David Swartz, Bourdieu "proposes a sociology of symbolic power that addresses the important topic of relations between culture, social structure, and action" (Swartz 1997: 6). Power in Bourdieu's view is not conceptualised as a behavioural concept as manifest in overt decision-making processes, involving an observable conflict of interest (see Dahl 1957: 201-15; Lukes 2005: 16-19). Rather it is conceived in terms that "move beyond the forced choice between constraint (by forces) and consent (to reasons), between mechanical coercion and voluntary, free, deliberate, even calculated submission" (Bourdieu 2001[1998]: 37). Power for Bourdieu is more often enacted through what he calls "symbolic violence" which is internalised by social actors through habitualised "schemes of perception, appreciation and action" (Bourdieu 2001[1998]: 37). As Lukes comments, the effectiveness of power as domination "is enhanced by being disguised or rendered invisible, by 'naturalization', where what is conventional and position- or class-based appears to the actors as natural and objective" (Lukes 2005: 141). Bourdieu's sociology of culture, which was developed and fine-tuned across several decades, will be discussed in Chapter 2. Education plays a central role in Bourdieu's thinking precisely because it acts as a principal institution, guarding status and privilege in modern western societies and

arguably beyond.¹ For Bourdieu the education system not only transmits and advances knowledge but it reinforces social class relations through the unequal distribution of cultural capital, a term that designates a variety of cultural dispositions, aesthetic preferences, and educational credentials.

Returning to the field of media education, the relationship between the education system and the subject areas of media education have occasionally been fractious and at other times cooperative; it is a relationship that illustrates how power as domination operates at a critical juncture when media education was being challenged from within the system and from outside. While pressures from within concern the status and value of media education, the pressures from without capture the aforementioned technological innovations as well as the attendant emergence of the so-called knowledge or network society. Having adopted the research framework developed by Bourdieu, an empirical analysis was conducted to generate data about the field of media education from academic texts. This data reveals internal relationships and shifting intellectual interests within the corpus at a time of considerable social change.

Bourdieu's work often reflects his experience of French academia with its elite third-level institutions creating a "scholastic enclosure" (Bourdieu 2004: 8) and above all the *grandes écoles*, which are perceived as the pinnacle of French higher education.² In this study, the Bourdieusian model is applied to shifts in

¹ For Bourdieu sociology should "determine the contribution made by the educational system to the reproduction of the structure of power relationship and symbolic relationships between social classes" (Bourdieu 1973: 71).

² As Swartz comments, "They are academically more selective than the universities; they prepare graduates for leadership roles in government and the economy; and they provide their graduates with values alumni networks that help advance students' careers" (Swartz 1997: 193). Similar observations could be made with regard to the UK third level system where Oxford and Cambridge are ranked as unparalleled institutions with only "a few peers anywhere in the world". See: 'About research at Oxford', http://www.ox.ac.uk/research/about_research_at_oxford/index.html. Accessed 16 March 2013.

media education in the United Kingdom since the 1990s. While the main object of study is the changing field of media education, my discussion extends to the associated discipline of British Cultural Studies, which along with Film Studies became internationally influential since the 1960s. The historical survey of both areas from the 1960s into the 2000s offers particular insights and generalisable observations about the development of subject areas in the education system.

By the end of the 20th century, the counter-establishment movements that arose in education in the 1960s were either defused or incorporated into the education system. At the same time, in the United Kingdom, universities lost a considerable degree of academic autonomy, as academic research became increasingly subject to government metrics, such as the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) which was first introduced by the Thatcher Government in 1986 to evaluate the quality of research undertaken by higher education institutions in the United Kingdom. Rankings are not only published in League Tables but also used to allocate scarce resources. The RAE has now been replaced by the Research Excellence Framework (REF), which not only evaluates the quality of the research outputs but also the social, economic and cultural impact of research on wider society.³

Since the 1990s, the established media landscape has been disrupted and transformed by the arrival as the new digital media. How these disruptions and shifts affected the field of media education will be further developed with reference to the changes in the subject areas of Film Studies, Media Studies and

³ The official website explains the aims of the REF as follows: "The funding bodies intend to use the assessment outcomes to inform the selective allocation of their research funding to HEIs, with effect from 2015-16. The assessment provides accountability for public investment in research and produces evidence of the benefits of this investment. The assessment outcomes provide benchmarking information and establish reputational yardsticks." See <http://www.ref.ac.uk>. There is concern that UK research funding emphasis may be undervaluing teaching (Fazackerley 2013).

Media Literacy in Chapter 3. My study of education observes the impact of the digital era and of the knowledge economy on Film Studies, Media Studies and Media Literacy as the main subjects that comprise the field of media education.

I analyse specifically how Film Studies gained institutional foothold when an oppositional organisation within Film Studies, the Society for Education in Film and Television (SEFT), was discarded. This was a historic turning point which equipped the Film Studies cohort with an opportunity to gain academic prestige within the system. The interdisciplinary subject of Media Studies, which also sourced its ideological stance in opposition to established power structures, was less entrenched. My thesis tracks how and why Media Studies in schools was restrained, when the academic wing of Media Studies was reconstituted in changed circumstances after the 1970s and the practical skills area was sequestered into vocational training for the media industries. I analyse why the development of Media Literacy is strikingly different from Film Studies and Media Studies. Media Literacy operates at the lower levels of the educational hierarchy. It was positioned into the field of media education by the Labour government in the UK and its function can be interpreted as a response to the intangible disruptive forces of the digital era.

In addition to the interpretative framework established by Bourdieu, this thesis employs the corpus analysis method as an empirical instrument to explore shifts in media education that occurred from the 1990s. For this part of the study, a media education corpus was created to devise a map of the field. The Film Studies sector was then chosen to investigate how various intellectual interests in Film Studies changed during that period when the knowledge economy and digital media were prominent in public debate and society.

The analysis of the systemic and historical dynamics between the field, the education system and the government prepares the ground for the ensuing empirical analysis of significant shifts in media education. The aim of the empirical analysis is to create a data-based profile of internal field relationships and then to narrow the focus to investigate the delineated area of Film Studies. The corpus chosen for a cross-sectional analysis consists of three journals that together map the field of media education in a reasonably representative way.⁴ The Film Studies journal *Screen* represents the leading discipline-specific journal with high esteem; *Convergence* is the principal journal dedicated to the study of digital media, culture and technology; and the *Media Literacy Bulletin* is a British government publication on policy and discussion in this area. The corpus analysis produces two important outcomes: firstly, a map that illustrates field relationships; secondly, a record of changing positions of intellectual alignment in Film Studies. The field map shows that practical expressions and academic terms are found in different places. An exploration of the Film Studies corpus produces some noteworthy findings. For example, the Film Studies corpus showed evidence of shifting ground from its foundation in popular culture towards a more rarefied interest in film and the avant-garde. An interpretation of this finding, drawing on Bourdieusian field theory, indicates that greater academic capital can be gained by shifting from the embattled and exhausted territory of popular culture towards the more productive terrain of the avant-garde. As it is based on empirical findings that are filtered through a reflexive

⁴ This selection represents a heuristic assumption based on accumulated knowledge of the field as a result of my own professional experience in media education in the UK and Ireland. A heuristic assumption is a hypothesis or an 'educated opinion' that serves as a guide for further investigation. This is precisely the approach taken in this study, which uses corpus analysis to test these heuristic assumptions. On heuristics as an adaptive toolkit enabling human beings to make smart decisions with limited knowledge and within a given time-frame see Peter M. Todd and Gerd Gigerenzer (2000): 727-741.

theoretical lens in Bourdieu's sense, such interpretations present an innovative means of gaining a temporal analysis of changing intellectual interests in media education.

Bourdieu's analysis of the education system in France in 1968 (Bourdieu 1988a) "shows the utility of his sociological approach for grappling with the processes of struggle and rapid change" (Calhoun 1990: 503). Arguably, the communications revolution of the 1990s, which is debated in terms of the knowledge economy and network society, signals a period of seismic change that is likely to be more profound than 1968 for all its revolutionary claims. In the next section I will therefore sketch the debate on the knowledge economy and network society as it has challenged many post-war assumptions about upward social mobility, thus illuminating a far-reaching social and not just technological shift that is affecting the field of education.

1.2. The Knowledge Economy and Network Society

The knowledge economy and network society are two terms that designate the massive transformation of the economic, social and political spheres in the wake of the communications revolution of the 1990s. While the term 'knowledge economy' has a history that precedes the arrival of the network society, in contemporary discourse it is "a widely used metaphor" which captures the process at work in the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial age that are facilitated by ICT (Smith 2000: 3). However, as Keith Smith rightly points out "we should bear in mind that all economic activity rests on knowledge, not only in our society but in all forms of human society" (Smith 2000: 3). In contrast to Smith, Peter Drucker argues that "knowledge is now becoming the one factor of

production, sidelining capital and labour” (Drucker 1998: 15). This is echoed by the OECD which earlier states:

Knowledge, as embodied in human beings (as “human capital”) and in technology, has always been central to economic development. But only over the last few years has its relative importance been recognised, just as that importance is growing. The OECD economies are more strongly dependent on the production, distribution and use of knowledge than ever before. (OECD 1996: 9)

While Drucker’s claim that knowledge is sidelining capital has been contested (see Smith 2000: 4), the term knowledge economy has entered the contemporary vocabulary to capture knowledge generation and dissemination in an environment where established knowledge becomes quickly obsolescent.

Walter Powell and Kaisa Snellman define the knowledge economy as follows:

We define the knowledge economy as production and services based on knowledge-intensive activities that contribute to an accelerated pace of technological and scientific advance as well as equally rapid obsolescence. The key components of a knowledge economy include a greater reliance on intellectual capabilities than on physical inputs or natural resources, combined with efforts to integrate improvements in every stage of the production process, from the R&D lab to the factory floor to the interface with customers. (Powell and Snellman 2004: 201)

Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) emphasise enhanced flexibility in organisations and amongst workers as a defining feature of the knowledge society:

Knowledge economy or new economy theory addresses the shift from an industrial economy in which workers in factories characterised by assembly line production (Fordism) made goods for national consumption to an economy in which educated workers in flexible organisations produce goods and services for global consumption. Colleges and universities play a large part in this shift because they serve as milieus of innovation. (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004: 210)

In the year 2000 The European Union proposed that the knowledge economy was a desirable common goal:

The Union possesses a generally well-educated workforce as well as social protection systems able to provide, beyond their intrinsic value, the stable

framework required for managing the structural changes involved in moving towards a knowledge-based society. (European Council 2000)

Much of the debate on the knowledge economy has focused on the role of innovation and learning. For example, the sociologist Anthony Giddens argues that the knowledge economy “is not just an empty term, an invention of the Lisbon Agenda that lost its relevance when the dot.com bubble burst” (Giddens 2007: 22). Giddens is particularly interested in policy measures that enhance knowledge transmission and generation. In his view, near full employment in the EU is possible, provided that member states modernise through “investment in education, the expansion of the universities and the diffusion of ICT” (Giddens 2007: 22). Commenting on growing feelings of insecurity amongst different social groups and new social rifts in the post-industrial age, he points out that contemporary society is much more fluid than a generation ago:

There will not be as clear a ‘direction’ to mobility between the generations as there used to be when many people from working-class backgrounds moved into white-collar and professional jobs. Structural mobility will depend upon continuing overall upgrading of knowledge-based jobs at the expense of less-skilled service occupations. (Giddens 2007: 69)

For Giddens the knowledge economy thus comes with both risks and opportunities: older workers in manufacturing jobs “risk long spells of unemployment, or the prospect of never working again” (Giddens 2007: 68). Employees with poor qualifications are restricted to the cut-price job market, older women, single mothers and women whose careers are interrupted by child-care are likely to fare poorly in this new knowledge economy. These risks, he argues, can be tackled by means of differentiated policy measures that address the needs of different risk groups in a targeted way (Giddens 2007: 79). For Giddens a balance between “autonomy, increased social justice and economic dynamism in the knowledge/service economy” can be struck through

close collaboration between the social partners and the government (Giddens 2007: 88-89). In Giddens' view EU discussions have been too focused on the "technological aspects of knowledge creation":

The 'knowledge' in the new economy is certainly in part scientific and technological – as the very impact of information technology shows. But even more important are creativity, the testing of new ideas and the opening up of new markets according to changing patterns of demand. (Giddens 2007: 179)

Giddens remains, on the whole, optimistic about the opportunities of knowledge society in the EU to create new flexible forms of employment that respect the idea of social justice. In sharp contrast, Zygmunt Bauman is far more pessimistic about the social transformations that are captured under the heading of 'knowledge society', the 'Information Age', 'network society' and 'globalisation'. For Bauman the arrival of the Age of Information has not enhanced equality of opportunity but sharpened the divide between a networked global elite that can afford to live globally mobile lives (albeit in gated residences) and "the ever more localized rest" which is left behind is human debris in largely disenfranchised localities (Baumann 2011 [1998]: 3). Bauman deplores this new "disconnection of power from obligation" and the attendant asymmetry "between the extraterritorial nature of power and the continuing territoriality of the 'whole life' – which the now unanchored power, able to move at short notice or without warning, is free to exploit and abandon to the consequences of that exploitation" (Baumann 2011 [1998]: 9). In his view, modernity has now entered its "liquid phase" where society is merely perceived as "a matrix of random connections and disconnections and of an essentially infinite volume of permutations" (Bauman 2007: 3). For Bauman liquid modernity thus renders established notions of long-term planning and thinking redundant, as social

actors need to react instantly to new risks and opportunities. In this volatile arena,

a swift and thorough forgetting of outdated information and fast ageing habits can be more important for the next success than the memorization of past moves and the building of strategies on a foundation laid by previous learning. (Baumann 2007: 3)

In his seminal *The Rise of the Network Society* (1996, 2000), the sociologist Manuel Castells provides a comprehensive analysis of the social, economic and political dynamics of the Information Age. For Castells, the network is an open structure that recalibrates all aspects of social organisation (Castells: 2000: 501).

Networks are

appropriate instruments for a capitalist economy based on innovation, globalization, and decentralized concentration; for work, workers, and firms based on flexibility, adaptability; for a culture of endless deconstruction and reconstruction; for a policy geared toward the instant processing of new values and public moods; and for a social organization aiming at the supersession of space and the annihilation of time. (Castells 2000: 502)

According to Castells, the new network society is characterised by streams and confluences in “flows of capital, flows of information, flows of technology, flows of organizational interaction, flows of images, sounds, and symbols” (Castells 2000: 442). Flows are defined as “purposeful, repetitive, programmable sequences of exchange and interaction between physically disjointed positions held by social actors in the economic, political, and symbolic structures of society” (Castells 2000: 442). Constituted by a circuit of electronic exchanges, nodes and hubs, the space of flows “refers to the spatial organization of the dominant, managerial elites (rather than classes) that exercise the directional functions around which such space is articulated” (Castells 2000: 445). On the one hand, members of the élite inhabit secluded communities, on the other they

“project their interest in functional macro networks throughout the global set of interactions in the space of flows” (Castells 2000: 446).

Castells’ notion of flows of power builds on Bourdieu’s sociology of symbolic power by linking it to the characteristics and new dynamic of the network society in the 21st century. Analysing the dramatic effects of the digital era, he argues that the “network morphology is also a source of dramatic reorganization of power relationships. Switches connecting the networks (...) are the privileged instruments of power. Thus, the switchers are the power-holders” (Castells 2000: 502). While this is perhaps a rhetorical over-statement, Castells’ notion of flows complements Bourdieu’s sociology of symbolic power. Castells introduces a more dynamic concept into the debate that helps to explain economic and social volatility after the development of the digital global networks that were enabled by the World Wide Web in the late 1990s.

The ongoing controversy about the knowledge economy, network society and globalisation underlines the reach and depth of the transformation of the economic and social spheres since the early 1990s. Not surprisingly, higher education is one central arena that has been radically transformed by increasing marketisation and a new model of contractualism. Mark Olsen and Michael Peters argue that, in the discourse on the knowledge economy and globalisation, education is now widely represented as “an input-output system which can be reduced to an economic production function” (Olsen and Peters 2005: 324).⁵ In many liberal democracies, including the UK, the traditional public service ethos, whereby the public service was meant to further the ‘public good’, has been downscaled by contractual norms, rules and performance criteria. Olsen and Peters further observe a shift from liberal principles of governance in higher

⁵ The core values in this new system are: flexibility (in relation to contracts), clearly defined objectives and results orientation (Olsen and Peters 2005: 324).

education towards neoliberal governance structures: whereas the former model delegated authority within the institution downward to lower levels of organisation such as faculties or subject disciplines, the latter model comes with line management chains that reinstate hierarchical forms of authority (Olsen and Peters 2005: 324). This not only produces a shift away from collegial forms of governance in relatively flat structures towards hierarchical structures, but it also erodes “traditional professional autonomy over work in relation to both teaching and research” (Olsen and Peters 2005: 325). Olsen and Peters further comment that

targets and performance criteria are increasingly applied from outside the academic role that diminish the sense in which the academic – their teaching and research – are autonomous. The rising importance of ‘managed research’, and the pressure to obtain ‘funded research’ constitute further evidence that academic freedom, at least in terms of the academics’ determination over research are concerned, are increasingly ‘compromised’ or at least ‘under pressure’. (Olsen and Peters: 2005: 326).

The encroachment of market principles extends to academic disciplines which come under pressure to bring their knowledge creation in line with a new value system that favours market-oriented innovation and relevance. The introduction of new relations of competition in higher education is an instrument of increasing accountability and productivity. Writing about the development of a culture of market competition in the Australian higher education sector, Marginson comments:

Increased competition is meant to increase responsiveness, flexibility and rates of innovation (...), increase diversity of what is produced and can be chosen (...), enhance productive and allocative efficiency (...), improve the quality and volume of production (...) as well as strengthen accountability to students, employers and government. (Marginson 1997: 5)

Olsen and Peters are concerned that “in this process the values of disinterested inquiry and respect for the integrity of the subject matter compete with a new

set of pressures to 'dumb' courses down, as well as to demonstrate their relevance to labour market conditions and prospects" (Olsen and Peters 2005: 326). Clear evidence of the pressure to demonstrate relevance is the 2014 Research Excellence Framework in the United Kingdom which submits all higher education institutions to a comprehensive assessment of the social, economic and cultural impact of research alongside an evaluation of the institutional research environment and the quality of research outputs by the various units of assessment. The new emphasis on the impact of academic research in particular demonstrates to what extent universities, faculties, departments and individual researchers are now forced, as a matter of survival, to comply with the government strategy to convert their knowledge assets into tangible social and economic assets. The overarching problem of competition in the knowledge economy looms in the everyday experience of faculty research staff. Leathwood and Read (2012) point out that many researchers in the UK are wary of the 2014 Research Excellence Framework, as it is deemed to augur "potential threat to qualitative, innovative and/or critical research in education and across the social sciences and humanities" (Leathwood and Read 2012: 4).

Arguably, the current transformation of the higher education sector in the knowledge economy goes far beyond a mere augmentation of mutual interests between government and stakeholders in education. If funded research depends on measurable impact on wider society, external criteria of relevance and on public engagement, then this inevitably jeopardises research in areas without apparent or immediate social or economic benefit.

Slaughter and Rhoades make the case for those unconvinced by or opposed to the argument for the knowledge economy from data gained by comparing university institutions in the United States and the EU (Slaughter and Rhodes

2004). Interpreting the knowledge economy through the theory of academic capitalism, which draws attention to the relationship between the production of academic goods and their trade in a profit-oriented competitive market system, they argue that there is no consistent evidence that the knowledge economy enhances the public good:

Academic capitalism also has an unacknowledged side. The benefits of economic growth do not always fall evenly on the population. Treating knowledge as a private good may make much of it inaccessible, perhaps constraining industry and innovation. Conferring decision making power on institutions rather than faculty may impinge on academic freedom. (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004: 29)

The various arguments about the risks and opportunities of the knowledge economy make social cohesion an unlikely outcome. The more persuasive analysis is that the knowledge economy creates marketisation and competition to exacerbate disadvantage. Consequently, events never before considered realistic in academia are now likely; the future prospects for academic institutions include market failure:

Should the EU focus its energy on competition, it is likely that stratification among universities will increase, both nationally and within the EU, that segmentation within universities will be exacerbated, and that many universities will be more exposed to market failure. (Slaughter and Cantwell 2012: 603)

This marketisation of the university sector in the United Kingdom, as the knowledge economy, is likely to be observable at the fine grain level of knowledge creation in areas such as media education. This will be further explored from a historical perspective in Chapter 3.

So far I have discussed how Bourdieu's work illustrates power structures at work in the academic field. Then I proceeded to discuss the knowledge economy both as a conceptual term as well as a recent force of change in society at large and within the field of education in the United Kingdom. Next I will turn to the

cultural analysis of Raymond Williams to explore a particular approach to the study of culture that is both self-reflexive and empirical. Williams is a pioneering figure because he too aimed to illuminate “how changes in culture were intertwined with political transformations” (Calhoun 1990: 502). There is a strong connection between Williams and Bourdieu that may not be immediately obvious. In the words of Calhoun:

A feature uniting Williams and Bourdieu is the conviction that culture is neither the passively accepted, tacitly enveloping whole of old-fashioned anthropology, nor the specialized, elite preoccupation of ‘highbrow’ students of literature and the arts. Both of them take up culture as simultaneously ‘ordinary’ (in Williams’ term) the stuff of everyone’s daily life, and as it is manifested in creations of extraordinary beauty or brilliance. On occasion Bourdieu and Williams seem to meet at the same object, having approached it within different schemata. (Calhoun 1990: 502)

Raymond Williams’ *Keywords* is an early example of an ambitious project of cultural analysis based on an empirical research method that presents a model of practice that is complementary to Bourdieu, even though their research styles and modes of writing were distinctively different. Both Bourdieu and Williams recognised in their own terms the importance “of analyzing the conditions of scholarly production themselves, and considering how they shape understanding and knowledge” (Calhoun 1990: 502).

1.3. A Model and Its Limitations: Raymond Williams’ *Keywords*

Raymond Williams, who became prominent in the 1960s, is credited as one of the main founders of a distinctive approach to the study of culture and mass media in Great Britain. Williams made a significant contribution to knowledge about the transformation of post-war Britain, as reflected in the changing use of language in society. Throughout those decades of rapid social change, his re-

search method was to locate, gather and track examples of words that seemed particularly significant of cultural trends. The outcome of his analysis of contemporary language use in Great Britain from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s was published in *Keywords: a vocabulary of culture and society* (Williams 1976). *Keywords* is a series of short essays that explore 110 key words in alphabetical order. Subsequent to its publication in 1976, *Keywords* reached its eighth impression in 1981; it was revised and expanded in 1983 and then reprinted in 1985. Not only did *Keywords* gain a large number of readers outside and inside academia at the time, it can still be found on university reading lists in 2012 as a model of research into culture and society.

Since Williams' main research activity for *Keywords* took place across two decades from the mid-1950s, he had little choice of method and limited technological support. Helped by academic colleagues, students and friends, he compiled a corpus of what they agreed were contemporary keywords which they identified by intuition. Williams formed the general definition of keywords as "significant, indicative words in certain forms of thought" (Williams 1976: 13). Therefore the *Keywords* corpus was based on the intuition of Williams and his associates that certain words were of key cultural importance.

The purpose of *Keywords* was to illustrate the relationship between general language use and social change in post-war Britain and to link the past with contemporary culture. To achieve these aims, Williams required two types of information, word etymology and word examples of changing language use in texts such as newspapers, magazines and books. The interpretation of word origins is philosophically complex in terms of tracing diverse influences, but the material for the study of language history is easily sourced in archived collections. The second type of information required for *Keywords* came from gathered

contemporary samples of changing word use. The material information to be collected in this case was unpredictable, since it depended on the unfolding of language change. The problem with identifying language change is that patterns are not always clear while looking at diverse sources at the time of publication. It is therefore difficult to grasp what represents change rather than isolated novelty. There are also the logistical problems of sorting, filing and archiving diverse print cuttings over a twenty-year period. Williams, in his view, was not able to solve many of these severe information problems.

The issue of selection, particularly in the social sciences, concerns the researcher's method for gaining some level of objectivity. The interpretation of content is a research challenge that concerns the process of identifying patterns of interest to be explored. All projects involving language and culture need to set criteria for selecting terms to study and, having made that initial selection, to decide which factors to single out for analysis. These problems suggest research challenges in common between the 20th century when Williams was working and our own era. The difference today is that developments in digital technologies have created means to offer research solutions such as computer-assisted corpus analysis.

In the Introduction to his book, Williams stated that keywords are recognisable as "significant, indicative words in certain forms of thought" (Williams 1976: 13). This is a persuasive argument for how a keyword is ranked above ordinary words. Williams then emphasised that keyword selection determined the shape of his study: "The significance, it can be said, is in the selection. I realize how arbitrary some inclusions and exclusions may seem to others" (Williams 1976: 12). Indeed, his selection process was quite arbitrary. For example, in the revised 1983 edition Williams reflects society in language by

retaining the word *class*, introducing *racial* but omits *feminist*. Williams acknowledged as much when he stated: “[e]very word which I have included has at some time, in the course of some argument, virtually forced itself on my attention” (Williams 1976: 13). While Williams did not claim to seek scientific rigour, and although the keywords project grew out of a glossary for a different book, nowadays a more methodical process would be standard. When Williams pursued his *Keywords* research in the 1960s and 1970s, there was no World Wide Web – at that time only scientists used computers and photocopiers were uncommon. Williams acknowledged that his method of identifying keywords by soliciting contributions from friends and colleagues was unsystematic, and he was dissatisfied with the awkward process of archiving and retrieving the store of publication clippings. Unsurprisingly, Williams complained that the “problems of information are severe” (Williams 1976: 15). Williams could not resolve the peculiar research problem that the medium of paper on which publications are printed is an obstacle to the study of what is printed.

A few decades later at the end of the 20th century, solutions to information problems that perplexed Williams had begun to emerge. Photocopying, scanning and storing large amounts of text in computers became commonplace activities. Networked computers that gather data from libraries and other information resources are ubiquitous. Software for analysing text, created in the field of Applied Linguistics, can analyse and present the relationships between words in a corpus that the researcher can use to generate knowledge. These research facilities have opened a sphere of research activity in the 21st century that Williams hoped would become possible. The approach that will be taken in this study to investigate media education at the turn of the 21st century is somewhat

similar to Raymond Williams' project but aims to interpret language more systematically as a means of observing wider cultural change.

Today the process of word identification in a corpus can be made more systematic and less reliant on intuition by using corpus analysis software to identify frequent and distinctive words. Software programmes are designed to assist the study of language. Indeed, there are strategic approaches to corpus analysis using software that would have attracted Williams' attention. Williams' keywords are subjectively identified, corpus keywords are more objectively found by comparing word patterns between two corpora (Hunston 2002: 68; Culpeper 2009: 32). In corpus analysis a keyword has a statistical importance since "keyness" is the term that denotes the strength of a word's distinctiveness based on a statistical log likelihood test (Kilgarriff 1996: 3). This means that words in a corpus can be ranked by their statistical value, it is a relatively straightforward procedure to look at the keyness results to select the most distinctive terms to interpret. From this summary, it is clear that using corpus analysis with computer applications offers a great advantage to the researcher investigating language use. Corpus analysis offers an empirical method of identifying patterns of meaning in text based on statistical processes to indicate areas for interpretation.

Following from the problem of what information to select and how a systematic approach might be assisted by the analysis of word distinctiveness, the second problem of information concerns the format of word representation. The problem here is of how to interpret meanings that are created in context when words are necessarily singled out for interpretation. In this regard, Williams explained in the Introduction to *Keywords* that he was uneasy about presenting his word essays alphabetically with the limitations of a dictionary,

since this involved excising them from their context to locate them on a semantically arbitrary A-Z scale, thereby invalidating their original interconnectedness of meaning in the text.

In writing about a field of meanings I have often wished that some form of presentation could be devised in which it would be clear that the analyses of particular words are intrinsically connected, sometimes in complex ways. (Williams 1976: 25)

Williams considered grouping words into themes such as politics or art, but ended up rejecting the limitations of such categories. He resolved his predicament by shuttling between the word and its wider meaning in the expository essay and suggested the reader make additional semantic connections, not confined by the A-Z format. In this exhortation to the reader, Williams made the best of circumstances at the time.

The corpus analysis response to this problem of linguistic disconnection, while not a complete solution, offers progress. For example, most corpus software can show word collocates to reveal semantic patterns (Tribble 2010: 169). Researchers in the analogue era could not easily attain this level of observation about patterns of language use. As I will discuss further in Chapter 4, corpus software functionality can allow access to words at different levels of context, from the close locality of a word to how it is situated in a paragraph and expand to the complete original text. The principle of corpus analysis is founded on re-presenting text to show patterns of meaning that can be interpreted by the researcher. The assistance that computer software provides towards the goal of interpreting patterns of meaning is summarised as follows:

In effect, the chief purpose of the software is to take a pre-existing shape, the text, then mix it all up and sort it all out, showing it in a quite different order. The computer does not see any patterns, but the human user does. (Scott 2008b: 104)

In this way the corpus analysis process performs the task of contextual word representation and linguistic patterning that Raymond Williams deemed necessary but was out of reach for his research into language use in society.

1.4. Related Research

Entitled *The Field of Higher Education: A sociology of reproduction, transformation, change and the conditions of emergence for cultural studies*, Karl Maton's unpublished doctoral thesis addresses a similar topic as the current study of the decisive shifts in the field of media education (Maton 2005). Maton's aim is to explore the field of education to establish how Cultural Studies emerged at a particular time in British education. His theoretical framework draws on Pierre Bourdieu's field theory and on Basil Bernstein's language code theory. In his view this theoretical synthesis was required to counterbalance Bourdieu's sociological reductionism. Bourdieu and Bernstein both emphasise the importance of empirical research for theoretical perspectives. Accordingly, Maton devised an analytic system to map the data he found in historical documents, course provision, educational reports, debates about education, empirical information about the universities and the people who established the field of Cultural Studies. He amassed a great deal of information for his study, much of which was not required in the foreground, and the empirical approach was impressive in scope and ambition. However, notwithstanding valuable insights, arguably the merging of two theoretical approaches within one theoretical framework hinders rather than assists the synthesis: Maton acknowledges a lack of systematic analysis as an unresolved issue (Maton 2005: 277). Maton's study does not provide a systematic analysis of the complex and

shifting relationships within the field of media education, it is a gap that this thesis addresses.

Tatiana Heise and Andrew Tudor in their 2007 study 'Constructing (Film) Art: Bourdieu's Field Model in a Comparative Context' provide a comparative study of film in Brazil from 1920-1930 in order to test the general applicability of Bourdieu's "analyses of consecration, legitimacy and autonomization" (Heise and Tudor 2007: 166). They explore the contemporary "film as art" campaigns that aimed to establish film as an esteemed new art form. Data from empirical surveys are used to chart the field of cinematic art in Great Britain and in Brazil on a grid based on autonomy and heteronomy. Through an analysis of writing in specialist film journals and magazines about art film in each country, they demonstrate that over time the international perspective of the art film movement in Great Britain broadened, whereas in Brazil the horizons narrowed due to the rise of nationalism (Heise and Tudor 2007: 181). The survey is comparable to the present study in how it seeks to apply Bourdieu's theoretical approach to the question of how values for culture are determined. A significant methodological difference between Heise's and Tudor's survey and my research is that Heise and Tudor relied on a hermeneutic interpretation of texts, whereas my research includes an empirical corpus analysis.

Jane Mulderrig's doctoral thesis *The Language of Education Policy: from Thatcher to Blair* pursues the aim of exploring public language that was used to frame educational policies during Tony Blair's New Labour era (Mulderrig 2009). Her strategy is to compare one strongly ideological government with another, the Thatcher era with the Blair era, to analyse how change in policy is located in discussions about education. Identifying corpus keyword patterns in public consultation policy documents, Mulderrig shows that the particular terminology

used in Thatcher's era disappeared during John Major's government only to return under Blair and increase in prominence (Mulderigg 2009: 192). Mulderrig's study provides evidence that both Thatcher and Blair shared common educational ideologies that link schooling to macroeconomics and employer interests. Mulderrig's 2009 study adopts the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach made prominent by Fairclough and van Leeuwen. John Sinclair has criticised the CDA approach for its tendency to allow too much preconception about the study topic (Sinclair 2004: 120). However, her use of corpus analysis provides a valuable model because her research is clear, systematic and explanatory in style. Mulderigg's focus on the trend towards creating educational markets by successive UK national governments complements my thesis. In contrast to Mulderigg, however, my research tracks a particular field within the UK education system.

Two studies that adopt an historical approach to media education are Terry Bolas's *Screen Education: from film appreciation to Media Studies* (Bolas 2009); Norma Schulman's *Conditions of their Own Making: An Intellectual History of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham* (Schulman 1993). Both accounts identify important phases in media education when institutions, people and politics shaped the field in particular ways. Schulman follows developments from the establishment of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham through its idealistic ambitions and adversarial events to its closure in 2002 and the international dispersal of Cultural Studies. Bolas takes a much longer timeline, stretching his analysis to accommodate a panorama of events across almost a century in media education from the 1930s. Bolas documents how the Society for Education in Film and Television (SEFT) took control of the *Screen* journal to prioritise a cultural theory

of film that ousted teachers' interest in pedagogy. Taken together, Bolas' and Schulman's studies interpret historical events through personal experience, and neither author embraces a method of objective data analysis. Schulman is aware of the intellectual risks entailed in this approach but insists on the integrity of the use of personal experience in this form of research (Schulman 1993:2). The approach adopted in my research provides valuable additional insights by combining systematic empirical work and heuristic analysis in the same broad field worked on by Schulman and Bolas.

Georgina Born's study of the BBC, published as *Uncertain Vision: Birt, Dyke and the Reinvention of the BBC* (Born 2005), provides a useful comparison for an interdisciplinary approach in a media institution at a time of change. The period covered relates to the increasing managerialism in the 1980s under the regime of Director General John Birt during the Thatcher era. "Birtism" became a neologism for the implementation of Thatcherite neoliberal principles in the British broadcasting industry. Born's study drew on anthropology and sociology for her investigation. She generated data from individual staff interviews and observed the BBC cohort as an anthropological group in the workplace. While her theoretical framework takes inspiration from Bourdieu, she provides a more subjective interpretation than one would find in Bourdieu's writings. By means of skilful integration of objective data and subjective comment (often witty and sometimes wistful), Born's thesis crosses over from formal academic into anecdotal modes. According to Born, the managerialism that was imposed on an unwieldy and expensive media organisation did in the end produce better management practices and financial savings. But she also contends that BBC programme making was stifled and the culture of creativity, which was less

amenable to economic metrics, was demoted. Born's survey is of interest to this study because of its interdisciplinary approaches.

A study that adopts methodological approach of relevance for this study is *Field of Power Anno 2000* (Hjellbrekke, et al. 2007) which applies Bourdieu's theories of the reproduction of privilege to Norwegian society. The authors' Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) illustrates the effective use of such empirical data. In a similar mode, Williams' and Filippakou's *Higher Education and UK Elite Formation in the Twentieth Century* (Williams and Filippakou 2010) demonstrates that Bourdieu's concept of the symbolic capital of élite universities continued to prevail in Great Britain, although their dependence on data collection from *Who's Who* was weaker than usual sources for this type of study.

This review highlights a serious gap in theorising the field of media education as a set of relationships in a shared field. There is a particular scarcity of empirical findings about educational subject areas and how they have transformed over time. My ensuing analysis of the transformation of the field of media education therefore aims to address this deficit by filtering the empirical analysis through a Boudieusian lens and by combining the analysis of data with an interpretation of the broader socio-historical context.

1.5. Contribution of Research

There is little evidence of similar work that uses the corpus analysis method to investigate media education. As a result of the research undertaken in my thesis, there now exists a media education corpus that invites further analysis. Furthermore, the creation of the map of media education offers a model for charting relationships in other subject fields. The research method adopted here is novel in that it tracks change and identifies patterns of shifting intellectual

interests. By combining corpus analysis with a Bourdieusian focus on power relationships between and within fields, it generates knowledge about the politics of cultural change, while also offering a methodological model for future research into cognate areas such as the digital humanities. In addition to providing detailed findings about significant shifts in media education, the innovative quality of the current study thus derives from the intersection of theoretical and empirical perspectives in the shifting field of media education.

1.6. The Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 introduces and debates key Bourdieusian concepts such as the idea of symbolic, cultural and social capital and his notion of “thinking tools” which help to illuminate recent shifts in media education. The chapter also discusses Bourdieu’s analysis of education as a self-regulating market that allocates status, often reinforcing existing power relationships by legitimising and consecrating a particular cultural heritage. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Bourdieu’s advocacy of a self-reflexive methodology that aims to overcome the binary division between objectivism and subjectivism and between theory and empiricism. Drawing on Bourdieu’s framework, Chapter 3 then narrows the line of analysis by discussing the rise and fall of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies as a paradigmatic example of a conflict between an ideologically-invested academic centre and the university management that traded its relative autonomy in the race for government funding. This case study sets the scene for the ensuing discussion of the changing field of media education where the battle over institutional legitimacy has produced three subject areas that are positioned at different levels of prestige: Film Studies, Media Studies and Media Literacy. The chapter analyses how Film Studies and

Media Studies struggled to achieve institutional recognition and why they succeeded or failed in this regard. The more recent government-driven initiative for Media Literacy is included here because it is strongly associated with media education and reflects the state's vested interest in a form of 'pastoral control' over the internet.

Chapter 4 then shifts focus by discussing the methodological issues involved in adopting corpus analysis as a technique for exploring the research questions and relays the importance of this for establishing trustworthiness. Here I attempt to open the more narrowly defined methodological concerns and solutions in Applied Linguistics to a Bourdieusian perspective that interlinks the empirical and the theoretical. Chapter 4 also offers a detailed discussion of the selection criteria of the three journals. Chapter 4 prepares the ground for Chapter 5, which presents the corpus findings within the idiom and from the perspective of the Corpus Analysis method.

Chapter 6 discusses the research questions in relation to the corpus findings within the Bourdieu's framework in the context of socio-political shifts in the field of education. While direct cause and effect is not claimed, there are striking patterns in the findings that reflect significant trends that were found in the wider field of education. For example, there appears to be a connection between academic research that is judged in terms of the knowledge economy and, in the same period, the transfer of some intellectual interest in Film Studies from the depreciated area of popular culture to the respectable study of the avant-garde.

The Conclusion in Chapter 7 provides a reflective commentary on the research process. I will analyse to what extent the research questions have been answered, the efficacy and limitations of the method, the possible different research approach and new research questions that have emerged during the

research process. In summary, this study provides an innovative perspective that, by integrating empirical and theoretical perspectives, contributes to knowledge about the object of analysis and how it may be studied in future. Reflecting on the Bourdieusian frame, I conclude that, while it is an effective approach, there are points where Bourdieu's theoretical analysis should be updated to account for changed social circumstances. Key participants in the field whom I presented with the findings of my study, stated that, while it corroborated aspects of their professional experience, it has also brought to light insightful information about shifts in the field.

2. A Bourdieusian Framework

2.1. Introduction

Bourdieu's work evolved over several decades and in dialogue with a broad range of intellectual traditions and thinkers, ranging from Marx, Althusser, Lévi-Strauss and Foucault to Weber and Durkheim, amongst others (see Swartz 1997: 15-51). Straddling sociology, philosophy, ethnography and intellectual history to analyse areas such as culture, media, and education, Bourdieu's work presents a comprehensive theoretical framework for the study of change in media education. By combining empirical analysis with a self-reflexive theoretical model for interpreting cultural practice, Bourdieu has refuted the established opposition between theory and empirical research. As Didier Bigo argues, "what Bourdieu's approach to 'practices' offers is an attempt to combine empirical research with political and philosophical reflexivity by trying to overcome tensions between objectivism and subjectivism" (Bigo 2011: 233).

The conceptual extent of Bourdieu's work exceeds my study which analyses the shifting field of media education in the context of the globalised digital media landscape. This chapter therefore discusses only those Bourdieusian ideas that will help to illuminate significant adjustments in the media education sector at the foundation of the digital era. Of particular interest for my study are the following ideas: Bourdieu's differentiation between types of capital, his understanding of education as a self-regulating market, his recommended thinking tools, and his self-reflexive methodology that aims to overcome the binary division between objectivism and subjectivism and between theory and empiricism. The challenge of my research is to pull together various theoretical

influences to identify their application to empirical findings about media education in a meaningful way.

2.2. Cultural Capital, Social Capital and Symbolic Capital

Bourdieu's analysis of society in terms of fields of power equates power with capital and differentiates between economic capital, cultural capital, social and symbolic capital. While for Marx capital exists within the process of economic exchange, Bourdieu is particularly interested in analysing the role of capital to understand the dynamic of power relations. As David Swartz comments, Bourdieu extended "the idea of capital to all forms of power, whether they be material, cultural, social or symbolic" (Swartz 1997: 73). Cultural capital refers to a wide range of resources and strategies that social actors acquire and employ to safeguard and advance their social status. In an early influential article 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction' Bourdieu defined cultural capital with reference to the "instruments for the appropriation of symbolic wealth worthy of being sought and possessed" (Bourdieu 1977b: 488). He further argued that the education system's reproduction of the social distribution of cultural capital reflects "the educational norms of those social classes capable of imposing the (...) criteria of valuation which are the most favourable to their products" (Bourdieu 1977b: 495). The implication here is that there is a strong connection between educational norms and standards that are biased towards a particular set of tastes and styles that represent the norms of the dominant class. While in *Distinction* (1984[2010]) Bourdieu documented the discriminating role of taste for social status in French society, in his article 'The Forms of Capital' he provides a broader definition of cultural capital that recognises that different forms of

competence can enhance cultural capital as long as they are unevenly distributed and as such positioned to create “exclusive advantages” (Bourdieu 1986: 49). Cultural capital includes cultural dispositions, educational credentials, language usage, life-style choices and aesthetic preferences that, in their totality, shape a social actor’s position and outlook on society. Cultural capital refers to a range of cultural dispositions that are internalised by the individual through socialisation and that constitute schemes of appreciation and achievement. Bourdieu explains that “in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body (...) and presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor” (Bourdieu 1986: 48). In the words of David Swartz, “cultural capital becomes a value worth struggling for” (Swartz 1997: 259n). Cultural capital thus involves effort on part of the individual and “cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange” (Bourdieu 1986: 48). While cultural capital finds objectified expression in “material objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments”, i.e. assets that can be transferred to another person materially, cultural capital cannot simply be inherited (Bourdieu 1986: 50). It is above all the education system that provides an institutionalised setting for the accumulation of cultural capital through educational credentials and academic qualifications:

By conferring institutional recognition on the cultural capital possessed by any given agent, the academic qualification also makes it possible to compare qualification holders and even to exchange them (by substituting one for another in succession). Furthermore, it makes it possible to establish conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital. (Bourdieu 1986: 51)

However, since the cultural capital accrued by education depends on scarcity, this also means that investment in academic capital has a relative value. Academic commodities such as qualifications and publications in the education market form a hierarchy of currency. In the words of Simon Marginson: "The emergence of a unified world market in educational positional goods with supreme value, led by household names such as Harvard, Stanford, MIT and Oxford, is a striking feature of the global era" (Marginson 2006: 21).

A practical advantage of striving to move from the lower end to the higher end of the academic value scale of education is that academic capital can be converted into economic capital outside the system of education. Bourdieu argues that literacy gains are low compared with other educational achievements:

The objectification effects of literacy are nothing in comparison with those produced by the education system. Without entering into detailed analysis, it must suffice to point out that academic qualifications are to cultural capital what money is to economic capital. (Bourdieu and Nice 1977a: 187)

One function of the institution of education, Bourdieu continues, is to standardise accreditation. As standard units of value, the hierarchy of qualifications forms a currency of cultural capital in a single education market place:

It makes possible to relate all qualification-holders (and, also negatively, all unqualified individuals) to a single standard, thereby setting up *a single market* for all cultural capacities and guaranteeing the convertibility of cultural capital into money. (Bourdieu and Nice 1977: 187)

While cultural capital captures the value of educational credentials in western societies, social capital "is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu

1986: 51). Like cultural capital, social capital depends on considerable effort and investment because it requires “a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is affirmed and reaffirmed” (Bourdieu 1986: 52). However, those who possess inherited social capital as, for example, symbolised by a great family name, do not need to make this effort because they are “sought after for their social capital” (Bourdieu 1986: 52).

The last term requiring elucidation is the notion of symbolic capital. It is a broad concept that captures the ensemble of symbolic practices through which the social order reproduces itself. Symbolic capital is a form of symbolic power that detracts attention from vested advantages of social practices. According to Bourdieu “symbolic power is that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or that they themselves exercise it” (Bourdieu 1991: 164). Symbolic power requires a certain amount of ‘misrecognition’, a term that foregrounds the inability of social actors to see the constructed nature of their social world as a result of the internalisation of social norms and rules. As Swartz comments, “activities and resources gain in symbolic power, or legitimacy, to the extent that they become separated from underlying material interests and hence go unrecognized as representing disinterested forms of activities and resources” (Swartz 1997: 90).

Some critics have taken issue with Bourdieu’s approach to the misrecognition of symbolic capital. According to Michael Burawoy, the problem here is that for Bourdieu “all social orders reproduce themselves through the inculcation of habitus and necessary misrecognition. We are all fish in water unable to comprehend the environment in which we swim – except, of course, Bourdieu and his fellow sociologists” (Burawoy 2012: 192). However, Bourdieu

occasionally emphasised that his view of society was neither deterministic nor negative. In a published interview, he denounced pessimistic functionalism, emphasising that situations of domination always activate resistance: “The dominated, in any social discourse, can always exert a certain force” (Bourdieu 1992: 80).¹ The present discussion highlights Bourdieu’s competitive model of society: knowledge production is a struggle for legitimacy and implies competition for different positions of power. This contest is reflected in the hierarchical system of education which claims a legitimate monopoly of education that results in competition (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990a: 18). In order to pursue this further, the next section discusses education as a self-regulating market.

2.3. Education as a Self-Regulating Market

Bourdieu describes the basic market as one that needs constant intervention to maintain a profit cycle. He then identifies a modified version, the self-regulating market that does not require strategies for intervention. Bourdieu argues that the success of the self-regulating market model is an acquisitive hierarchy that nurtures its own source of capital creation to sustain its wealth. There is no need to openly display domination in the self-regulating market:

Domination no longer needs to be exerted in a direct, personal way when it is entailed in possession of the means (economic or cultural capital) of appropriating the mechanisms of the field of production and the field of cultural production which tend to assure their own reproduction by their very functioning, independently of any deliberate intervention by the agents. (Bourdieu 1977a: 183-184)

¹ Interestingly, a footnote in the same interview highlights Bourdieu’s good professional relationship with the Birmingham CCCS. One is led to assume that Bourdieu was on the side of those who held radical left-wing views and believed in action for social transformation. See Bourdieu (1992).

In Bourdieu's view, the education system is a self-regulating market, in which the symbolic capital in the field of education is related to the economic capital of the economic field. According to Bourdieu, material capital can be converted into symbolic capital and in turn, symbolic capital is reconvertable into material resources (Bourdieu 1977a: 180). Drawing on Bourdieu's analysis, I will later interpret the education system as an enclosed market that uses and converts its symbolic capital in the markets of other fields, in particular, the economic field.

Bourdieu's interpretation of the educational system demonstrates how it assists the reproduction of social hierarchies. The market analogy explains why educational assets are competed for and how they can be traded in exchange for other valuable assets in society. The consequence of this analysis is that inequalities in the education system persist because it is devised to reproduce power difference.

The forms of capital that are produced in education are particularly valuable, since they can be converted into different types of resources in other fields. The accepted principle, the *doxa*, is that the currency of educational achievement will secure a better job, higher income and, generally, a better lifestyle. As Michael Grenfell explains, capital belongs to the field of education, and it is the field that sets its value. While individuals possess it, its distribution is by definition unequal (Grenfell 2009a: 20).

Along with many of his peers in the post-war period, "Bourdieu saw that in education lay the key to building the 'emancipated' structures needed in the new world" (Grenfell and Hardy 2007: 40), but the contrasting reality in Bourdieu's view was that the expansion of education in Europe from the mid-20th century did not achieve greater social equality. In France, for example, technical education was assigned low status, and the output of higher numbers of

diplomas ultimately devalued their worth in the job market by “diploma inflation” (Bourdieu 1984; 2010: 139).² A prescient example Bourdieu used to illustrate inequalities that persisted through the reconversion value of educational capital is the industry executive who commands a high company salary as a more reliable “mode of appropriation” of wealth than risky investment income (Bourdieu 1984[2010]: 134).

Although Bourdieu’s concept of the symbolic market in a field of power is effective in locating sources of power in the education system, it is somewhat limited as an instrument for categorising change after the millennium when the digital sphere has had a transformative impact on society. Bourdieu’s model has been credited as strong on the reproduction of the social system and weak on accounting for transition and social change (Born 2010:179 and Calhoun 1993: 66). For the period of transition in the digital era, it is useful to consider Castells’ concept of flows. As already indicated in Chapter 1, Castells’ notion of flows of power in the networked society builds on Bourdieu’s concept of the field of power and market model by linking it to changes that have occurred in the 21st century. In essence Castells argues that the changing use of space is evidence of patterns of change in social activity:

Space is the expression of society. Since our societies are undergoing structural transformation, it is a reasonable hypothesis to suggest that new spatial forms and processes are currently emerging. (Castells 2000: 440)

Describing this dynamic in terms of the power of flows, he argues that flows can sway the forces of power (Castells 2000: 500). Analysing the social effects of the digital era, Castells identifies the impact of social change in the transformation of

² A counter-example, however, is the case of Germany where traditional apprenticeships continue to enjoy social status. The *Fachhochschulen*, i.e. the Universities of Applied Sciences, often specialise in technical disciplines, producing graduates that, to this day, are highly esteemed by employers.

the globally networked society. This occurred as a consequence of period of deregulation and privatisation of institutions and companies in the 1980s that was led by Ronald Regan and Margaret Thatcher (Castells 2000: 138). The largely unregulated capital flow of the neo-liberal economies led to “the institutions and rules of globalization in the 1990s” which extended the widespread reduction of national sovereignty (Castells 2000: 140). In Castells’ view this flow of exchange occurs across hubs of electronic communications directed by managerial élites creating new forms of social power (Castells 2000: 442-445). In digital networks, power flows through nation states:

The space of flows is the material organization of time-sharing social practices that work through flows (...) between physically disjointed positions held by social actors in the economic, political and symbolic structures of society. (Castells 2000: 442)

Not all social activities that are connected to the global sphere will move into that space. Castells emphasises that in this newly configured global space, local activity is not replaced because “production, employment and firms are and will remain local” (Castells 2000: 101). The positional choice is now between the local time and place or in flowing time and place as “an economy whose core components have the institutional, organizational and technological capacity to work as a unit in real time, or chosen time on a planetary scale” (Castells 2000: 102). This presents a generalised model of change, indicating how other fields, such as social communication or education, may transpose certain operations into in the global sphere. Castells notion of flows reflects the disruption of the established relationship between the field of education and the state. As discussed in Chapter 1, the debate on the knowledge economy concerns the transition from industrial to post-industrial society and the attendant transformation of the nationally sovereign state into a globalised and networked

society that is exposed to massive transnational effects. Castells' concept of flows is perhaps better suited than Bourdieu's notion of the self-regulating market to capture the problem of the sovereign state in the process of adjustment from its status as an autonomous power in an international world to a semi-autonomous location of power in the globally networked space.

2.4. Bourdieu's Thinking Tools

We have already seen that Bourdieu proposed a competitive model of society: knowledge production is a struggle for legitimacy and implies competition for different positions of power. This contest is reflected in a hierarchical system, supported by the institutions of education that offer examinations leading to increased rewards in career occupations for the highest achievement (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990a: 144). Some comment that Bourdieu's work "amounts to nothing less than an attempt to construct a theory of social practice and society. It is emphatically *not* a temporary construct" (Jenkins 1992: 67). However, one should caution that Bourdieu, reflecting on his own work as a social researcher across different topics in different cultures, warned against viewing his work in terms of a totalising theory:

There is no doubt a theory in my work, or better, a set of thinking tools visible through the results they yield, but it is not built as such (...) The thread that leads from one of my works to the next is the *logic of research*, which in my eyes is *inseparably* empirical and theoretical. (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1989: 50)

This comment emphasises the strong bond between the empirical and theoretical aspects of Bourdieu's research, which is organised through what he terms "thinking tools". Spread across Bourdieu's publications, these working methods have been harnessed and summarised by Grenfell as follows:

The construction of the research object.

A three-level approach to studying the field as the object of research.

Participant *objectivation*. (Grenfell 2008:220)

Based on this list, Bourdieu’s thinking tools are summarised in Figure 1 below.

1. Construct the research object. 2. Adopt a three level approach to studying the field as the object of research.	i. Analyse the field of power. ii. Map the objective structure of relations iii. Map the habitus of field agents	3. Participant objectification through empirical work.
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Figure 1: Bourdieu's *Thinking Tools*

The following sub-sections will introduce the central thinking tools of field, habitus and participant objectification before turning to a brief discussion of the entrenched binary between objectivism and subjectivism and, finally, Bourdieu’s notion of self-reflexivity.

2.4.1. Field

In an interview with Loic Wacquant Bourdieu defined the field as

a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (...) in the structure of the distribution of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions. (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 97)

As “a structured system of social positions” (Jenkins 1992: 85), fields represent and enact power relations by offering graded access to economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. Fields are arenas of social struggle over stakes to different kinds of capital. For Bourdieu, the field is a “configuration of objective relations” precisely because the field legitimises the distribution of capital or power in relation to other field positions. The above quotation shows that Bourdieu does not distinguish between individuals and institutions in a given field. As Jenkins comments, “there is in Bourdieu’s social theory a gap (...) between the micro level of practicing agents and the macro level of fields and the social space” (Jenkins 1992: 90). He further notes that “his model of field(s) and social space is essentially one of equilibrium and stability. Social change is peripheral to the model and difficult to account for” (Jenkins 1992: 90). While this criticism points to a possible deterministic undercurrent in Bourdieu’s field theory, this danger is however somewhat harnessed by the dynamic of social struggle which can also affect the value and make-up of the different kinds of capital. Bourdieu employs the game metaphor to illustrate the field dynamic:

There is a political space, there is a religious space etc.: I call each of these a *field*, that is, an autonomous universe, a kind of arena in which people play a game which has certain rules, rules that are different from those of the game that is played in the adjacent space. (Bourdieu, Thompson et al. 1991: 215)

For Bourdieu society is composed of different fields of power in which dynamic networks of power relationships are formed between acquisitional social agents. Certain people are empowered to allow others into or exclude participants from their field. Bourdieu proceeds to explain that field boundaries can be found by analysing the point where they cease to have effect:

The question of the limits of the field is always at stake in the field. Participants to a field, say economic firms, high fashion designers or novelists, constantly work to differentiate themselves from their closest

rivals in order to differentiate themselves from their closest rivals in order to reduce competition and to establish a monopoly over a particular sub-sector of the field. Thus the boundaries of the field can only be determined by empirical investigation. Only rarely do they take the form of juridical frontiers, even though they are always marked by more or less institutionalized “barriers to entry.” The limits of the field are situated at the point where the effects of the field cease to exist. (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1989: 39)

According to this model, society includes an array of fields that can be discerned as distinctive constructs. The borders of any particular field can be measured to the limits of the zone where its distinctiveness disappears. Thus the field concept can be used to map relationships within in the confined field of media education. Tracking changing ideas in the field can then be observed by comparing field patterns at different times to disclose shifting locations of power. How the research method links to the field concept will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

2.4.2. Habitus

Habitus is a further important thinking tool in Bourdieu’s conceptual toolkit. Field and habitus allow Bourdieu to take account of the interrelationship between individual and society in that both terms are conceived in such a way that they interweave the subjective experience of an ‘objective’ social reality which is governed by norms, rules and – as previously explained – by competition over different kinds of capital. Bourdieu elucidated habitus in many of his works. A central definition in *The Logic of Practice* (1990) is:

Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (Bourdieu 1990b: 53)

The emphasis here is on forms of social knowledge that social actors internalise and apply as unconscious mental scripts which guide social interaction in a given

field. Bourdieu further explained that people do not strictly know what they are doing:

The habitus is the universalizing mediation which causes an individual agent's practices, without either explicit reason or signifying intent, to be none the less "sensible" and "reasonable". (Bourdieu and Nice 1977a: 79)

Habitus can be thought of as a person's characteristic attitudes and actions that generally have no need for explanation. If asked to reflect on their own habitus, most people will assume their behaviour is in keeping with their circumstances and quite natural. Apart from when it is made explicit in ceremony and ritual, habitus tends to be implicit and derives from inter-personal experience. Habitus is steered by social protocols and the people who constitute society devise these modes of expected behaviour. As David Swartz comments, "habitus emphasizes the mutually penetrating realities of individual subjectivity and societal objectivity after the fashion of constructionist theorists (...)" that transcends a classic dualism (Swartz 1997: 96-97). Maton further explains that the contribution by habitus to social practice is encapsulated in the formula $[(\textit{habitus}) (\textit{capital})] + \textit{field} = \textit{practice}$:

This equation can be unpacked by stating: practice results from relations between one's dispositions (habitus) and one's position in a field (capital) within the current state of play of that social arena (field). (Maton 2008: 51)

"Culture is habitus", stated Eagleton in agreement with Bourdieu, who went further to emphasise the aspect of self-awareness (Eagleton 2000: 115). Habitus is a personal disposition people may sometimes seem unaware of, "but it is also, contradictorily, the most finely self-reflective existence of which we are capable" (Eagleton 2000: 115).

Thus far, the concepts of capital, field, and habitus have been discussed as conceptual tools that will enable the analysis of a scale of academic capital value

in media education. In the next section I will consider Bourdieu's notion of objective participation before discussing the issue of objectivism and subjectivism with reference to Bourdieu's proposed solution of methodological self-reflexivity.

2.4.3. Participant Objectification

The language paradox is captured by Bourdieu's concept of *doxa*. How can we think outside the language if we are positioned on the inside? It is not sufficient to apprehend language as representative of power positions within the field, since language also incorporates the structures of what is being considered. With intended dramatic effect, Bourdieu refers to language as a symbolic system of 'symbolic violence' to draw attention to its repressive effect:

It is as structured and structuring instruments of communication and knowledge that 'symbolic systems' fulfil their political function, as instruments that help to ensure that one class dominates another (symbolic violence) by bringing their own distinctive power to bear on the relations of power which underlie them and thus by contributing, in Weber's terms, to the 'domestication of the domesticated'. (Bourdieu 1991: 167)

A research paradox consists in the fact that everyone who uses language must operate within the language structures about the very field one is seeking to explore from a distance. In Bourdieu's view this is not always sufficiently considered in the approach to research:

Because the subjective necessity and self-evidence of the common-sense world are validated by the objective consensus on the sense of the world, what is essential *goes without saying because it comes without saying*: the tradition is silent, not least about itself as a tradition. (Bourdieu and Nice 1977a: 167)

Faced with the predicament of trying to see the invisible, there is no obvious solution. The only practicable response to the naturalised relationship between the researcher and the object of study is for the researcher to create some

distance from the study material. The choice of method for the empirical analysis, using corpus analysis as a research instrument, offers some alleviating effect on the *doxa* of language. The next section discusses Bourdieu's attempt to overcome the binary between subjectivism and objectivism with reference to his validation of a self-reflexive research method that combines empirical evidence with theoretical claims.

2.5. From Subjectivism and Objectivism to Bourdieu's Methodological Reflexivity

The problem of the relationship between subjectivism and objectivism is implicated in any study that seeks some claim to truth by drawing upon the legitimacy of evidence. In spite of a self-reflexive turn in the natural sciences, they are perceived differently from the humanities in that the scientific method is assumed to be objective, while a heightened degree of subjective judgement is attributed to the humanities. The notion of objectivity has been challenged from within the science community by Thomas S. Kuhn in his influential *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) which demonstrated that the sciences too undergo periodic paradigm shifts in which the nature of scientific enquiry abruptly changes. While in normal periods the non-conformity of a scientific finding is attributed to a mistake on part of the researcher, when mistakes builds up the science reaches a crisis point at which point a paradigm change occurs (Kuhn 1962). The implication of Kuhn's notion of paradigm change is that scientific knowledge is not solely anchored in objective criteria but that it also requires a degree of consensus amongst the scientific community. He further argued that the adoption of a scientific theory is determined by whether it is a) accurate, that is based on experimentation and observation, b) internally consistent, c) broad in scope, d) simple and e) fruitful. However, while these are

established criteria for the validity of scientific discoveries, Kuhn emphasised that “two men fully committed to the same list of criteria for choice may nevertheless reach different conclusions” (Kuhn 1977: 336). Following Kuhn, the presentation of the systematic method in a scientific experiment, which is assumed to be the warrant of objectivity, is thus not a sufficient assurance. The practice of science is exemplified in the laboratory where the standard process is to create order from disorder by narrativising the findings to construct scientific facts (Latour and Woolgar 1979: 246). There is a temporal panorama for the creation of the various cultures of science that produces different scientific cultures in differing societies, according to patterns of interest. A comparative analysis of European scientific trends in recent centuries demonstrates that scientific studies are shaped by three main factors: the customs of the geographical location, the protocols of the historical era and the hierarchy of power interests among scientists that assigns scientific merit. Thus, scientific studies were formulated differently in different countries or regions depending on local circumstances of “what was investigated, who had the power to make knowledge, and why certain lines of inquiry were pursued” (Livingstone 2004: 142).

However, in spite of the philosophy of science, positivist principles of knowledge generation based on ‘objective’ findings continue to inform empirical scientists and funding agencies to this day. Hoover holds that scientists working in this mode “fail to address problems of real literary significance, ignore the subject-specific background, or concentrate too heavily on technology or software” (Hoover 2008: 21).

Bourdieu's work also addresses the entrenched binary between objectivism and subjectivism which he blames for the inadequacies of much of social science and anthropological research. In *The Logic of Practice* (1990b) he writes:

Social Science must not only, as objectivism would have it, break with native experience and the native representation of that experience, but also by a second break, must call into question the presuppositions inherent in the position of the 'objective' observer who, seeking to interpret practices, tends to bring into the object the principles of his relation to the object (....). (Bourdieu 1990b: 27)

This means that the researcher is likely to mistake his or her own values and norms for social rules which are then interpreted to govern society. The researcher must therefore apply constant "epistemological vigilance" to avoid the reproduction of dogmas that are instruments of established power relations:

The rock-bottom antonymy upon which all the divisions of the social scientific field are ultimately founded, is namely the opposition between objectivism and subjectivism. This basic dichotomy parallels a whole set of other oppositions such as materialism versus idealism, economism versus culturalism, mechanism versus finalism, causal explanations versus interpretive understanding (...). Their structuring power is greatest whenever they stand in close affinity with the fundamental oppositions, such as individual versus society (or individualism versus socialism), that organize the ordinary perception of the social and political world. Indeed, such paired concepts are so deeply ingrained in both lay and scientific common sense that only by an extraordinary and constant effort of epistemological vigilance can the sociologist hope to escape these false alternatives. (Bourdieu 1988b: 778)

As David Swartz comments, "the principal challenge, as he sees it, lies in writing a theory of symbolic power and an economy of practices – including intellectual practices – that will transcend this particularly troublesome and persistent dualism" (Swartz 1997: 52). This requires a reflexive turn that subjects all categories of analysis to critical enquiry: "The categories that are used to interpret practices need to be specified, historicized, and analyzed as products of struggles" (Bigo 2011: 230).

As an alternative to binary modes of thinking, Bourdieu therefore advocates a self-reflexive practice that requires the researcher to reflect not only on the social and intellectual context of their enquiry but also on the terms of the debate and on personal predispositions (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). By reflecting on personal biases, interests and their social background, the researcher is more likely to arrive at a self-critical perspective that avoids false claims to objectivity. The claim of objectivity, Bourdieu argues, is “to assume a sort of intellectual power over the intellectual world” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 11). He concedes, however, that there is a struggle for the “researcher who occupies a position in the world he (sic) describes and especially in the scientific universe in which scholars struggle over the truth of the social world” (Bourdieu 1988b: 784). In Bourdieusian terms, the researcher should strive for a particular type of reflexivity. Swartz explains: “for Bourdieu, then, the problem addressed by reflexivity is one of how to achieve objectivity without objectivism” (Swartz 1999: 276). Such self-reflexivity necessarily incorporates the force of cultural predispositions and structures that Bourdieu calls ‘habitus’, which pushes them into them to further critical debate and analysis.

2.6. Conclusion: The Need for Empiricism in Film Studies

Hoover is among those who acknowledge that both the sciences and the humanities reproduce the established binary of objectivism versus subjectivism. In the field of humanities, Hoover singles out literary theory for entrenched distrust of all forms of objectifying modes of enquiry, including empirical research methodologies:

Literary theory has led critics to turn their attention away from the text and toward its social, cultural, economic, and political contexts, and to distrust

any approach that suggests a scientific or "objective" methodology. (Hoover 2008:21)

Similar observations apply to Film Studies which has tended to prioritise film theory above empirical work. A probable reason for this is that film researchers are trained and invested in theory as a means of accumulating symbolic capital and status within the field of education. According to Stacey, Film Studies has both shunned empirical studies and avoided debate about its conventional methodological approach. This distrust may have a basis in widely shared distrust in the humanities of social science methods:

Film Studies' allegiance to literary studies (and to the humanities more generally) may suggest another reason for the absence of methodological debate: scepticism about the disciplinary origins of methodological concerns which are often seen to emanate from the more empirical traditions of the social sciences. (Stacey 1993: 261)

The research methodology adopted in my study of media education therefore addresses this deficit by meshing interpretive and empirical analysis to create a bridge between science and humanities research. In order to reconcile these oppositions an intermediary method needs to be devised. This is the reflective mode, akin to Bourdieu's approach, as described by Alvesson and Sköldbberg:

Empirical research in a reflective mode starts from a sceptical approach to what appears at a superficial glance as unproblematic replicas of the way reality functions, while at the same time maintaining the belief that the study of suitable (well-thought out) excerpts from this reality can provide an important basis for a generation of knowledge that opens up rather than closes, and furnishes opportunities for understanding rather than establishes 'truths'. (Alvesson and Sköldbberg 2009: 7)

This reflective mode can be applied in the corpus linguistics procedure. My corpus analysis firstly aims to gather a fairly representative corpus, then objectifies the corpus as empirical data for computer analysis followed by an informed interpretation of the findings. The methodological steps involved will

be explained in more detail in Chapter 4. Situated within a Bourdieusian framework, such empirically based research can provide valuable evidence of how certain research activities and agendas are misrecognised as representing disinterested forms of activities and resources, while they also serve to enhance the symbolic power and legitimacy of a field in relation to other fields. In the next chapter I will discuss the composition of the field of media education and how it has developed from an historical perspective.

3. Cultural Studies and Media Education in Historical Perspective

“To understand is first to understand the field with which and against which one has been formed.” (Bourdieu 2004: 4).

3.1. Introduction

This chapter examines how Cultural Studies and Media Studies were constructed as fields of distinct disciplines within the post-war university sector in the United Kingdom. A brief discussion about the rise and decline of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies illuminates the dynamic of power relationships in third-level education in the UK today. Then the historical developments of the main media education subjects are outlined from the 1950s to the present to set the context for the later empirical analysis of discursive shifts in media education from 1990 to 2009. I argue that these shifts are indicative of a major reorientation within the field of media education in response to political pressure to create a knowledge economy.

The main question in this study refers to change in media education over time. I specifically ask: how did media education change after the widespread adoption of the World Wide Web? The prerequisite to tracking change in the field is to ascertain what constitutes the field of media education. To define media education, the second research question is: what are the subjects that are most closely associated with media education and how do they relate to each other?

Following Bourdieu, the term field designates a network of relations that is occupied by stakeholders who share a set of assumptions and beliefs but who are constrained by power relations. The field metaphor is associated with

strategies of competitive game play; Bourdieu emphasised that in social fields, game strategies can seem deceptively natural:

in the social fields, which are the product of a long, slow process of autonomization, and are therefore, so to speak, games 'in themselves' and not 'for themselves', one does not embark on the game by a conscious act (Bourdieu 1990b: 67)

O'Hara comments, "different fields are relatively autonomous but structurally homologous: all the fields are subsumed by the social field, which is in turn subsumed by the field of power" (O'Hara 2000: 43). In education, discipline is "a term for the ordering of knowledge for the purposes of instruction in schools and universities" (Stichweh 2001: 13729). Disciplines are normally taught through subjects with a defined curriculum. However, Pierce's suggestion to equate disciplines with academic departments is no longer valid since academic units are now often cross-disciplinary (Pierce 1991). In the following section, I treat Media Literacy as analogous to a discipline because it has been placed in media education and is taught and assessed across diverse subjects.

Section 3.2. focuses on two opposing factions with contested approaches to studying culture in post-war British academia. It shows that when an influential school of literary studies still favoured the established cultural canon, others sought to broaden the scope to include popular cultural experiences. Two distinct areas of academic investigation gained considerable academic capital in the 1960s: first Cultural Studies, then Film Studies and associated disciplines to form media education. Cultural Studies became a discipline in its own right, which was then also absorbed by other humanities subjects, and media education comprises three subjects, Film Studies, Media Studies and – more recently – Media Literacy.

Section 3.3. discusses the University of Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) as a force of opposition within the British university system from the 1960s. While several university centres for the study of culture were developed at around the same time in the UK, namely in Glasgow, Leeds, Lancaster and London (Schulman 1993: 11), the CCCS was chosen for the “centrality of Birmingham within the narratives of cultural studies and the mythical reverence afforded to it” (Gray 2007: 2). The case of the CCCS is touched upon here because it is “a story that tells us a lot about the University of Birmingham and the wider British university scene” (Webster 2004: 853).

Sections 3.4. to 3.7. will then present the subjects of media education and their relationship within the education system and in relation to central government. These media education subjects, which differ significantly from Cultural Studies in their narrower remit and more diverse political affiliations, are presented in the following sections: Film Studies in 3.5., Media Studies in 3.6. and Media Literacy in 3.7. The chapter ends with concluding comments in 3.8.

3.2. Positioning Culture

Culture is a complex term that has attracted a plurality of definitions and can refer to diverse areas such as the arts, manners, taste, religion, everyday life and the history of ideas. Terry Eagleton argues that culture is particularly complex since it is both conceived as the opposite of nature and as a constituent part of it. He also contends that culture is a sliding concept that encompasses the whole scale of high culture and popular culture (Eagleton 2000: 112-114). Reflecting on the established division between low and highbrow culture, Stuart Hall explained: “I just never developed the traditional intellectual division between popular and elite culture” (MacCabe 2008: 18). Hall, like Raymond Williams, explored the cultural meanings and practices in everyday life by combining a

Marxist economic perspective with cultural anthropology, gender studies, media theory and social theory to illuminate how people attribute meaning and value to their social worlds.

Culture, in this perspective, was no longer the élite concept of human refinement to be attained through the aesthetic appreciation of high art. In the English language the idea that high culture exercised a civilising function was popularised by Matthew Arnold who, in his essay 'Culture and Anarchy' defined culture as "the disinterested endeavour after man's perfection." (1869[1999]: xliv). In the post-war period Intellectuals in the tradition of Arnold, such as F.R. Leavis, continued to champion high culture as a force of the moral good. At the same time, however, the symbolic capital and status of high culture was investigated and disputed by new schools of thought such as the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies which studied the culture of people's experience in everyday life. In his influential book *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973), the anthropologist Clifford Geertz also championed the study of the symbolic construction of meaning in cultures, espousing cultural analysis as "not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning" (Geertz 1977: 5), thereby promoting a hermeneutic approach to cultural study. In addition, Gender Studies and Postcolonial Studies have exposed the phallo- and Eurocentrism of the seemingly disinterested Arnoldian view of high culture (see Butler 1990; Bhaba 1994).

It can be gleaned from the above that culture is a contested notion which involves explicit and implicit value judgements. Traditionalists, such as the literary academic F.R. Leavis, promoted cultural élitism through the literary canon. The argument levelled by critics against his approach is that it reproduces a class-based, largely bourgeois value system that legitimises existing power

structures. According to Turner, “democratic notions of equality are among the casualties of the Leavisite approach” (Turner 2002: 44). However, a more inclusive cultural perspective encounters a similar problem because it too is faced with the question of how to overcome the socially divisive function of culture. Bourdieu argued in the introduction to *Distinction* that “art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimizing differences” (Bourdieu [1979]2012: xxx).

Raymond Williams confronted differentiated cultural value as a problem when he aimed to highlight the worth of working class culture. His approach was to eschew all judgement so as not to collude in the prevailing contempt for the everyday lives of the vast majority of individuals (Turner 2002: 44). The ironic outcome of Williams’ effort to be egalitarian, Turner argues, was the avoidance of all explicit evaluation that “may in practice, be a denial of value” (Turner 2002: 44). If the reception of culture inevitably involves judgements of some sort or another, then the censoring of such judgement only makes such value assessments covert and implicit. Indeed, as will be seen in section 3.5 on Film Studies, opinions that are left unchecked can formulate into canonical precepts that are resistant to challenges.

Arguably, there was some overlap between the two positions sketched above in that both valued critical awareness. However, a fundamental difference concerned the purpose of knowledge: as will be shown below, for Leavis and his adherents cultural refinement is an intrinsic value that, while being an expression of civilised virtue, is detached from the political sphere. In sharp contrast, for Williams and his followers critical awareness and not judgement is an essential stepping stone towards the social struggle of critical analysis for emancipatory

action. Not surprisingly, Williams' approach to cultural analysis was a huge inspiration for the New Left in the 1960s and 1970s.¹

The discussion will now turn to three distinctive positions that were granted or acquired the power to influence cultural value in post-war Britain. After the tragedy of two world wars in the early part of the 20th century there was consensus that the post-war years offered unimagined opportunities for influencing the shape of the future (Kynaston 2007: 27). The first position is represented by F.R. Leavis, the influential Cambridge Professor of English, who championed the literary tradition that he had instigated in the 1930s throughout the 1950s. In the 1950s, the Leavis school of literary studies coincided with the emergence of the New Left movement, a second position which was instrumental in creating Cultural Studies, especially the Birmingham CCCS. The third position in the context of this analysis is represented by the British Film Institute (BFI) which spanned the middle ground: it created Film Studies, led to Media Studies and, much later, influenced the shape of Media Literacy. Together these three positions form a set of inter-acting fields that form "a kind of arena in which people play a game which has certain rules, rules that are different from those of the game that is played in the adjacent space" (Bourdieu, Thompson et al. 1991: 215).

In 1948 F.R. Leavis proposed the canon of English novels in his influential book *The Great Tradition* (Leavis 1950). Leavis' ambition was to establish an indisputable tradition by his own academic discrimination and sensibility. Accordingly, on the opening page of his Introduction, he declared with confidence:

¹ On the New Left, see Stuart Hall's retrospective account 'Life and Times of the New Left' (Hall 2010: 177-196). Hall explains the dramatic impact of the Soviet suppression of the Hungary Uprising in 1956 and of the British invasion of the Suez Canal on his generation. The New Left, a term borrowed from French *nouvelle gauche*, stood for "a third political space" that would "end the political impasses of the Cold War", making room for "new socialist project" (Hall 2010: 177).

The best way to promote profitable discussion is to be as clear as possible with oneself about what one sees and judges, to try and establish the essential discriminations in the given field of interest, and to state them as clearly as one can (for disagreement, if necessary). (Leavis 1950: 1)

Leavis canonised the works of Jane Austen, George Eliot, Henry James, Joseph Conrad and D.H. Lawrence in particular “for the human awareness they promote, awareness of the possibilities of life” (Leavis 1950: 2).² According to Anne Samson, Leavis elevated culture “to be the means, above all others, of combating the ills of a mechanised, constantly changing world and of restoring the heritage of those dispossessed by the machine” (Samson 1992: 3). The implication here is that, for Leavis, the great literary tradition could heal the wounds of an alienating modernity by equipping the reader with moral and aesthetic judgement. It is precisely this quest for a union between moral and aesthetic judgement in literary criticism along with the implied negative reaction to the forces of modernity that make him a conservative theorist in the post-war period. Kynaston attributes *The Great Tradition*, a “grandiose, self-serving collective mask to justify Leavis’s choice of his five favourite novelists”, as an uncontested success to the fact that it “filled a vacuum while the old left of the 1930s died and the new left was yet to be born” (Kynaston 2007: 313). The argument levelled by the New Left against the Leavis school of literary studies was that his aesthetic judgements and the canonisation of a particular brand of high-brow literature entailed class-biased opinions about what constitutes good or bad culture, an

² For Leavis the aesthetic value of a work of literature was inseparable from “moral significance” (Leavis 1950: 4). He was dismissive of the modern prioritisation of form and style as exemplified in the work of Flaubert. In the literary disciplines, Leavis’ approach was challenged with the emergence of reception theory and reader response theory in the 1960s and 1970s. Milestone publications in this regard were Stanley Fish’s *Surprised by Sin: The Reader in Paradise Lost* (1967) and Wolfgang Iser’s *The Act of Reading* (1978).

approach which was deemed intrinsically élitist, as it prevented ordinary people from appreciating culture from alternative authentic perspectives.³

Soper traces the origins of the Cultural Studies project – as formed by Hoggart, Williams and Hall – to the British Marxist historian E. P. Thompson who was a founder of the British New Left in the 1950s (Soper 1990: 254). According to Stuart Hall this first wave of the New Left considered their action timely since “changes in British society had brought a large number of the new, post-war social strata within reach of socialist education and propaganda” (Hall 2010: 194). The New Left aimed to create a new socialist project that would overcome the entrenched confrontations of the Cold War. Their strategy was to work in the established institutions of society but to engage in work that explicitly addressed questions of ideology in culture. Stuart Hall, recruited from his post as editor of the New Left Review to the CCCS, was a key player in the development of Cultural Studies with a New Left ideology. The role of the New Left in the development of the CCCS will be discussed further in section 3.3.

The British Film Institute, established in 1933, represents a third position between the Leavisite and the New Left. Originally, it used its role in film education to advocate the appreciation of film as a popular medium. In the post-war years, the first BFI Education Officer, Paddy Whannel, enthusiastically promoted film appreciation to be enjoyed by all film viewers, regardless of their class background. Whannel, influenced by Raymond Williams, had worked with Stuart Hall of the New Left. He succeeded in shifting the emphasis from film appreciation favoured by the middle classes in the 1960s to include the working class experience of popular culture. In addition, he initiated a move towards a more

³ However, it should be noted that both Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel offered a differentiated evaluation of Leavis’ work: while they applauded Leavis’ for “a real literary interest in man and civilization”, they criticized the Leavis school for the creation of mean-spirited orthodoxies. See Hall, S. and Whannel, P. (1992 [1964]: 27).

theoretical approach to the study of film (Whannel 1970). By the 1970s, left-wing advocates in the British Film Institute (BFI) Education Department and in the Society for Education in Film and Television (SEFT) had seized significant power, although the conservative traditionalists among the BFI management and advisors still outnumbered them (Nowell-Smith 2006: 456). In the BFI in 1972, Nowell-Smith argues that although the conservative establishment won the decisive battle by retaining the organisational system, it lost ground in policy and education to the progressives. An uneasy tension between the ideological forces on the left and the right within the BFI was to become a legacy of this conflict. Despite this conflict, the BFI maintained its esteem as a government funded cultural organisation and, although Paddy Whannel had resigned in the meantime, it continued the pioneering work for Film Studies that Whannel had initiated (Nowell-Smith 2006: 459). Raymond Williams was another driving force, influencing those who established the post 1960s version of Film Studies that can be summarised as a move from film appreciation to the critical analysis of film as a cultural practice. As has been noted, Williams disapproved of personal aesthetic judgements as the outcome of the study of film, which he saw as the aim of film appreciation. For Williams, the study of film in media education should promote active citizenship, which he viewed in Marxist terms as “social struggle”:

The long-term advantage of this education would not just be critical awareness. This was the *Scrutiny* position, that critical awareness in itself would make a difference. Well, it does to some extent, but it is critical awareness as a basis for really being able to understand and participate in the typical social argument and indeed social struggle that the new institutions would involve. (Williams 1979: 10)

This difference of opinion about the purpose of the study of film caused a split between film theorists. Some of the SEFT members adopted a Marxist perspective. According to MacCabe, the approach to film theory that merged

Marxism, structuralism and psychoanalysis, later became known as *Screen* theory (after the journal *Screen*). Others adopted a Leavisite approach, albeit less elitist, that integrated personal judgement with film analysis (MacCabe 1985: 12-15). The theoretical stances that were first formed in the conflict with the BFI in the 1960s were eventually played out within the *Screen* constituency in the 1970s. This will be discussed further in section 3.5 in this chapter.

Comparing the three disciplines of Literary Studies, Film Studies and Cultural Studies, Figure 2 below summarises the main factors that appear to be significant in framing a study discipline: an influential person is required alongside a set of ideas in an institution which is linked to a source of publishing to distribute knowledge.

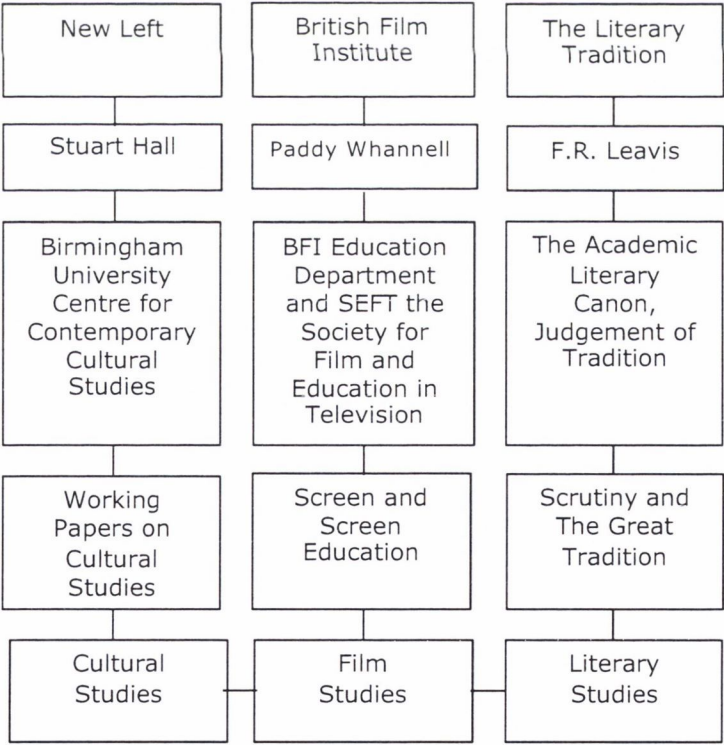


Figure 2 British post-war approaches to the study of culture

This section has discussed three disciplines and their respective cultural orientations in post-war Britain: the Leavisite school of literary studies, which maintained its dominant role throughout the 1950s represents the conservative position; Cultural Studies situated itself on the political left, and Film Studies straddled the middle ground but ending up divided. These positions demonstrate how each subject was perceived from within and externally. While there is some overlap in approaches to understanding culture, opposing positions reflect fundamental ideological differences about the purpose of education. The next section turns to the CCCS to provide one prominent example to illuminate the power dynamic in the field of education before tracking the development of Film Studies, Media Studies and the emergence of Medial Literacy in the digital era.

3.3. Cheap Hats: The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham

Bourdieu's notion of power in a field is of immediate relevance for the analysis of the rise and fall of the CCCS at the University of Birmingham.⁴ Bourdieu explains in *Homo Academicus* that he tends to adopt "an ambivalent, contradictory relationship towards the academic institution" that he traces back to his "*cleft habitus*" of high academic consecration and low social origin (Bourdieu 2004: 100). His argument in *Homo Academicus* (Bourdieu 1988) is that the system of

⁴ Although Bourdieu censured the emerging discipline of Cultural Studies for its "irresponsible utopianism" (Bourdieu 2004: 9), he also respected the CCCS group and entertained "cooperative relations that suggest a complementarity rather than an opposition between their works" (Bourdieu 1992, f24: 81). It is also interesting to note that Bourdieu's work was first published in English by the CCCS (Fowler 2011: 35). Richard Nice, who was one of Bourdieu's main translators worked with the Birmingham group in the 1970s and was active in publishing and promoting Bourdieu's work in Great Britain (Bourdieu 1992, f24: 81).

education is a monopoly that depends upon the hierarchical disbursement of social capital and its control over the instruments by which it reproduces its own academic power, especially from the canonical disciplines (Bourdieu 1988: 78). By creating valuable assets, such as competitive qualifications and promotion opportunities, the system assures people who work within it that their time and effort will be rewarded in due course and thereby secures the renewal of the system (Bourdieu 1988: 87). When educational procedures are challenged, there is normally enough flexibility in the system to accommodate change. Occasionally, force of circumstance causes the education system to shift in an evolutionary move that may be significant which, however, is not as substantive as a revolutionary break from the past. A social shift of this evolutionary order occurred in and after 1968 when, among various locations of disruption in Europe and elsewhere, the Paris universities were sites of highly visible disruption from student protests. As Bourdieu explicates, even though many traditions of the university system substantially altered, the purpose of the education system as a differentiating social practice endured (Bourdieu 1988: 126-127).

The Bourdieusian analysis of systemic power in the French university system, helps to illuminate two opposing perspectives about the place and role of the CCCS in the British university system. While the CCCS cohort was resolute that the power balance in education and in wider society could be challenged and changed through its own research activities and the promotion of left-wing activism, the university as an institution needed to hold its power position by curbing the influence of the CCCS in line with its aim of maintaining a hierarchical distribution of power.

Richard Hoggart, professor of English and author of *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working Class Life* (Hoggart 1957) proposed the creation of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. His book stood in the British Marxist historical tradition and was written “against the grand narratives” (Soper 1990: 255). According to Webster, “from the start he was regarded with suspicion and distrust, and so was his brainchild CCCS” (Webster 2004: 854). Hoggart later recalled how other academics made their objections clear: “There was one professor who referred to ‘Hoggart’s nice line in cheap hats’; he meant we were going to give cheap MA’s or PhD’s” (Hoggart 2009: 279). Despite such opposition, the CCCS was created as part of the University of Birmingham in 1964 and survived until 2002 when it was closed by the university management.

While the worldwide reputation of the CCCS underscored its success, it eventually failed by national standards. At its closure, the *Guardian* newspaper reported the high number of applicants: “600 applications last year for 40 places”, and “known internationally as the birthplace of cultural studies”, its sociology “rated highest in the *Guardian* league tables every year they’ve been running” (Curtis 2002). Despite these merits the university management justified the CCCS closure on the grounds of a weak research record. The 2002 Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) for the UK university sector awarded the CCCS a relatively low ranking of 3a (higher scores were 4, 5 and 5*). This was a shocking disappointment for the CCCS that was “unchallengeable and nonnegotiable” (Webster 2004: 849).

From the perspective of the university management the RAE rating reflected the CCCS’s failure to meet world-class benchmarks. However, it is possible to explain this apparent failure differently with reference to Bourdieu’s exposition of the systemic nature of educational institutions. The CCCS represents an entity

that operated in the field of education according to its independent system of logic (Bourdieu 1988: 53). As Bourdieu explains, people enter the competition for academic capital and are constrained by systemic requirements to contribute to the established system (Bourdieu 1988: 87). The problem was that the CCCS stood for an ideological interpretation of education; education was not merely viewed as a means to personal social advancement but as a site of political action for change (Hall 2010: 13). Accordingly, the relationship between the CCCS and the establishment was marked by tension and conflict. According to Schulman, when the CCCS engaged with the university hierarchy, it was “addressing an antagonist” (Schulman 1993: 1). Webster recalls that newly appointed university academics were instructed that the CCCS was “dauntingly Marxist”, an “agitators nest” and “left wing troublemakers” (Webster 2004: 9).

Indeed, the CCCS’s aim was to subvert the social structure by striving for hierarchical position in education and acquire the power to classify knowledge in the form of the discipline of Cultural Studies. According to Turner, the paradigmatic approach to cultural analysis was through “institutions, ideologies and discourses, as well as media products” (Turner 2002: 45). In distinction to the older German tradition of *Kulturwissenschaft*, which goes back to the 1900s, the CCCS was wedded to the theories of the New Left, but not to hard-line Marxism. Stuart Hall, one of the key proponents of the New Left who opened up the Marxist paradigm to include issues of race, ethnicity and gender, summarised the New Left’s approach to culture as follows:

The discourse of culture seemed to us fundamentally necessary to any language in which socialism could be redescribed. The New Left therefore took the first faltering steps of putting questions of cultural analysis and cultural politics at the centre of its politics. (Hall 2010: 187)

Hall secured the directorship in 1968 on Hoggart's retirement and steered the CCCS until 1979 (Schulman 1993: 18). Adopting an ideological position on the left, the CCCS represented a conflicting force within a system it opposed. Furthermore, it did not comply with a process of adjustment to the system over time as will be elucidated next.

According to Bourdieu, a temporal strategy is one means of reproducing power in the education system. Although Bourdieu elaborated this with reference to the French university system in *Homo Academicus* (Bourdieu 1988: 87), the British university system embodies similar characteristics. Institutions enact power by sequencing events such as career progression over time and restricting the acquisition of academic capital. For example, professional progression in the university is dependent on a specific temporal matrix, which includes obstacles to be overcome at each stage of the competition, a normal age for progression and the notion of the ideal career. It takes predictable amounts of time to acquire sufficient academic capital to progress from an assistant lectureship through a succession of increasingly senior positions to the higher ranks within the system. Revolutionary action is thus restrained within the system, since people must comply with the established rules to win. Once they have achieved their career goals, they are likely to replicate the order of things. As Bourdieu notes, academic personnel must "have the competitive dispositions both required and reinforced by the race, contribute by its own logic to the reproduction of the order as a system of temporal distances" (Bourdieu 1988: 87).

The CCCS did not succeed in advancing its status within the University of Birmingham across the years. In 2004 Frank Webster, from his insight as the former head of the Department of Cultural Studies and Sociology at the University of Birmingham, reflected that the CCCS never fitted in. It was first

aligned with English, it then became a stand-alone institute before it was moved to Sociology and finally closed down. Webster comments:

Cultural Studies is now destroyed at Birmingham and though the sort of sociology being developed there around 2000 has been abandoned – Cultural Studies and a culturally oriented sociology continue to prosper elsewhere. (Webster 2004: 2)

While for Stuart Hall the CCCS closure was “arbitrary” (Hall 2007: 10), from the perspective of the education system as a self-sustaining entity, its dissolution was neither arbitrary nor unsurprising. The established aim of the university was to maintain its power over time by incorporating incomers into its system (Bourdieu, 1998). Since the CCCS was unwilling to relinquish its independence, its closure was an entirely logical outcome.

Three forces obstructed the strength of the CCCS: internal battles within the disciplinary group, external pressures from the education system that materialised within the University and external pressures on the university sector in the UK to become more accountable. Webster recalls fierce internal battles at CCCS meetings, “the combativeness of these occasions, and the anxiety induced in those unfortunate enough to be ‘savaged’” (Webster 2004: 10). As Bourdieu observed in relation to the issue of freedom of speech: “We forget in fact that *freedom of speech* (...) is always freedom from the speech of others, or rather control of their silence” (Bourdieu 1988: 192). According to Webster, the contortion of free speech into ideological coercion was one factor that hampered the CCCS (Webster 2004: 11). Furthermore, Webster emphasises the interventional role of government ministers to shape education for personal and political preference. In his view it was the supervening force of the national government that caused the CCCS to close, “the ideological climate of the

Thatcher era and disparagement of sociology by the likes of the then Minister Sir Keith Joseph, resulted in a dramatic closure of sociology” (Webster 2004: 855).

Bourdieu stated that no matter how prestigious the research of a university centre may be, its power of self-determination is lower than the education system that prioritises its continued existence (Bourdieu 1988: 79). In all likelihood, the CCCS misjudged the power accrued from its accumulation of knowledge by mistaking the potency of politics and culture to change the system. Bourdieu states that of the kinds of power are found in the university, the more powerful type is the “control of the instruments of reproduction of the professional body” through awards and jobs and the less powerful type is the “authority displayed through the direction of a research team” (Bourdieu 1988: 79). The CCCS did not manage to accrue sufficient symbolic capital in the struggle for legitimacy. In the next section I will address how confrontational subject areas of media education survived either by becoming subsumed into educational institutions or by being transformed to suit the needs of the educational system.

3.4. Media Education

In this section, Media Education refers to the field of study that comprises the subject areas of Film Studies, Media Studies and Media Literacy. According to Lusted, after initial uncertainty about what name best describes the educational domain of the mass media and popular culture, “many commentators have opted for ‘media education’ and that seems to have acquired broad assent” (Lusted 1992: 30). The media education subject areas were developed in the latter part of the 20th century when advocates campaigned for their formal acceptance within the system. Campaign tactics were necessary, as Bourdieu argued, since innovation demands concessions:

The fact remains that every new position in asserting itself as such, determines a displacement of the whole structure and that, by the logic of action, and reaction, it leads to all sorts of changes in the position-takings of the occupants of the other positions. (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993: 58)

Various campaigns to establish media education aimed to gain consent from the established system to concede ground. A problem for media education campaigners was that this proposed new field had great potential to introduce dissent through the education system. Bourdieu argued that acceptance in a field is based on the participant's likely contribution "to the reproduction of the social order. 'Logical' integration is the precondition of 'moral' integration" (Bourdieu, Thompson et al. 1991: 166). The case of the CCCS at the University of Birmingham highlighted a miscalculation by the education system to admit an overly dissenting entity.

In the case of media education, the authorising bodies would need to be persuaded that any level of dissent would be manageable within the institutions of education and amenable to the wider field of social governance. The subject areas of media education that are discussed in the following sections demonstrate that legitimisation is more likely if the following conditions are met: a) the proposal has a source of authorisation, b) the innovation can generate cultural capital, and c) the entity is likely to support the system.

The following discussion of media education will explore the strategy for each of the main subjects and their different attempts to integrate into the education system. Film Studies integrated into the academic profession after a phase of ideological resistance, Media Studies was reformulated to prioritise its creative vocational area, and Media Literacy was founded by government legislation. Film Studies is considered in section 3.5., Media Studies is presented in section 3.6, and Media Literacy, as the most recent addition, is discussed in section 3.7. The chapter concludes in 3.8 with summary comments.

3.5. Film Studies

The film medium can be studied as art film, film within popular culture, film as an industrial product or, indeed, combined as a popular industrial art form. In a university, the subject Film Studies is driven by academic purpose compared with the practical role of Film Studies in a film school. Further, since the aim of the university system is perceived differently in different countries, British Film Studies has a different provenance and character from Film Studies elsewhere.

Ellis identifies a longstanding weakness due to the tradition of literary studies approach that Film Studies adopted in the British university. According to Ellis, the importance of film as an industrial art form is eclipsed when films are treated as analogous to novels for the appreciation of style and content (Ellis 1980: 32). Further, this aesthetic approach to inculcating good taste meant that, from the 1950s, the remit of English extended into film appreciation in schools. The belief that intelligent film choices would produce better citizens obscured the importance of the film-making process (Bolas 2011: 44). A different model for Film Studies was to emerge in the 1960s and in the context of the social and political debates of 1968.⁵ Drawing on a hotchpotch of left-wing ideas that extended from Marx, Lenin, and Althusser to Gramsci and others, the 1968 radicals challenged institutionalised elitism through new forms of protest, such as teach-ins “to generate a critical public in egalitarian discussions” (Klimke and Scharloth 2008: 5). Their cognitive and emotional reorientation led to an engagement with working class culture and popular culture. While the study of film was transformed as a result of 1968, nonetheless the neglect of film as an industrial art form persisted as a limitation. As will be demonstrated next, Film Studies was first

⁵ For a discussion of the political and cultural significance of 1968 see Sandbrook 2007, Hobsbawm 1994 and, on the generational dimension, Nora 1996. For a European perspective see Klimke and Scharloth 2008.

instigated by a cohort of the 1968 generation but it became later a site for polemic theoreticians to struggle for power.

Edmunds and Turner define a generation as “an age cohort that comes to have social significance by virtue of constituting itself as a cultural identity” (Edmunds and Turner 2002: 7). They emphasise that generations are not just defined by a shared birth date because individuals can choose to associate themselves with a particular generational position, such as the 1960s generation (Edmunds and Turner 2002: 16). While Bourdieu did not specifically deal with generational aspect, he nevertheless referred to the impact of the student protests. For Bourdieu the events beginning in May 1968 created a symbolic revolution and a “spiritual conversion” that transformed everyday life (Bourdieu 1988: 193) and in education “introduced politico-intellectual contestation into the university field” (Bourdieu 2007: 76). A shared generational outlook, Edmunds and Turner argue, gives a “greater mobility to mobilize its members around political issues or social causes” (Edmunds and Turner 2002: 16). The generation of 1968 celebrated their youthful rebellion in vivid declarations such as “It is not by chance that all the revolutions we know of have been made by young people and young parties” (Magri 1969: 53).

A cohort of the student generation of 1968 regarded Film Studies as having the revolutionary potential to transform society. From Bourdieu’s perspective students “play a decisive role in the internal struggles of which the university field is a site”; they provide avant-garde movements and a following, especially for “the new disciplines of the arts faculties” (Bourdieu 1988: 119). According to Sylvia Harvey, “because the world could not be changed immediately, one tried to change the cinema or, rather, the way we view the cinema” (Harvey 1978:

127). For Harvey the “wave which swept our educational structures” led to the creation of Film Studies in France:

For the first time in France film criticism forcibly entered the Universities (...). Marxism-Leninism, in a way, became our kind of yard-stick, an indispensable reference upon which was erected, if not a scientific mode of criticism, at least a more methodological criticism”. (Harvey 1978: 127)

In Great Britain, along with many cultural changes after 1968, the academic journal *Screen* that had been established by the British Film Institute as the vehicle for British Film Studies was now being transformed. *Screen* represented a cohort of that generation of 1968 that successfully forced the reconsideration of film as a complex medium to be approached with serious intent. Britton summarises the subsequent impact of *Screen* as a driver of British Film Studies that could be differentiated from film appreciation as follows:

Screen intervened at a moment when the question as to what Film Studies should be had scarcely been asked (indeed the answer had been felt to be self-evident) and operated henceforth, as far as confronting the serious issues was concerned, within a film culture characterised by the journalistic, the complacent and the trivial. That is to say, *Screen* had to deal with resistance rather than criticism. (Britton 2009: 423)

As mentioned in section 3.2, Paddy Whannel, the Head of the BFI Education Department, was one of the motivators of change from within the BFI. Reviewing Film Studies from 1960 to 1970, he identified three important transformational shifts: the emergence of the auteur theory, debates about popular culture and an interest in new theories such as structuralism (Whannel 1970: 49). Whannel made two particularly decisive recommendations that shaped the future of Film Studies: firstly, considering the direction of the first National Film School (NFS), he suggested that the NFS (the NFTS now incorporates television) should be the place for artists and filmmakers. Secondly, he argued that it was “crucial at this stage to make every effort to establish film study as a distinct discipline at key

points within the university” (Whannel 1970: 52). Therefore, he separated practical filmmaking from academic study and prioritised the university for academic Film Studies. His strategy was to influence Film Studies in formal education from the university downwards by firstly developing a body of research that would attract academic prestige.

Following Whannel’s strategic proposals for the development of Film Studies in the university sector, the BFI created a three-year grant to finance three university lectureships in 1972. In the same year the first O-Level in Film Studies was introduced into secondary level schools (Bolas 2009: 200). The first BFI Film lecturers were Robin Wood in the University of Warwick (1973), Richard Dyer in the University of Keele (1974) and Peter Wollen in the University of Essex (1975). By 1976 they all reported that Film Studies was becoming incorporated into their universities (Wood, Dyer and Wollen 1976: 51-60).

As Nowell-Smith outlined, this was also a time when the BFI factions of conservatives and progressives were implicated in several conflicts, including the education department’s involvement in seminars on Marxist ideology and semiotics. Although Whannel resigned his post amid these rifts in 1971, Nowell-Smith concludes that Whannel’s recommendations were largely implemented which ultimately created a progressive BFI as it emerged from the crisis of 1970 (Nowell-Smith 2006: 458).

The BFI through SEFT funded the *Screen* journal. In 1974, as the result of a split between film theorists and secondary level teachers, *Screen* separated into two journals, *Screen* and *Screen Education*: while the first was dedicated to film theory, the latter focused on film and television education (Bolas 2009: 167). Leaving teachers to their pedagogical interests, during the 1970s *Screen* pursued

a strong theoretical trajectory, such as the French auteur theory. As Cook comments:

The '*Cahiers*' approach allowed for the possibility of progressive texts to be found in Hollywood cinema, and it was this position that had most effect on the theoretical work of *Screen*. Auteur criticism in Britain began to look at the films of certain Hollywood directors in terms of the way they resisted dominant ideology laying bare its operations. (Cook 1985: 173)

Within this rubric Alfred Hitchcock from American popular cinema, Jean-Luc Godard from independent cinema and the Russian Sergei Eisenstein with his montage film, represented the eminence and iconicity of the auteur approach (Cook 1985: 114-206). These and other auteur films from Italian, French and German cinema were studied avidly. Rather than merely fostering film appreciation, debates about approaches to understanding film, such as the auteur theory, enabled intellectual exploration of film cultures and film semiotics thereby establishing a post-1968 canon for Film Studies.

Across the 1970s, SEFT drove a new orthodoxy of Film Studies through the journal *Screen* that ultimately split the field. The core questions of the film experience concerned auteurship, realism, spectatorship and the gendered gaze. Clifford Manlove has traced how, following the publication of Laura Mulvey's influential essay 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', published in *Screen* in 1975, psychoanalysis established itself as the "methodology of choice for a good deal of film criticism and theory" (Manlove 2007: 86). Ideologies of class, race and gender were theorised through the prism of film. Lovell, editor of *Screen* in the early 1970s, conceded that the theoretical effort was a formidable task from the outset: "the production of theory is not as easy as we first thought, not so much a matter of pulling rabbits out of hats, as perhaps, we have made it seem" (Lovell 1972: 2). Hall attempted to capture the strengths and weaknesses of Screen Theory, which extended from its early adoption of Saussurian structural

linguistics to the psychoanalytical theories by Lacan and Kristeva. While he found it an “ambitious theoretical construct”, in his view it did not manage to resolve the central problem of theorising the “relations between texts, subjects and readers/viewers” and became an approach that was hampered by overly “abstract formulations” (Hall 1980: 162).

Teachers and filmmakers became increasingly alienated from this type of film theory in the 1970s. In 1976, four of the *Screen* board members resigned because *Screen* was at that time “unnecessarily obscure”, “intellectually unsound and unproductive”, with “no serious interest in educational matters” and the dominant editorial group dismissed dissent as “liberalism” (Buscome and Gledhill et al. 1976). Williamson was one of the teachers who complained about the impossibility of using the *Screen* approach to film teaching (Williamson 1985). Bolas, an ex-editor, refers to the theory of the 1970s as “intellectual terrorism” (Bolas 2009: 233). MacCabe, another former editor, concluded that *Screen*’s effect on the independent filmmaking sector was “catastrophic, linking banal formalism to political didacticism in a formula that had nothing to recommend it” (MacCabe 1985: 15).

Theoretical contradictions became evident. While Britton praised *Screen* for placing film in the academy, he noted its contempt for empiricism and a suspension of logic when it came to matters of judgement (Britton 2009: first published 1976). Thus a *Screen* article could attack the film theorist Robin Wood for his “Leavisite inflection of liberal humanism” and proceed to claim that knowledge is separate from value: “*Screen* sees theory not as a system for providing values but as a system for providing knowledge” (Neal 1976: 118).

Screen began to change from the end of the 1980s. The certainties of the post-war era shifted dramatically when the Berlin Wall came down in 1989.

Mulvey comments: “the impact of rightwing neoliberalism and the collapse of communism confused and derailed any sense of continuity with socialist aspiration across the twentieth century and beyond” (Mulvey 2004: 144). By this time, an increasing number of film academics had moved into tenured jobs in across the university sector (MacCabe 1985: 12). In 1989 SEFT was dissolved by the BFI, and *Screen* moved to the auspices of the University of Glasgow and was subsequently published by Oxford University Press. *Screen*’s move from the BFI into academia, and the increasing cohort of film lecturers, confirmed a power base for Film Studies through publishing and research scholarship in the university establishment.

There followed, in the 1990s, a theme of conciliation for Film and Media Studies within the academic sphere. Harvey was a key motivator in this rapprochement,

Many of us have been on the long march from formalism to discourse theory, via feminism, psychoanalysis and semiotics. We have introduced our Students to the CRG triplets (Class, Race and Gender), and ensuing relationships have been by turns abstract and reified, or deeply personal political and transformative. We have suffered from a lengthy and damaging detour designed both to avoid and to establish distinctive superiority over literary studies, sociology and history. We can perhaps now ease ourselves into a period of productive and peaceful co-existence with our fellow disciplines, no longer trapped in those exhausting moments of Oedipal or feminist rage at the elite of the Academy. (Harvey 1992: 27)

The 1990s were viewed in the 2000 *Screen* editorial as the “coming of age” period of screen studies, both in scholarship and pedagogy. The editors noted that graduate and undergraduate provision in Film Studies had “increased exponentially”, but they were ambivalent about the recent New Labour government which, in their eyes, appeared to continue the Thatcherite emphasis on film as an industry. They feared in particular that film training rather than film scholarship would be supported (Screen Editorial 2000: 4).

The 2009 *Screen* editorial was published on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary. The editors therefore took the opportunity to trace the historical lines of British Film Studies from 1959 to the 'post-cinema' era of 2009 (Kuhn 2009: 7). By 2009, 75 universities in the United Kingdom offered Film Studies courses at undergraduate and postgraduate level, and academic journals for Film Studies and related studies had also become numerous. Annette Kuhn now referred to 1970s Screen Theory as a totalising theory, a direction that was no longer required. She suggested that theorising screen cultures could be more diverse and playful rather than anxiously following orthodoxies (Kuhn 2009: 5). Film as the object of study in the digital era, the editorial suggested, has changed fundamentally to warrant the term 'post-cinema'. The editorial emphasised that screen theorising need not be confined to academic scholars, but should be open to other input such as from industry practitioners. Kuhn argued that theoretical approaches should adjust to changed production modes and people's use of film and television. In summary, the editorial invited academics in the post-cinema era to address different types of immersive experiences, revisit the work of theorists such as Metz and Bazin to augment the standard psychoanalytical approach, explore the role of the filmmaker as artist and debate the role of film in the art gallery because of new links between cinema and art.

Although the 2009 *Screen* editorial aims to formulate a forward-looking re-orientation, it is remarkable how little attention it paid to the affiliation between film, video art and digital media, particularly since this interrelationship was evident from the late 1980s (Cubitt 1989; Furier 1995; Spielmann 1999).⁶ Against the backdrop of an international conference in 1996, which was held "to discuss

⁶ The peer reviewed journal *Convergence* was launched in 1995 as an alternative response to the area of digital media in film and media studies which has now become interdisciplinary in relevance and sub-divided into discreet areas such as game studies (Doherty 2011b).

the future of cinema studies as it faces changes brought on by new digital technologies and newly global media”, a weak interest in digital media is striking (Peterson and Stewart 1997: 3). The digital media of the World Wide Web remained largely neglected by theorists in *Screen* until digital production was connected with avant-garde film and digital work in the art gallery space (Balsom 2009; Cowie 2009; Nielssen 2011).⁷

This exploration of Film Studies has highlighted the development of Film Studies as a theoretical discipline and the mechanisms by which this subject was established within the university system. The early struggle over the theoretical shape of Film Studies took little cognizance of practical filmmaking because it concerned the issue of academic authorisation and prestige. In 2012 a network of practical film academies in the UK was established: these ‘centres of excellence’ are the National Film and Television School, the London Film School and the Screen Academy Scotland (Skillset 2012). Whannel’s original strategic decision to separate Film Studies from the practical discipline of filmmaking was thus consolidated.

This exploration of how Film Studies became established in the UK indicates that several factors were key to securing its place in the system. The most effective strategy, it could be argued, was to position the BFI lectureships in universities at a time of prosperity so that Film Studies could gain authority in the framework of academia.⁸ From this protective shelter, Film Studies was tested

⁷ Kuhn notes this is a recent development, since art gallery curators have begun to address how to present avant-garde film and digital work in the gallery space (Doherty 2011a).

⁸ However, this embedding did not filter down to second-level provision. Although the first Film Studies A Level was introduced in schools and colleges of further Education in 1972 (Bolas 2009:212), UK universities cannot require A Level Film Studies as a prerequisite for undergraduate Film Studies, as it is not uniformly available across the UK regions (Caprio 2011). Bazalgette, who worked with the education department of the BFI “for 27 years trying to get film established”, regards UK provision for Film Studies in

over time through and after the conflicts and resolutions of the 1968 era. The BFI support for the *Screen* journal until its transition to academia and the seed funding for lectureships undoubtedly anchored both *Screen* and Film Studies in the university sector.

3.6. Media Studies

This section compares Media Studies and Film Studies to discuss the obstacles faced by Media Studies when it sought to secure a position in the education system. As was shown in section 3.5., the BFI strategically targeted the university sector, awarded Film Studies lectureships and supported the *Screen* journal. From this core, a network of university Film Studies departments developed which established a body of research. The strategy for Film Studies in higher education can be considered successful on the basis of Film Studies being provided by 73 UK universities in 2009.

The Media Studies discipline in the UK university sector is less well defined. Its measure of success in the university sector depends on course aims and provision. In the 1980s when the BFI was lobbying the government for Media Studies, its education department had a staff of three advisers: two were devoted to secondary education at a time when about 200 schools offered Media Studies (Simpson 1982). Their combined effort and force could not establish Media Studies at the core of the secondary curriculum. What Durant referred to as “the hubris of a period in which the self-image of Media Studies was that of a vanguard discipline” (Durant 2000: 15) amounted to less power in the secondary system than the power held by the government and conservative educationalists.

the primary and secondary sectors as “a lamentable patchwork of unrelated schemes and funded bodies with different agendas” (Lipsett 2008).

The positioning of Media Studies in the education system concerns three lines of argumentation. Firstly, the definition and purpose of Media Studies remained unclear which led to considerable uncertainty among teachers about the delivery of the curriculum. Secondly, the insufficient endorsement from an agency meant that its reputation had less defence against attack. Thirdly, the practical skills aspect of Media Studies could be easily transformed into a vocational subject separate from its ideological purpose for social critique.

The core aim of Film Studies was to study film cultures. The aim of Media Studies, which grew out of Film Studies in the 1970s, was more broadly to demystify the media, especially television as a popular medium. A conservative approach could be “about inoculating young people against the media” and in particular against the dangers of television in order to cultivate good taste in the Leavisite mode (Hall and Whannel 1992, 1964: 24). However, according to Bazalgette, most Media Studies teachers approached the subject from positions on the political left: “media teachers saw themselves as chiselling away at the smug assumptions and neat certainties of capitalism” (Bazalgette 1992: 141). Accordingly, one of the aims of Media Studies was to politicise students to “find a voice in which they can express themselves in truly authentic ways” (Buckingham 1998: 4).

This emancipatory cause in education has a lineage of internationally renowned educationalists, including Paulo Freire, Henry Giroux, Raymond Williams and Hoggart, who passionately believed that education could bring democratic reform to society (Freire 1972; Giroux 1983, Williams 1979, Hoggart 1998). In line with this emancipatory ethos, the first and highly influential handbook for Media Studies teachers, *Teaching about Television* (Masterman 1980), emphasises the aim to demystify the media and an activist purpose:

Because the educational system is precisely the point at which mystification and alienation are woven most closely into the experience of students, it follows that the content of any course aiming at demystification must include an examination of the educational process itself. (Masterman 1980: 26)

The teaching method in Media Studies was twofold: firstly, it involved the study of television as a medium from various approaches (programme production, image representations and industry processes). Secondly, practical work required the student to produce videos with a view to offering further insights about media forms as cultural constructions (Buckingham 1987: 66). Corner argues that Television Studies in particular was hampered by the unwillingness to engage in judgemental criticism (Corner 2007: 367; Lury 2007: 371). In light of sections 3.2. and 3.3. the tendency towards a cultural critique that evaded a reductive judgement (good or bad) was largely Williams' legacy.

Media Studies did not gain the full support of a cultural agency such as the BFI that assisted the development of Film Studies. Media Studies was considered a formal area of study for the first time in 1976 when, at the BFI/SEFT conference, the BFI was asked to support a Media Studies initiative. Initially the BFI refused to extend its remit beyond Film Studies into Media Studies; nevertheless it extended support through the BFI Education Department to the Media Studies movement (Bolas 2009: 231). Despite that initial rebuff, the BFI then occasionally collaborated with other agencies to create ad hoc Media Studies initiatives in the 1980s and the 1990s. In 1983 the BFI and the London University Institute of Education jointly organised a Television and Schooling conference; in 1989 the BFI offered its first three-day event to advise A-Level Media Studies teachers. In 1992 the BFI jointly designed a MA programme in Film and TV Studies with Birkbeck College of London University (Bolas 2009: 368-369).

From the outset in the 1970s the definition of Media Studies was unclear until the vocational emphasis was established. Some promoted Media Studies as a stand-alone subject, “a specific discipline with its own spot in the school timetable” (Clarke 1986: 76). Bazalgette affiliated the subject with English for practical purposes, since English teachers already taught Media Studies (Bazalgette 1986). Corner argues that the Media Studies subject is an amalgam, “a non-unified field in which the very different modes of criticism and sociology have been brought together but, in general, not integrated” (Corner 1995: 149). In 2002, the major proponents continued to question whether they should be “trying to refocus advocacy for media education on the moving image media (...) or continuing to insist that all media education must address all media” (Bazalgette 2002: 2). While the Media Studies remit remained poorly defined, its ideological credentials were controversial but clear. Beyond its thematic focus on film and television, Media Studies consistently emphasised a left-leaning perspective. Corner comments:

How the media worked to achieve an effective level of ideological closure on contemporary consciousness in a situation of capitalist development where direct control at the point of production and/or consumption was admitted to be far from total. (Corner 1995: 150)

Although the Media Studies definition remained fuzzy, the provenance and direction of Media Studies were clear to outsiders. Because the aim was to teach school pupils about the media so that they could change society, Media Studies met with considerable resistance from government.

The effort to push Media Studies to the core of the national curriculum was hampered by lack of endorsement (Marland 1991). While the BFI provided sponsorship for Film Studies in its early phase, on the whole, the BFI proved ambivalent towards Media Studies from the late 1970s (Bolas 2009: 231). Colin

MacCabe, a former board member of *Screen* who had ousted the educationalists during the 'theory wars', remained antagonistic towards media education in his later position in the production department of the BFI in 1995. Although MacCabe had supported the joint BFI/Goldsmiths BA in Film and Television Studies, he made clear his entrenched opposition to Media Studies:

I was always opposed to the development of Media Studies, which I saw as intellectually without any rigour and destined for every kind of academic side line. (MacCabe 2000: 58)

The peculiar mix of opposition and support from the BFI, compounded by government suspicion left the subject vulnerable to attack. According to Bazalgette, regardless of whether the Tories or Labour ruled, each national government opposed progressive education such as Media Studies from the late 1970s (in interview with Doherty, 2007). In 1976 the Labour Prime Minister Callaghan created a "Great Debate" in which he argued for a core curriculum and proper national standards to boost the state economy. Radicals on the left saw this as the end of Labour's egalitarianism, since it brought education closer to state control and put the individual at the service of a capitalist state (Finn, Grant et al. 1977: 194). Ever since this point in the 1970s, British governments have continued to direct education more centrally. Conservative think tanks such as The Social Affairs Unit expressed disdain for teachers who were perceived to be too left-wing, as in Palmer's summation "there are woolly romantics who consider any form of teaching to be interfering with the 'child' and Marxistant (sic) ideologues whose appetite for outrage is boundless (Palmer 1986: 43).

When the National Curriculum was instituted in UK state schools in 1988, the government ended the funding of teacher training in non-national curriculum subjects. This closed this option for teachers because Media Studies was not a core subject. As discussed in the previous section, from the 1970s onwards the

Screen journal *Screen Education* split had already downgraded teachers' interests.⁹ The removal of specialist training provision support by governments seemed to have an impact from the 1990s onwards. Lusted reports that UK teachers needed more guidance on how to teach Media Studies at A-Level (Lusted 1992: 30). Hart's analysis of media education teaching in England showed that although secondary level enthusiasm remained, Media Studies teachers floundered without a support infrastructure (Hart 2001: 11).

The third-level university sector remained more autonomous than second level schools, but nonetheless it too suffered a backlash against Media Studies. By 1993, due to the exponential rise of Media Studies courses in schools and universities, it was regarded as "the boom subject of the nineties" (MacLeod 1993). However, constant ridiculing of Media Studies in the print media caused universities to respond. A typical example was the University of Westminster that had been the first to offer Media Studies at degree level. According to Feldman, the university's response to the perceived softness of the subject was to bury the title Media Studies (Feldman 2008). Instead of a degree in Media Studies they offered a BA in Film and Television Production or a BA in Contemporary Media Practice. Controversy continued to haunt Media Studies, the Russell group of universities decided that such subjects with a vocational bias were un-academic A-Levels (Shepherd 2011). Others respond that the metrics used by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority used to assess traditional subjects, were misapplied and practical work not accounted for in the analyses (Lipsett 2008). In the meantime, Media Studies courses continue to attract students. Media Studies was easily detached from its provenance in radical pedagogical theory and reformed as a vocational subject. The skills aspect of

⁹ One exception is the special issue on pedagogy. See *Screen* 27(5) 1986.

Media Studies informs contemporary vocational training courses for the creative industries.

The World Wide Web was launched in 1991 and grew exponentially (Berners-Lee 1999). It did not at first seem a creative visual medium since access was via a computer screen; the visual quality was poor and software experts controlled content creation. As information exchange and commercial services migrated to the Web, its functionality developed, audio-visual capabilities met expectations and it increasingly appealed to users and the creative media professions. At first the Web highlighted some deficiencies in Media Studies:

By the end of the twentieth century, Media Studies research within developed Western societies had entered a middle-aged, stodgy period and wasn't really sure what it could say about things any more. Thank goodness the Web came along. (Gauntlett 2000: 3)

Then the Web became a game changer for Media Studies. From the end of the 1990s, academic textbooks began to reflect the changing media landscape in transition from analogue to digital media (Mackay and O'Sullivan 1999; Fleming 2000; Morley 2009). Unlike the analogue media that are always technically separate, digital media are inter-operative as they have digital technologies in common. This means that shared content creation technologies developed, distribution channels were converging and the artistic creators such as animators, graphic designers and photographers, could work in collaborative teams with technical experts. American academics took a lead when they gave weight to digital media artists, scientists and media theorists (Lunenfeld 2000; Manovich 2001; Wardrip-Fruin and Montfort 2003).

Various media industries were affected by digital convergence and the Web, for example in music recording and television broadcast production, prior to the widespread adoption of digital communications, had different forms of

monopolies such as over recorded music distribution or by state regulated broadcasting. Due to the open circulation of digital media after the World Wide Web, business sectors were compelled to explore new market models to reinstate their capitalist momentum (Anderson 2006). Many professionals who had enjoyed a monopoly within their own fields now faced a crisis of identity when their materials and techniques were made freely available to amateurs on the Web. For example, the debate brought about by the digital era affects the graphic design trade, which flourished as an art and craft profession from the early 20th century but is now faced with a D.I.Y. design culture (Lupton 2006; Beegan and Atkinson 2008). In summary, the digital technologies and the Web disrupted commercial production models and offered opportunities to creative producers, it altered distribution modes and enabled public participation in the media sphere. Regardless of whether these constituted opportunities or threats to the established media order, the digital media opened a new era for media education.

This section has discussed how at first Media Studies lacked definition and institutional endorsement but survived in post-compulsory levels of education when converted into vocational subjects and renamed. The digital era revitalised Media Studies in various ways that did not necessitate a return to its ideological origins. The openness in the media sphere also affected governance. As has been noted, various governments took action to confine the activities of state schools by including and excluding educational subjects for a national curriculum. Another method for governance was required with regard to social engagement in the borderless openness of the Web sphere. In the next section I will explore how governments have attempted to regulate everyday web communications by

associating Web participation with learning through the promotion of Media Literacy.

3.7. Media Literacy

The discussion so far points to significant factors that determine whether media education initiatives succeed in securing support in the education system. The three success factors can be summarised as: a guarantor of authority, an ability to generate social capital and the contribution to stability of the system. As previously shown, the success of Film Studies was established on the backing of the BFI. Undergraduate and postgraduate degrees were then developed to produce institutional capital, and the BFI lectureships contributed to the running of the university system. Compared with Film Studies, the Media Studies strategy was relatively unsuccessful. Media Studies lacked the security of a sponsor agency, its institutional capital was devalued, and governments opposed its widespread establishment. Media Literacy differs from both Film Studies and Media Studies, since it was an initiative created by government statute. This section will discuss the rationale for government sponsored Media Literacy, its purpose and role in the field of media education. The positioning of Media Literacy can be viewed through the changing modes of governance from the modern to the late modern western society.

In the 18th century there was common belief in the direct power of literacy to produce judicious citizens. As Porter notes, “The reading eye can never be blinkered” (Porter 2001: 74). The responsibility of the British state for education was debated until the 20th century. Before this time universal education was opposed, “based on fear of an educated populace and suspicion of the motives of educators” (Lawson and Silver 1973: 235). In the 19th century education provision was haphazard and the need for literacy became pressing: “in a literate

society the *illiterate* is by definition inferior, and has a strong incentive to remove that inferiority, at least from his or her children” (Hobsbawm 2000: 226). Government intervention to create an education system was supported by the populace at the end of the 19th century. Educational reform was built on arguments for national wellbeing such as egalitarianism, health campaigns and economic prosperity.¹⁰

Towards the end of the 20th century the nation state appeared to be receding from its prominent role in society (Grenfell 2004: 149). Since the 1970s there has been a marked decline in the legitimacy of the state. Citizens are no longer willing to submit in obedience to the ruling authorities (Hobsbawm 2007: 37). Consequently, when the World Wide Web was released into the public domain, the predisposition of citizens in western countries was to grasp individual opportunities without recourse to the rules of and obligations to their nation state. Indeed, its inventor Timothy Berners-Lee insisted that the Web was designed to be universal, individual and unregulated as “control was the wrong perspective (...) its being ‘out of control’ was very important” (Berners-Lee 1999: 106). By the end of the 20th century, national governments in the UK, as in many other countries internationally, had the ability to regulate social communication among the populace. However, at the end of the 20th century, citizens who communicated through the networks of the World Wide Web were no longer subject to national regulations since the Web was a stateless sphere of activity.

¹⁰ The type of power found in the state education system, Foucault argues, can be considered a form of pastoral power. The pastoral role was gradually adopted by the state as church institutions conceded their authority from the eighteenth century era of rationalism onwards. Modern governments now delegate pastoral power to state institutions that provide wellbeing and protection. The application of legal rules that would represent a raw and violent form of power is less preferable than power by mutual consent in modern liberal societies. The effect of pastoral power is to create an individualised society in which individuals give universal consent to discreet rather than overt governance (Foucault 1982).

The recourse to recover power for the nation state in the early part of the 21st century, it seemed, was the creation of state partnerships to collectively protect their territories. The European Union could act to reinstate national safeguards in exchange for some loss of individual national sovereignty:

The paradox is that, in the contemporary world, nationalist or isolationist thinking can be the worst enemy of the nation or its interests. The EU is an arena where formal sovereignty can be exchanged for real power, national cultures nurtured and economic success improved. (Giddens 2007:232)

However in the long-term, this clustering of interests may not be a workable solution for the problem of governance faced by the nation state in the 21st century era of globalisation, since global networks are not confined within geopolitical clusters. As Castells explains, networks are the “new morphology of our societies” and their communication flows have no boundaries (Castells 2000: 441-443). It is precisely the apparent disempowerment of the nation state as a result of the World Wide Web that sets the scene for the development of Media Literacy.

The definition of Media Literacy from the European Commission is as follows:

Media Literacy is generally defined as the ability to access the media, to understand and to critically evaluate different aspects of the media and media contents and to create communications in a variety of contexts. (EU Commission 2007)

The European Parliament subsequently adopted this core definition to guide its measures on citizenship, culture and empowerment in the digital era (EU Parliament 2008). In the United Kingdom, the remit for Media Literacy was imposed on Ofcom, the communications regulator, through the Communications Act of 2003 (UK Government 2003). Ofcom’s definition of Media Literacy for the UK differs from the European Commission’s definition in three respects. Ofcom

places more emphasis on skills, on protection from risks, and the reference to 'critically evaluate' is missing:

Media Literacy enables people to have the skills, knowledge and understanding to make full use of the opportunities presented by both traditional and new communications services. Media Literacy also helps people to manage content and communications, and protect themselves and their families from the potential risks associated with using these services. (Ofcom 2011)

The positioning of Media Literacy in a regulatory framework in the UK and its particular definition indicates the ideological expectations for Media Literacy. Although literacy is a longstanding tradition in the education system, Media Literacy development has become the responsibility of a regulator. Therefore, Media Literacy is to be found in diverse areas of society as part of citizenship skills in schools (anti cyber-bullying), in community education (Silver Surfers), in public service aspects of the media (BBC WebWise), and it is sponsored by commercial organisations (Media Smart). These various examples indicate that the stakeholders in Media Literacy are schools, communities, parents, businesses and agencies of governance. The profile of Media Literacy in society suggests that the tradition of 'literacy' is an unnecessary adjunct; it confines literacy to mere skills and acculturation to social customs. There is concern that, as a new subject in education, Media Literacy and the associated digital media is an area of increasing commercial interest that is being requisitioned for vocational training, thereby failing to address the cultural impact of the media on young people's lives (Buckingham 2007: 17).

At the end of the 1990s, the British government instigated a number of enquiries into the perceived problem of representations of sex and gratuitous violence in the media. Advisors in the BFI, through their consultation work, were reliably informed that the government response would be a Media Literacy

section in the forthcoming Communications Act. Since there was a tradition of government hostility towards Media Studies in Britain, the prevailing approach in the United States to use Media Literacy to protect people from media harm was seized upon.¹¹ Bazalgette saw this as a return back to the conservative ‘inoculation’ approach that had been successfully replaced by the more progressive critical analysis decades ago. In her view, because the education system was sidestepped in favour of the regulatory body, Media Literacy “had to be re-written into regulator-speak” that controls the media and protects citizens in the nation state (in interview with Doherty 2007).

Although established media educationalists represented Media Literacy as a means of empowerment and critical analysis, the core of the project had already been reoriented towards the protectionist agenda. Further, Ofcom has no remit for culture and its only metrics of achievement are consumer statistics. In this regard Ofcom and the European Commission are similar agencies that aspire to develop national prosperity through industry (Harvey 2006). *Digital Britain* was one such initiative that bound the national economy to a modern view of

¹¹ The EU and the United States have different approaches to culture and media in education. Kubey argues that in the United States education system there is a lower tolerance for left-wing oriented themes (Kubey 2003: 360). For example, Cultural Studies was brought from Great Britain to the US higher education system. At first the discipline carried over the influence of the New Left from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Subsequently, the left-wing ideology was muted and marginalised so that only a tempered form of the British school of Cultural Studies could survive (Schulman 1993). A comparison of media education in the school system in the United States with provisions in the United Kingdom shows that in the US the politics of local schools, disempowerment of teachers and a disinclination to take popular media seriously inhibit the range of approaches to media education (Kubey 2003: 357). Jenkins is the major exponent of empowerment (Jenkins 2007). Hobbs argues that Media Literacy in the United States has tended towards the conservative risk and protection agenda and that parents do not what happens in education for social empowerment (Hobbs 1998:21). While there have been attempts to reconcile protectionist and empowerment wings of the movement (Hobbs and Jensen 2009), the debate continues about whether an ideological pull has taken Media Literacy to the conservative right or the centre left (Potter 2010; Hobbs 2011).

citizenship for “a new level of participation, for a competitive digital knowledge economy and a modern democratic and fair 21st century society” (Government UK 2009: 28). In light of this, the Media Literacy project in Great Britain can be interpreted as a government initiative to establish a universalising form of governance. Backed by the government as the supervening field of power, Media Literacy presented as pastoral care offers the promise of the new public good by means of the right to participate responsibly in the digital domain.

3.8. Conclusion

This discussion has noted that across the decades as the academic sphere settled after 1968, British governments became increasingly intolerant of Marxism or overt left-wing activities in schools and universities. An organisation such as the CCCS might have survived since its research output suggested the likelihood of better research ratings. Arguably, the University of Birmingham could have enhanced its international reputation through the esteem accrued by the particular brand of British Cultural Studies. However, the university’s response to the RAE judgement was surprisingly harsh as the CCCS was extinguished by, what Webster called, an “inexperienced ‘macho management’” (Webster 2004: 2). In retrospect, Stuart Hall doubted that a settlement between the CCCS and the university could have been reached because of the ideological incongruence. By the end of the 20th century increased marketisation of education and the demands of research exercises to conform to conventional specifications excluded unconventional activities in education. Hall’s retrospective analysis was that the university system had been forced into change by the larger and much more powerful field of government. He stated the case with great emphasis:

The university has become so much more marketised and entrepreneurialised, and graduate research – which at the time was very under-

developed and un-regulated – has become almost intolerably bureaucratic, in ways which are structurally hostile to the open, interrogative, inquisitive kind of intellectual environment which the Centre attempted for a time to create and sustain. (Hall 2007: xiv)

Although the CCCS was shutdown, Cultural Studies subsequently expanded across the world in various universities, mainly through its postgraduates occupying academic positions. It became notable particularly in the United States that, when Cultural Studies migrated, its left-wing rationale was toned-down (Schulman 1993). The principles demonstrated by the creation of Cultural Studies as the formation of a new subject in the education system will link to how other subject areas were managed in the British education system.

The discussion of the media education subjects of Film Studies, Media Studies and Media Literacy explored different levels of legitimisation within the education system. In Great Britain, the study of film in education began with the self-assured idea that film could be an extension of arts appreciation and literary education to produce better citizens. The disruptive events of 1968 provided an opportunity for the university student generation to incorporate film and cinema into education in new ways. Their revolutionary approach drew from European thinkers in the ambition to formulate a theory for the discipline of Film Study. This was also a period of faction fighting and the alienation of key constituencies within the field. The main vehicle for the formulation and dissemination of theoretical approaches was the journal *Screen*, which was directed by the SEFT group and financed by the BFI. It was observed that the BFI was a committed but partial benefactor, as it deployed conservative forces to oppose the SEFT group for its involvement with Marxism and Semiotics, while also funding lectureships to foster Film Studies in British universities. The incorporation of Film Studies was fully realised after SEFT was disbanded by the BFI in the 1990s. By this time many SEFT members had moved into professional roles in education and *Screen* was

now published under the auspices of the University of Glasgow and Oxford University Press. *Screen* continued to be the driver that directed the field of Film Studies. Its editorial board and associates considered the 1990s to be a time of reconciliation within the education system.

Whereas Film Studies succeeded to claim a place of academic esteem in the field of media education, Media Studies was less successful. Most of the effort to position Media Studies was aimed at the secondary education system. As was discussed in the previous section, the insecure existence of Media Studies was derived from the combination of its unclear curriculum focus, its exclusion from the compulsory core subject areas and its prevarication about whether to remain a single subject. While Media Studies was a thriving subject in Higher Education in the 1990s, it was strongly opposed by conservatives through satirical criticism in the public media. By the millennium, the Media Studies title was self-censored in universities, and the practical dimension for vocational training in Media Studies was picked up to support the creative industries. The outcome was that Media Studies bifurcated into a cohort in the University sector and a different part into government-funded and industry-sponsored vocational training provision.

Media Literacy is the most recent constituent in the media education sphere. At first consideration, the aims of Media Literacy to provide functional skills and a working understanding of the digital media seem straightforward in comparison with the other aspects of media education discussed in this chapter. However, there are different and opposing, ideological approaches to its purpose. The main debates within Media Literacy discussions concentrate on empowerment or protection. One view is that the Media Literacy initiative should enable people to use the digital sphere however they wish. The contrasting view is that

Media Literacy is a means of protecting vulnerable sectors of the population that are at risk in the networks of digital communications. This debate can also be observed as a tension between those cultures of education in the EU, which tend towards a liberal approach, and the United States which veers towards conservatism. Moreover, the most prominent feature of Media Literacy in the UK is the anomalous situation in which the national communications regulator has a statutory responsibility to develop the educational initiative Media Literacy. As this model has been adopted in other EU countries, such as Ireland, it can be argued that there is a trend towards Media Literacy that establishes a new template for governance in education.

4. Methodology

Historians will be able to track the development of opinions and ideas through study of the words and phrases that refer to them. (Atkins et. al 1992: 2)

4.1. Question, Method and Material

Using corpus analysis as the empirical technique, this study provides in-depth analysis of media education within a Bourdieusian framework. Although his concepts have had significant impact on Cultural Studies, the empirical method that, according to Bourdieu, should underpin the research process has not been widely adopted. My study therefore adopts and integrates the empirical approach of corpus analysis within Bourdieu's framework of social systems to formulate an innovative model of research in the field of media education.

The research procedure adopted for the purposes of this study incorporates a mixed method of qualitative and quantitative analysis. In the pursuit of the most effective enquiry into changes within media education, I developed a cohesive approach from a number of options. Although the decision-making process is, in reality, iterative rather than linear, the methodological process can be separated into three steps: the formulation of the research question, the combination of a suitable theoretical and empirical approach; and the application of the method to a corpus by means of systematic data analysis and interpretation.

The use of the word *text* will occur in three different modes in this chapter. First, there is the common designation of books and journals as text. A second meaning derives from Bourdieu's understanding of published text as authorised mode of expression in society's value system. The third type of text consists in the formation of a corpus as the object of empirical analysis for my study.

The term *value* is also discussed in different ways; the two broad meanings differentiate between theoretical value and empirical value. In the theoretical framework, derived from Bourdieu, value relates to various forms of cultural capital, including academic capital. In this approach, the value of an academic journal is related to a system of capital based on its power to create meaning in publication. In contrast, value also has a level of factual measurement, which is produced by a mathematical calculation. Since in all cases symbolic value has a socially agreed significance, the worth of any value is subject to change.¹

This study aims to systematically observe the changing values in media education over time. Norbert Elias' definition of time as a means of orienteering the space between positions is apposite to this study:

Time is an expression of the fact that people try to define positions, the duration of intervals, the speed of changes and suchlike in this flow for the purpose of orientation. (Elias, 1992:36)

The unit of measurement is a temporal interval: in this study a year is taken to be "what counts as a criterion of meaning change" (Teichmann, 1995: 96).

Section 4.1. demonstrates how the research question was generated and outlines the type of text selected for study. Section 4.2. discusses how the theoretical framework will be used to interpret the corpus findings. Section 4.3. outlines the Bourdieusian concept of capital. The chapter ends, in section 4.4. with reflections on the limitations and advantages of the methodological design. Findings from the empirical analysis will be presented in Chapter 5 and discussed in Chapter 6.

¹ Bourdieu presented the social working of this dynamic in his esteemed publication *Distinction* (Bourdieu 1984).

This section presents how the topic is considered and the means by which problems of method are resolved. Section 4.1.1. situates the research question and section 4.1.2. indicates various methodological choices. Section 4.1.3. determines why text is a suitable format for the study; and section 4.1.4. outlines the corpus analysis method. Having specified the method, section 4.1.5. analyses forms of text that may be suitable for study. Those considered are interviews in 4.1.5.1.; curriculum documents and policy papers in 4.1.5.2. and books and journals in 4.1.5.3.

Figure 3 shows how the research question is linked to a theoretical framework which motivates the empirical method. This structure is the foundation for a systematic procedure geared to analyse study findings in a discussion informed by theoretical concepts.

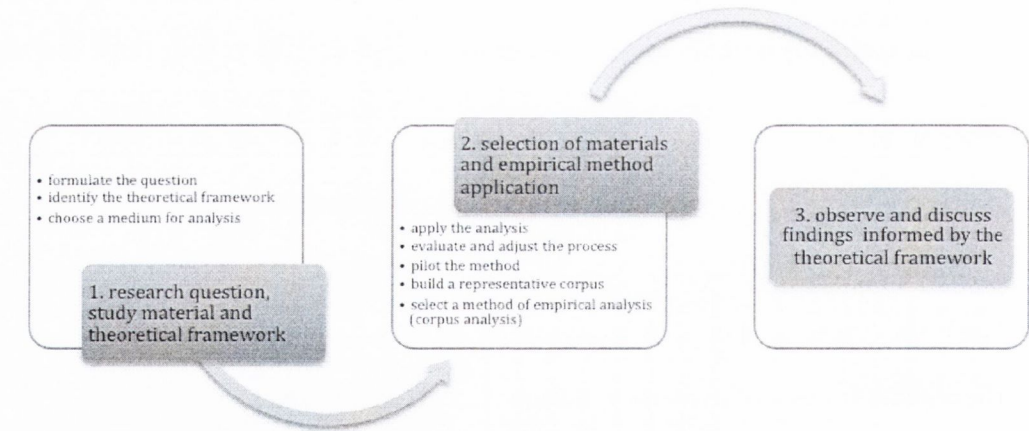


Figure 3 Research Process: Three-Stage Structure

4.1.1. The Research Question

This study analyses substantial change in media education over time. I investigate how media education responded to the widespread adoption of the World Wide Web. The first stage of the research method was to establish this research question.

This research refers to a period of social change at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. As observed in Chapter 3, the standard curriculum for media education established in the 1970s was founded on a Marxist-oriented approach to theorising the popular media of film and television. Towards the end of the 20th century in Europe, the ascendancy of neo-liberal politics thwarted Marxist and left-wing ambitions. At the same time, the emergence of digital media disrupted the established role of mass media in industry and popular culture. The World Wide Web was devised as an unregulated space based on “arranging ideas in an unconstrained, weblike way” (Berners Lee 1999: 3). This innovative communications space offered a contrary approach to the regulated conventions for published and broadcast media. Thus, from an early stage academics were speculating on its promise of a new communications revolution. The communications sociologist Manuel Castells suggested that the impact of the Web could be compared with the invention of an alphabet for writing:

A technological transformation of similar historic dimensions is taking place 2,700 years later, namely the integration of various modes of communication into an interactive network. (Castells 2000: 356)

Situated in this socio-historical context of the Web media space as a new place for communication, my research question is: how did media education deal with and respond to the widespread adoption of the World Wide Web? As there is no evidence of research that analyses change in media education at this time, this study takes up the challenge to generate knowledge about change in this particular field. The establishment of this research question generates a question about finding a method to define and analyse change in media education within a suitable study timeframe.

This study is a response to the social impact of new modes of communication that manifested itself towards the end of the 20th century. Evidence that altered

communication systems are having a significant impact can be found in discussions and statements in the public domain. Teubert explains the value of observing society through the symbolic acts of language:

Society becomes an object of observation and reflection at the very moment when people's interaction becomes symbolic, when acts carried out have acquired a meaning, a meaning which has been discussed, interpreted and reflected upon by the people and a certain consensus (which may not be comprehensive) has been reached. (Teubert 2010: 122)

The medium of text is a more reliable form of evidence than oral discussions; when meaning is expressed in oral language it disappears unless it is recorded. In contrast, when social exchange is published in written text, the documentary evidence is preserved in its original form. A symbolically important indication of change in society is the UK Communications Act of 2003, which was the first statute in the UK to require the development of (digital) Media Literacy. Thus, the year 2003 indicates a symbolic stage within the digital era time frame that contains evidence of the relationship between media education and digital media in wider society. Finding another point that relates to a rift of social change connected with digital media will guide the duration to be studied. The year 1991 when the World Wide Web was launched into the public sphere is another significant marker of social change. It is therefore reasonable to locate research into the widespread impact of digital media in British society that includes the Web launch in 1991 and the UK Communications Act of 2003.

Having identified a span that will contain the social impact of digital media, the next stage will be to consider the material and a method suited to my analysis of change in media education.

4.1.2. A Suitable Method

This section gives an overview of selected approaches to research, the decision to choose text as the study medium and corpus analysis as a method of analysing text. It is rational to assume that it is not possible to find a position of complete objectivity. Further, some personal experience can help to illuminate the object of study. As Widdowson states: “All enquiry is partial, and each partiality has things of interest to reveal” (Widdowson 2000: 23).

While the corpus is subjectively chosen, the corpus analysis is an empirical process. In this rubric, the corpus is perceived as a text object that is processed as data by a computer software programme. The software programme I have chosen is Wordsmith Tools, Version 5 (Scott 2008a) for finding word patterns in corpus text. After the data patterns have been identified, a hermeneutic analysis of the empirical findings will be undertaken. Thornbury explains the difference between the empirical findings that constitute a description of data patterns and the personal understanding required to interpret and explain those findings:

The descriptive findings are generated by searching for particular discourse features in a corpus – typically a collection of texts of a specific register, but possibly a single extended text, such as a textbook or a novel – using computational means. Explaining the frequency, significance and use of these features generally involves reference to context, either the immediate co-textual environment or to other texts or corpora of texts. (Thornbury 2010: 271)

Having established the research question, the study timeframe and the broad purpose of analysing text, while contemplating the specifics of the analytical method, an outline of the research design can be sketched. At this stage it is useful to gather the most pertinent aspects of the planned method using a modified version of Creswell’s schematic overview of research design as shown in Figure 4 below (Creswell 2009: 5).

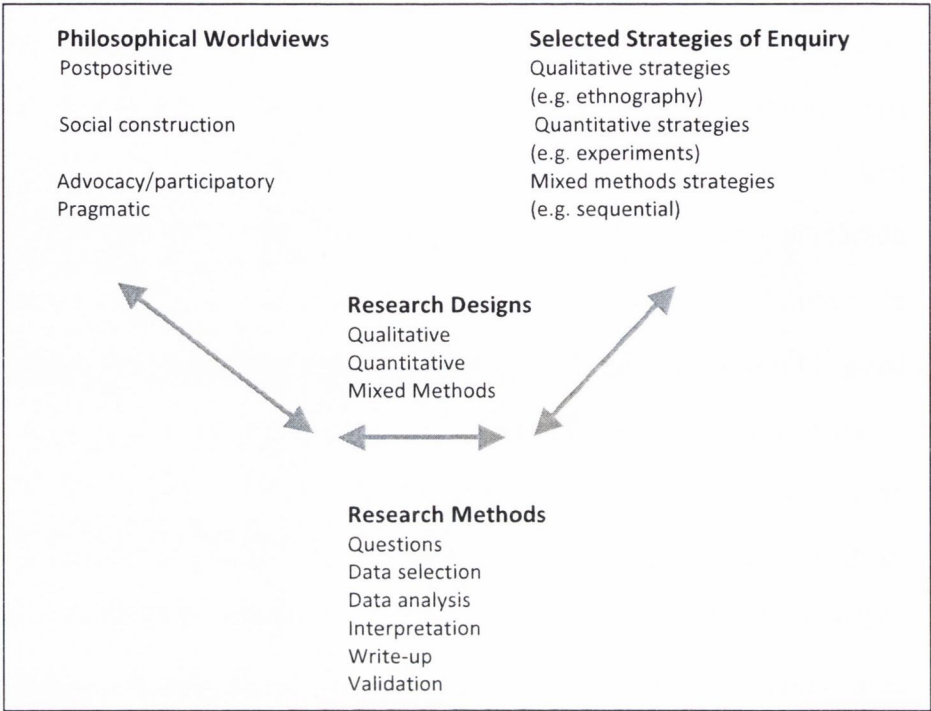


Figure 4 Creswell's Framework for Research Design

With reference to Creswell's model, this research will adopt a *Philosophical Worldview* about social systems from Pierre Bourdieu; the *Selected Strategies of Enquiry* and *Research Design* will be drawn from the mixed methods of theoretical and empirical procedures that blend qualitative and quantitative analysis. The *Research Method* that seems suited to the proposed study using text as the symbolic material is corpus analysis. A rationale for why corpus analysis seems suitable is that text is the evidence of social communication and new tools have been developed to analyse text when it is formatted as a study corpus.

It is relevant to the formulation of the method for this study that Creswell draws attention to the relationship between technological advances, the material for study and methods used. As new techniques become practicable, strategies of enquiry for this study can take different directions from previous academic research. As Creswell notes:

The strategies available to the researcher have grown over the years as computer technology has pushed forward our data analysis and ability to analyse complex models and as individuals have articulated new procedures for conducting social science research. (Creswell 2009: 11)

Towards the end of the 20th century computer software was devised to empirically analyse vast quantities of text compared with the pre-digital analogue era. The corpus research method uses the new capabilities of computer technologies that enable the storage and retrieval of large amounts of language data. As a result of this, recent studies have used computer assisted corpus analysis to research topics such as language acquisition, grammar and ideology (O'Keeffe 2010).² However, to date there is no study that applies the empirical method of corpus analysis to media education. My study thus offers an original contribution to knowledge about media education using corpus research.

4.1.3. Text and Meaning

This section addresses the methodological approach to text as a medium for observing and interpreting meaning. The aim of the study is to analyse changing patterns of meaning over time. Meaning is apprehended in and through text, meaning is negotiated in the process of reading and in the context of other texts; as such meaning is not fixed solely by the intention of the author. Studying social communication is more systematic when the symbolic medium is preserved in the form of printed text rather than referring to oral communication, which is transient and ephemeral. However, it is important to note for the work of inter-

² A list of theses and other research using corpus analysis is archived on the WordSmith Tools website. See

http://www.lexically.net/wordsmith/corpus_linguistics_links/theses_using_wordsmith.htm

preting corpus findings about text that meaning is not something locked in the text to be released mechanistically. Teubert and Krishnamurthy emphasise three characteristics of the relationship between text and meaning that are insightful for this research method. Foremost, meaning is not fixed in text but renegotiated upon reading. Since meaning is renegotiated with each new reading, text is independent of the author's intention. Thirdly, a text always exists in a relationship to other texts. As Teubert and Krishnamurthy argue:

A written text is not a mirror of what we jointly experience, nor is it the expression of a speaker's intentions. The content of a text is its meaning. This meaning is the ways in which the text is like, or different from, all other texts. (Teubert 2007: 155)

The basis of corpus analysis is the analysis of written text to interpret meaning and this research method applied to a humanities subject requires some resolution of the uneasy relationship between the cultures of the sciences and the humanities.

In the standard corpus linguistics procedure text is first objectified as empirical data and then re-approached in the more subjective mode to interpret the data. Hunston observes:

This differentiates a corpus from a library or an electronic archive. The corpus is stored in such a way that it can be studied non-linearly, and both quantitatively and qualitatively. (Hunston 2002: 2)

As corpus analysis is a method for analysing text as the material for empirical analysis, the next section outlines how the text is approached.

4.1.4. Corpus Analysis

A corpus is a compilation of text that is derived from naturally occurring language that is selected for study. Clear summarises why corpus analysis can be advantageous:

“The essential benefit from a corpus for all language study is the access to many instances of words in their natural context. Consequently, the essential methodology of corpus linguists is to observe, to describe and to make generalisations about language in use. (Clear 1993: 171)

Corpus study can be traced from the manual analysis of the Bible as corpus in the 13th century to computer based corpus analysis in the present (O'Keeffe and McCarthy 2010: 3). In the 20th century “computer corpora began to be collected during the 1960s when the emerging technology made such a venture possible” (Clear 1993: 164) The word corpus is now almost exclusively “reserved for collections of texts (or parts of text) that are stored and accessed electronically” (Hunston 2002: 2). Computerisation presents an opportunity to analyse increasingly large amounts of textual data using customised software systems. Present-day corpus analysis could be understood as the study of language in the form of text using computer software to observe patterns of use. In the 1990s when the use of computers had become commonly available, it was considered that this method constituted a “computer corpus linguistics” (Leech 1992: 106) to systematically generate empirical data for qualitative and quantitative analysis. Delany and Landow claimed that this new computer assisted corpus analysis could lead to new avenues of knowledge about texts:

The manipulability of the scholarly text, which derives from the ability of computers to search databases with enormous speed, also permits full-text searches, printed and dynamic concordances, and other kinds of processing that allow scholars in the humanities to ask new kinds of questions. (Delany and Landow 1992: 13)

Regardless of whether the analysis of the corpus involves a computer or not, Chapman correctly reasons: “The unwritten assumption here is that, for the corpus linguist, facts about the corpus data are ‘facts about the language’” (Chapman 2008: 165). This specialisation has led to a differentiation of the function of the corpus and the role of the text. Sinclair compares them as

follows: “The essence of the corpus as against the text is that you do not observe it directly; instead you use tools of indirect observation” (Sinclair 2004: 189). This means that the corpus is first analysed by computer software as data and then the researcher is needed to interpret the findings.

Computers are capable of processing large amounts of data, and the amount of text needed for pattern recognition is indeed large. Hunston explains, “subtlety of usage is difficult to intuit, and is observable only when a lot of evidence is seen together so that the pattern emerges” (Hunston 2002: 12). As a result, corpus analysis offers a method that is suited to investigating a large amount of text and is particularly useful for discovering patterns of meaning in a corpus that might otherwise go undetected.

Researchers use corpus analysis for a wide variety of purposes, from a theoretical interest in language structures to forensic linguistics for language profiling that is admissible as evidence in courts of law. Closer in theme to this investigative brief are important research studies that have used corpus analysis to address topics such as media discourse (O’Keeffe 2006) and education policy (Mulderigg 2009). However, the aim of this research study is unique, as it uses the corpus analysis method to investigate media education.

Prior to selecting text for the corpus, there is the question of corpus representativeness. In Biber’s view the corpus ought to be as representative as possible, since “representativeness refers to the extent to which a sample includes the full range of variability in a population” (Biber 1993: 135). The logical problem with Biber’s statement is that it suggests the gathering of a complete set of variables. The problem of representativeness cannot be completely overcome. There is general agreement that complete representativeness is not possible, in the words of Sue Atkins:

All samples are biased in some way. Indeed the sampling problem is precisely that a corpus is inevitably biased in some respects (...) collection of a representative sample of total language production is not feasible" (Atkins et. al. 1992: 5).

One approach to the impasse of representativeness is from Williams who flips the angle of approach. He argues that we need demonstrate what the corpus represents to know the object of study:

It is generally accepted that true representativeness is illusory (...). What is being sought is not so much the ability to claim that a specialist corpus is representative but to demonstrate what it represents. (Williams 2002: 326-327)

Nelson adds that although the corpus will be biased to a greater or lesser extent, corpus building decisions are still to be taken "despite the difficulties, sampling is still necessary. We need to determine how many samples will be representative, how big the samples should be, and what kind of samples to use (full text or extracts)" (Nelson 2010: 57). Atkins and Rundell propose a practical solution, they suggest that, in order to break out of a circular mode of confirming patterns that have been subjectively selected by the researcher's own criteria, "the more usual corpus design model, therefore, is based on *external* design criteria" (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 68). In this study of media education my selection of journals is based on editorial claims about expertise in the broad field of media education. The articles contained in these journals reflect a process of selection by editors and peer reviewers whose role is to shape the field.

While we can know what a corpus represents retrospectively, decisions are required before and during the building process to judge when the corpus is sufficiently complete and the study can begin. Hoffman's mirror analogy suggests that building a corpus requires the skills to recognise what it mirrors and the ability to adjust its angle to reflect most clearly upon the topic:

Although a corpus is only a (potentially quite small) subset of what it is supposed to represent, its function is to mirror the whole in such a way that linguists can use it to say something about the language variety that was sampled: observations on the basis of corpus data are generalized back to the whole from which the corpus was originally selected. (Hoffmann 2008: 13-14)

The corpus content for my study should be sufficiently representative to reflect the field as the text selection criteria are based on significant external factors: the time frame of digital communications innovation in society, a suitably limited choice of UK specialist journals and the journal text that is contributed by many authors based on editorial selection according to the journal's approach to media education.

As a result of this exploration of the problem of representativeness, the strategy for this study, that will be covered in the next section 4.1.5., is that academic journals will be sought that are broadly representative of the cross-section of subjects of media education in the timeframe from before the launch of the Web to after the establishment of media literacy. At the outset the aim will be to gather sufficient text for the purpose of analysis within the timeframe rather than deciding in advance to aim for a large mass of data. McCarthy and Carter recommend the integration of quantitative and qualitative analysis through "a qualitative analysis, a process that can mean a lot of detailed screen-by-screen, context-by-context study and evaluation, should complement the broader quantitative analysis generated by larger corpora and statistical programmes (McCarthy and Carter 2001: 338).

Having decided upon corpus analysis as the empirical method, chosen the reflective research mode to interpret media education text, establishing a time frame and finding material that is to a large extent the result of external selection, the next stage presents how the decision to select journals was formed.

4.1.5. Selecting Study Material

The following sections present an overview of the text sources explored to identify representative text for the media education corpus. These are interviews and questionnaires in 4.1.5.1. curriculum documents and policy papers in 4.1.5.2 and published books and academic journals in 4.1.5.3. Section 4.2. follows with a discussion of how the Bourdieusian framework will inform the interpretation of the empirical analysis of the selected text corpus.

4.1.5.1. Interviews

I conducted personal interviews with a number of expert commentators and media educationalists to source information for this study.³ The rationale for deciding not to use the interview method was based on the problem of achieving consistency of input from different sources. Although the interviews produced useful insights, and interviewees were generous with time and information, some of the interviewees did not wish to have their discussions put on record. Gathering source information from people by means of interviews proved not to be a suitable basis of obtaining research material for this study.

4.1.5.2. Curriculum and Policy

Turning to published text considered for analysis, one category is curriculum documents and policy papers. From these, one could investigate course content and the subsequent learning experience as educational intention and practice. However, such a research strategy would require analysis of the practicalities of

³ Interviewees were Cary Bazalgette of the (British Film Institute), the late Michael Green of the (Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies), Jacky Stacey and Annette Kuhn (Screen), Julia Knight (Convergence), Fiona Lennox (Ofcom, Media Literacy Bulletin), media literacy experts (Media Literacy Expert Group, European Union) and international independent broadcast producers (INPUT).

change through curriculum statements compared with actual learning experience. This would seem to require incorporating some variables that are not directly related to the research question.

Educational policy papers are often written or mediated by government officials. In this case, policy text authored by media educationalists would need to be identified and separated out for analysis, which would be an unreliable method of identifying source material for the study of change in the field.

4.1.5.3. Books and Journals

A likely source of text for corpus analysis is published books. An advantage of the book format is that its subject material should remain relevant over a long period of time. However, regarding this research, the problem with the book is the long interval between the author's research and writing phase for the standard 150-page text and consequently its publication years later. As this research is undertaken with contemporary text, the temporal reference points in books are not sufficiently up-to-date.

Having investigated different types of published text that could form a corpus, academic journals now seem a likely source of data. While an edited journal should be as authoritative as the academic book, the advantage of journals over books for research linked to contemporary events is that journal content is more recent. Moreover, the dominant book form is the monograph whereas, for this study, journal text has the advantage of representing a community in dialogue rather than single subject authorship. The outcome of this survey of text has established that the journal is a good source of evidence for changing trends in the field of media education. Journals are particularly meaningful as evidence of symbolic discussions among a community of media educationalists whose

various contributions combine to shape the field of interest to my research question about change in media education.

Surveying the specialist academic journals in media education, *Screen* has the strongest claim to being the source of film and media education, as it has been continuously published for more than fifty years. Its publishing credentials are persuasive from a lineage with the British Film Institute and its current publisher Oxford Journals (Oxford University Press) is a prestige publisher. *Screen* provides gravitas, but *Screen* text would be insufficient as a corpus on its own, as its scope is weighted towards film and television study. Another journal is required to establish relationships in the field. *Screen* is a UK based journal and, so that language and expression does not become a variable in the analysis, other journals should originate in the United Kingdom. Digital media is the recent non-traditional aspect of media education that should provide comparison for relationship positions. The journal *Convergence*, which has been published since 1995, by the esteemed publisher Sage Journals, is dedicated to the academic research of new media technologies in social, political and pedagogic aspects. Consequently journal text from *Screen* and *Convergence* can strongly contribute to a corpus analysis of media education. However, an overview of these two journals reveals an underrepresentation in the sampling from a lack of representation of the most recent media education topic, which is Media Literacy. Media Literacy became an important feature of the media education landscape as a statutory requirement in the United Kingdom in 2003. To compensate for a deficit in this area, the most relevant publication available at the time of research was the *Media Literacy Bulletin*.

While its source is in the UK, *Media Literacy Bulletin* differs from the traditional academic journal because it is published and edited by Ofcom, which

is the communications and broadcast industry regulator for the British government. Its content for information listings and regulatory information differs from the academic register; however, there are also feature articles and discussions by media education academics. This links to interests common to the academic journals that have already been chosen. Although there are arguments for and against on the basis of academic similarity, *Media Literacy Bulletin* is chosen to augment the media education corpus as the only consistently published Media Literacy periodical of comparable standing with academic journals available for the study.

Therefore, the study corpus of media education comprises text from *Screen*, *Convergence* and the *Media Literacy Bulletin*. The importance of the corpus content sourced from UK publications is discussed as part of the corpus building process in section 4.3.4.

The previous sections presented how the research question was formulated to direct an investigation of change in media education after the digital media era. The investigative method of corpus analysis was summarised and the problem of representativeness recognised and somewhat resolved. Having instigated a search for suitable text format it was concluded that academic journals are the preferred text type. The first selection of *Screen* and *Convergence* seemed an ideal set for investigating relationships and change within the media education covering the areas of film, television and digital media. Having found a clear deficit in the area of media literacy, the *Media Literacy Bulletin* was incorporated into the corpus to complete what the corpus should broadly contain. Findings from the corpus analysis will be interpreted within a Bourdieusian framework.

4.2. Selecting the Framework

My brief is to investigate change in media education. The method selected should be the most suited to analyse change in that chosen sector. In this section, three different approaches are summarised to establish contiguous methodological choices. The hermeneutic method does not offer a complete solution to interpreting a text objectively, the social experience analysis would be hampered by interpersonal conflict and the Critical Discourse Analysis approach (CDA) requires the prior diagnosis of a social problem. In the light of this, a Bourdieusian framework offers the best methodological response to the research question.

Film Studies in media education has developed a tradition in the hermeneutic method of analysis that is not suited to this research. In Film Studies, a film production is considered the equivalent of a printed text to be read and interpreted in the context of other film texts and film theory. The analysis may be formulated with reference to broader theoretical perspectives, social philosophies (such as Marxism and the Frankfurt School) that informed the Birmingham School. Another theoretical approach adopts recent philosophical theories, often from European thinkers, such as Deleuze, on film as a symbolic system in society (Deleuze 1985). On occasion when film theorists do adopt a Bourdieusian method, the tendency is to prioritise the theoretical analysis over the empirical aspects (Heise and Tudor 2007). In overview, the hermeneutic method from Film Studies and Media Studies does not offer a self-reflective objectivity about media education texts as the object of study.

A contrasting approach from media research is to analyse people's media experience, based on a social sciences approach to data gathering. This method is exemplified by the research led by Sonia Livingstone (Livingstone 2005). In this method, empirical findings are often generated as guidance for directing public

policy. Here there is a strong motivating connection between academic activity and public policy.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) seems a closer match to the requirements of the research question. CDA commonly uses corpus analysis as a social science research method to gather data about social trends from documented evidence. CDA is driven to expose social bias inscribed in the ideological traits of language use, such as in political discourse (Fairclough 2000). However, this method of research is incompatible with the open-ended question of change in media education. Sinclair and Carter argue that the problem with CDA is that its claim to objectivity is counteracted by a prior judgement about the research topic problem that brings an ideological bias to the interpretation of evidence (Sinclair 2004: 120).

Three different approaches have been chosen to illustrate research methods in the media sphere and to indicate the shortcomings of some of these methods in relation to the research question. Chapter 2 argued that a Bourdieusian framework seems more suited to the requirements of the research question. It offers a theoretical framework for investigating change in media education based on empirical work (a corpus analysis of journals). Bourdieu's strength, in Jenkin's words, is that "his epistemological critique informs and is informed by his theoretical emphasis upon practice, on the one hand, and his choices of method and experience of research, on the other" (Jenkins 1992: 61).

As the aim of this research is to observe the field dynamic in the symbolic communication system materialised in text, the next section deals with text and its role in publishing.

4.2.1. Language, Text and Journal

Having decided to conceptualise the study object as a field of power, the next stage was to identify journals through which systems of power can be analysed and observed. This section discusses the function of language as symbolic power in the form of published text in the domain of academic journal publishing.

Bourdieu used the term ‘misrecognition’ for the inability to see social reality as construction. This is particularly evident in the assumption that language as natural so that in Bourdieu’s view, language presents “the most radical form of misrecognition” (Bourdieu 1977: 170). Founded on this theoretical principle, different types of language value can be understood as the creation of value in the social system.

As a communications medium, text is a system of symbols formed from a typographic medium to store language for interpretative reading at another time. Text also has a social value. Published text tends to acquire authority in the social sphere. Since some publications are considered more authoritative than others, it is important to analyse how this hierarchy is established to understand the valuation mechanisms that apply to other cases. Bourdieu emphasises that the source of authority acquired by certain publications does not derive from intrinsic content but from a level of authority granted to it as agreed by authoritative field participants. It follows that if a publication has a high level of value in any field then it has been authorised to rise to that value level:

Because any language that can command attention is an “authorised language”, invested with the authority of a group, the things it designates are not simply expressed but also authorized and legitimated. (Bourdieu 1991: 170)

In Bourdieu’s view, this act of authorisation has to be maintained as a continuous process since there other agents in the same field contesting for power

positions. Once a form of language has been legitimised by publication it must either persist or perish. As Bourdieu explains:

The legitimate language no more contains within itself the power to ensure its own perpetuation in time than it has the power to define its extension in space. Only the process of continuous creation, which occurs through the unceasing struggles between the different authorities who compete within the field of specialized production for the monopolistic power to impose the legitimate mode of expression, can ensure the permanence of the legitimate language and of its value, that is, of the recognition accorded to it. (Bourdieu 1991: 58)

The strategic actions of power positioning such as authors writing, publishers publishing and scholars citing published content, direct the value of particular publications in a competitive field. Consequently, the number of publications and citations can be taken as units of measurement to evaluate any academic field. In time, the statistics of publication and citation, even if not be universally agreed, become naturalised measurements of academic achievement.

Publishing activity contains a legitimising principle that is evident in the genre of academic journals. Academic journals, published by a publisher of esteem, have an implied authority and the assurance of continued or increased value in their field if they conform to academic publishing protocols. The activities of selecting, editing, approving and writing authoritative text for a journal differentiates the role of its text from everyday language. Indeed, academic journal editors are high-ranking academics, appreciative of the authority to shape their field through academic journal content. This power compensates for what they perceive to be the declining power of academics in university policy and management (Nixon and Wellington 2005). Hence, from a number of vantage points, text in academic journals signifies a source of significant authority of meaning in any subject field.

4.2.2. Digital Publishing

The English edition of Bourdieu's *Language and Symbolic Power* (Bourdieu, Thompson et al. 1991) was published in the same year that Tim Berners-Lee launched the World Wide Web into the public domain in 1991 (Berners Lee 1999: 81). The difference between publications using the traditional printing press and online publishing is the use of technology for distribution. At the same time a line of continuity can be observed in the power relationships that place different forms of printed text such as the academic journal on a hierarchy of value. Castells draws attention to the more innovative aspects of digital communications by depicting an epochal arc from 700BC at the development of writing for recording and sharing communications to the World Wide Web as a global communications network. Compared to the innovation of the alphabet:

A technological transformation of similar historical dimensions is taking place 2,700 years later, namely the integration of various modes of communication into an interactive network (...) we can hardly underestimate its significance. (Castells 2000: 356)

A question after the invention of the Web is whether the published text as system of authority is still relevant. The historical tradition of publishing, especially academic publishing, is that it is aimed at a limited market at high cost to specialised outlets; traditionally a limited market that is highly regulated. In the digital era there is a perceived limitless extent of text that can be published by anyone, at any time, at little cost and distributed through global networks. It is essentially a new unlimited market with little or no regulation. Has the tradition of authorisation been ruptured by digital media and replaced by a reconfigured system?

The Web's founder, Tim Berners Lee had a vision of a flatter democratic model of knowledge sharing in society as opposed to power elites determining a

hierarchy of knowledge. Democracy was a principle to be encouraged by the Web: “we have to be careful that it allows for a just and fair society” (Berners Lee 1999: 178). This hope seems to have been borne out by examples of the democratising power of social networks using the Web. The Arab Spring, in reference to civil revolution in Arab countries from 2011 onwards, was attributed to the immediacy of communication using trusted information sources distributed through the Web and mobile networks (Howard, Duffy et al. 2011).

However, a differentiated hierarchy in the academic sphere in which people strive to compete for reward is not equitable with dictatorships that disrespect human rights and torture dissenters. There is currently not enough evidence to argue that digital publishing has overturned the legitimising power of traditional publishing. Esteemed publishers have enacted a smooth evolution to incorporate cyber space. Most academic publishers have extended their activities from the analogue world to the sphere of Web publication, where necessary using different formats for the same content. All issues of *Screen* journal are accessible online from 1969 and can be accessed by subscription. Business benefits of publishing online include secure online payment to charge individuals per article and showcasing the archived catalogue which leads to the opportunity of a ‘longtail’ of catalogue sales (Anderson 2006). At present almost all publishers will trade in text in both the digital and bound paper formats. The difference in the digital era for traditional text publishing is more a matter of distribution than any aspect of its activity. There is no evidence that the imprimatur of an esteemed publisher in the digital era carries less legitimising power than in previous analogue times. The system of conferring authority on published texts remains intact.

In the next section the concept of habitus, as dispositions of the people involved in publishing academic journals, is linked with cultural capital and academic capital that such journals accrue.

4.2.3. Editorial Habitus

The Bourdieusian term habitus, which refers to a person's disposition, is related to the cultural capital of an object, since some of the perceived value of the object is connected to people associated with it. Academic capital is a type of cultural capital that can be found in objects valued by the academy, an example being the academic journal. The connection between habitus and academic capital is the reciprocal relationship between the habitus of the editorial personnel and the academic value of the journal. In the following I discuss the relevance of habitus, cultural capital and the academic capital value for the study texts.

As previously explained in Chapter 2, habitus can be thought of as a person's characteristic attitudes and actions that generally have no need for explanation. If asked to reflect on their own habitus, most people will assume their behaviour is in keeping with their circumstances and quite natural. Habitus is steered by social protocols and the people who constitute society devise these modes of expected behaviour.

In publishing habitus is evident in the status of the person or the people with editorial responsibility. In the academic field it has been demonstrated that journal editors are aware of their conferred authority to direct the field (Nixon and Wellington 2005). Editors acknowledge that they define epistemological practice in their subject fields, as they select or reject article proposals, set discussion agendas and themes for debate.

This section discusses habitus through editorial dispositions that can be inferred from information about editors' biographies. The habitus of the editor forms an association between the university and the academic journal to create a source of academic capital that is mutually beneficial to the university and the journal. Information that has been made available for the professional habitus of editors and editorial advisors, presented in **Table 1**, shows that *Screen* and *Convergence* share similar academic traits.⁴ In *Screen*, the editor and all editorial board members are professors from UK universities. *Screen* is predominantly a UK based journal, its international remit is evident at the level of the advisory board of university academics – fifteen based in the United Kingdom, six in Anglophone countries and one each based in India and Brazil.

The editorial team for *Convergence* also presents a traditional academic and UK based profile. However *Convergence* is less homogenous in professorial rank than *Screen*. It can be seen that the co-editors of *Convergence* are both professors, the four associate editors comprise two professors, an associate professor and an associate lecturer. Unlike *Screen*, which confines its editorial expertise to film and television studies (with more emphasis on film), in *Convergence* the editorial expertise is drawn from a wider remit that extends to interactive computing and journalism. The international remit of *Convergence* is somewhat stronger than *Screen*. On the editorial advisory board for *Convergence*, there are thirty academics: five are in the UK, seventeen are based in the Anglophone countries (of the USA, Australia and Canada) one is based in Singapore and seven come from European countries.

⁴ Names of editors and editorial advisers are available on the publisher's web sites. An academic's professional status is obtainable from their university's website. Regarding Ofcom, employees that are assigned to an editorial role may vary and their names are not published - information given to the thesis author in discussion at Ofcom, London in 2009.

The *Media Literacy Bulletin* is an anomaly since there is no publicly available information about the individuals involved in the editorial process. Consequently, it may be assumed that the *Media Literacy Bulletin* is compiled by civil servants, whose habitus serves the institutional ethos of a government agency. Accordingly, the *Media Literacy Bulletin* will be explored from the vantage point of its cultural and institutional capital in the sections that follow.

Publication	Habitus	Field Role
Screen	Editor (current 2013) Professor Annette Kuhn, Film Studies, Queen Mary, University of London, UK Editorial Board 5 university professors representing: film, television studies, theatre, cultural studies and drama, all based in the UK Editorial Advisory Board 32 university academics based in: 15 UK, 2 USA, 2 Australia, 2 Canada, 1 India and 1 Brazil	Positioned as the leading international journal of academic film and television studies. Published by Oxford Journals celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2009.
Convergence	Editors (current 2013) Professor Julia Knight, Moving Image, University of Sunderland, UK Professor Alexis Weedon, Research Institute for Media Art and Design, University of Bedfordshire, UK Associate Editors 4 university academics: 2 professors, 1 associate professor and 1 associate lecturer from the UK Representing: interactive computing, media studies, digital journalism and media and communications Editorial Advisory Board 30 academics, most based in universities (1 with the National Broadcasting Council of Poland): 12 USA, 5 UK, 4 Australia, 2 Norway, 1 Canada, 1 Finland, 1 Germany, 1 Ireland, 1 Poland, 1 Serbia and 1 Singapore	Positioned as an international journal of research into new media technologies. Published by Sage Journals from 1995
Media Literacy eBulletin	Editor (current 2013) No formal editor (staff sub-edit contributions and may not include content if necessary) No editorial board	Positioned as the first regular media literacy publication in the UK in 2005. Published for the UK by Ofcom

Table 1 Habitus and Publications (current 2013)

The editorial personnel in *Screen* and *Convergence* share a similar habitus which is shaped by the professorial rank within the UK university establishment as can be seen in Figure 5 and Figure 6 below. This analysis of habitus demonstrates the relationship between high-ranking academic habitus of editorship and the journal as a practice of academic scholarship.

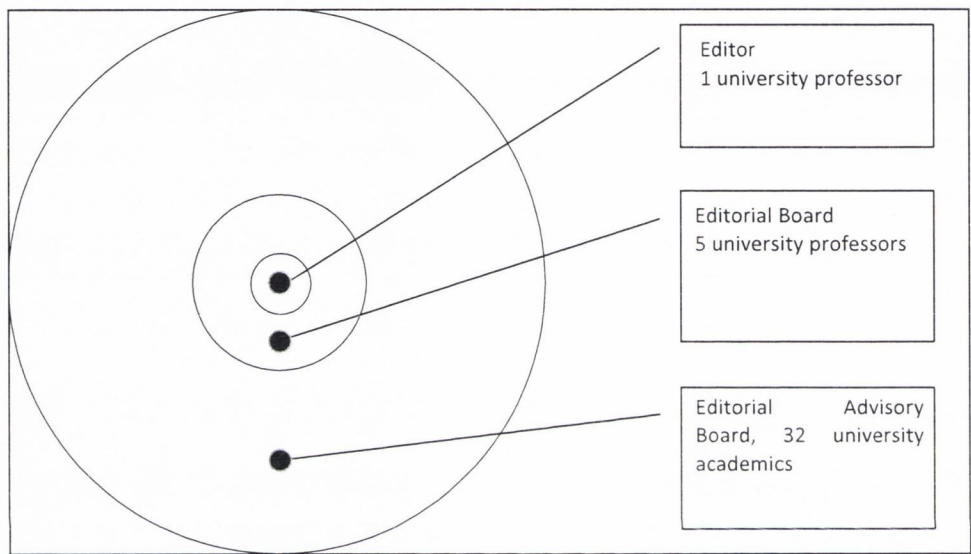


Figure 5 Habitus, *Screen*

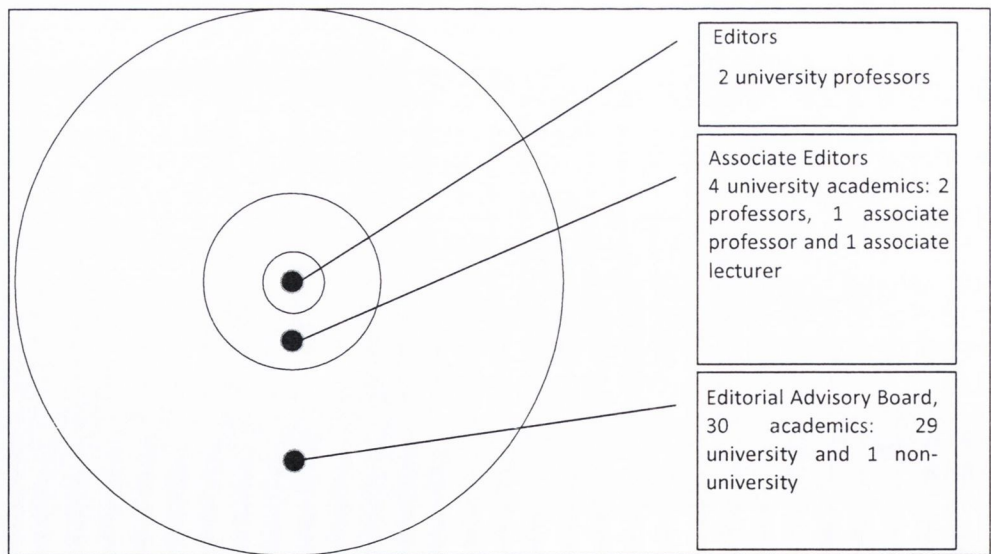


Figure 6 Habitus, *Convergence*

4.2.4. Capital

The general principle, described by Bourdieu, is that social practice is the result of habitus operating in association with cultural capital in a particular field. Previous sections discussed the power of authorised published text and the value of the editorial habitus for the academic journal. This section will address cultural capital and academic capital. The relationship between strongly contrasting types of education demonstrates a range of difference in the field of education. For this purpose, the role of literacy will be positioned in relation to the traditional academic canon to establish a scale of difference. The Bourdieusian concept of capital offers a suitable method to apply to the field of education to gauge a scale of relationships based on academic capital. Subsequently, the empirical data that is gathered from corpus texts can be interpreted with reference to relationships between different types of academic capital.

4.2.4.1. Cultural Capital

Bourdieu identified three forms of cultural capital: objectified capital, embodied capital and institutionalised capital (Bourdieu 1986: 47). A journal is a cultural object in the category of objectified capital. Two types of embodied capital are associated with an academic journal; these are the publishers (including the authors and editors) and the readers. A journal also generates value through institutionalised capital, since an esteemed university publisher (such as Oxford or Cambridge universities) will bestow high institutional value on its journal titles.

Turning to the selected texts and their cultural capital, Table 2 shows that *Screen* and *Convergence* draw on similar sources of objectified capital in the form of the academic journal. *Screen* and *Convergence* also share a similar type of

embodied capital through the professorial status of their academic editors and their academic readership. Their institutionalised capital is also comparable, as both are published by established academic publishers, Oxford Journals (*Screen*) and SAGE Journals (*Convergence*). The information in Table 2 also shows that the *Media Literacy Bulletin* is different from both *Screen* and *Convergence* in every category. Unlike the academic journal, *Media Literacy Bulletin* is published as a virtual object in the form of an online 'eBulletin' that is accompanied by a small print run and both formats are free of charge. As it is a freely available publication that costs nothing to access, the *Media Literacy Bulletin* has a lower objectified capital value compared with *Screen* or *Convergence* which are produced in the comparatively expensive traditional print format foremost, thereafter stored online for access by subscription. Since *Media Literacy Bulletin* has no publicly credited editors (as is common for civil service publications), this places the embodied capital in a cohort of unnamed regulators and its readership, which is a diverse mix of academics, social researchers, community workers and general readers who have an interest in Media Literacy education. However, there is a degree of similarity with the traditional academic journals, since the *Media Literacy Bulletin* is intended to inform academics and policy makers, it shares an interest in academic matters with the conventional academic journals *Screen* and *Convergence*.

Cultural Capital & Publication	Objectified capital	Embodied capital	Institutionalised capital
Screen	academic journal	academic editors academic readership	Oxford Journals
Convergence	academic journal	academic editors academic readership	SAGE Journals
Media Literacy Bulletin	education, research & information resource	academic and civil society readers and contributors	Ofcom by statutory duty

Table 2 Forms of Cultural Capital in the Media Education Corpus

4.2.4.2. Academic Capital

Having identified how cultural capital is configured in the texts in relation to education, in the publication format, through their editors and/or readers, and under the auspices of their institutions, cultural capital can now be considered more specifically as academic capital. Narrowing the scope accordingly will provide a useful lens to observe these corpus texts, which are manifestations of social practice from the actions of habitus and capital in the field of education.

The university system can be taken as an exemplar within the field of education. Although a national government may count the cost of publicly funded education, there is no commonly accepted gauge that can be used to measure the value of academic assets. Therefore, a theoretical construct must be used to articulate assumptions about academic value. The values selected by the university that are commonly taken for granted as forms of academic capital can be analysed to reveal the differentiated forms of capital distribution in education in general.

The institution of the university perpetuates itself by replicating its own values and practices through the generations. Having acquired this authority, selected choices within the university system are taken for granted as accepted practice. Ideas that are not contested are more easily reproduced. Bourdieu sees this as the process of institutional reproduction by indoctrination:

The structure of the university field reflects the structure of the field of power, while its own activity of selection and indoctrination contributes to the reproduction of that structure. (Bourdieu 1988: 40)

Inside the field of education, universities have a greater experience judging academic value than the institutions of government. Within academia, Oxford Journals may have a higher perceived value than SAGE Journals based on the historical association of Oxford Journals with the institution of Oxford University. In the academic publication cycle, cultural objects, such as journals, are created in the context of already established criteria of esteemed value.

4.2.4.3. Measuring Academic Capital

From the previous analysis of cultural capital, it can be estimated that *Screen* displays symbols of high academic value from publishing links to the Oxford University Press and its location in the University of Glasgow, its editor and editorial team are UK university professors, its content is aimed at academic readers and *Screen*'s fiftieth anniversary in 2009 was marked by lectures and an exhibition of *Screen* journals in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University.⁵ These

⁵ *Screen*'s overview of the events, "Throughout 2009, *Screen* has hosted special events and celebrations to mark the journal's 50th birthday, including a special Anniversary Screen Studies Conference in July, a bumper issue of the journal and Screen-sponsored postgraduate research events." http://www.oxfordjournals.org/our_journals/screen/fifty.html

factors justify *Screen's* placement at the high-status end of the scale of academic publishing.

An educational practice at the other end of the academic value scale will establish a relationship difference. Bourdieu proposed that educational difference could be measured by assessing the distance of the learning journey from the point that could be gained in an informal family setting to the point that could be gained in a formal institution of education. He explains:

Indeed, one can put forward the hypothesis that the specific productivity of all pedagogic work other than the pedagogic work accomplished by the family is a function of the distance between the habitus it tends to inculcate (in this case scholarly mastery of scholarly language) and the habitus inculcated by all previous forms of pedagogic work and, ultimately, by the family. (Bourdieu 1990: 72)

From the texts selected for the study of the field of media education, the journals *Screen* and *Convergence* represent the furthest distance travelled from the educational remit of the family, since their journals derive from the academic values of the university. In comparison, the *Media Literacy Bulletin*, though it may be thoroughly researched and written to rigorous academic standards, is situated outside the walls of the university in civil society. Further, the *Media Literacy Bulletin* is published by an agency which has the statutory responsibility to develop Media Literacy in the UK. In this case the *Media Literacy Bulletin* must address the interests of Media Literacy educators who have a considerable responsibility to replace the standard family that is unable to deliver the pedagogy for Media Literacy. Here it is emphasised that literacy has a very high value by different measures as it is a vital, indeed, an emancipatory skill in society. It is due to a comparative analysis on the chosen scale of academic capital that pushes literacy to the lower end of that scale. Bourdieu argues that literacy is a basic asset in the context of formal education:

(Literacy) enables a society to accumulate culture hitherto preserved in embodied form, and correlatively enables particular groups to *practice primitive accumulation of cultural capital*...but the objectification effects of literacy are nothing in comparison with those produced by the education system (Bourdieu 1977a: 187)

It has now been established that by setting the scale by academic capital value, university scholarship can be positioned on one end of the education scale and literacy as a rudimentary skill is at the opposite pole. This scale is shown in Figure 7 below.

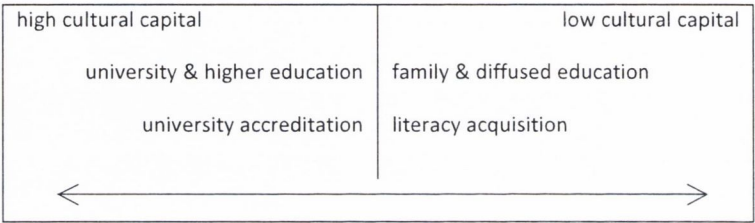


Figure 7 Scale of Academic Capital Value in Education

Using Bourdieu’s concepts of field, habitus and capital, *Screen* and *Convergence* can now be located within the educational institution and the *Media Literacy Bulletin* largely positioned in civil society as shown in Figure 8 below.

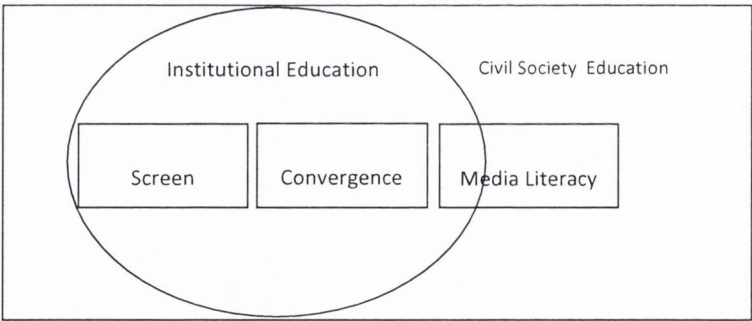


Figure 8 Media Education Texts in Social Structures

Thus far differentiated educational value has been constructed on a scale based on relative values of academic capital, which is assured by the institutional academic status. This perception of confidence in the traditional university to set and maintain its own standards may be subject to future adjustment. Towards

the end of the 20th century there was emerging evidence that marketplace economics are superimposed on academic values. This trend towards marketisation of university output is presented in overview in the next section.

4.2.4.4. Academic Capital and Economic Capital

Qualifications and publications in the education market, form a system of currency in which the most highly valued are the most difficult to achieve. A practical advantage of striving to move from the lower end to the higher end of the academic value scale of education is that academic capital can be converted into economic capital outside the system of education. Bourdieu argues that there are considerable financial gains to be made from educational achievements, that “academic qualifications are to cultural capital what money is to economic capital” (Bourdieu, 1977a: 187). One function of the institution of education, Bourdieu continues, is to standardise accreditation. As standard units of value, the hierarchy of qualifications forms a currency of cultural capital in a single education market place:

It makes possible to relate all qualification-holders (and, also negatively, all unqualified individuals) to a single standard, thereby setting up *a single market* for all cultural capacities and guaranteeing the convertibility of cultural capital into money. (Bourdieu, 1977a: 187)

Until late into the 20th century, the university was a relatively independent arbiter of academic capital value. Then, from the Thatcher era in the United Kingdom, social sectors were obliged to consent to the imposition of free market economics that previously had their own cultures of practice and value (Harvey 2007: 65). Education has become a new prospect for converting knowledge (especially where knowledge is represented by research publications and patents) into value for the knowledge economy:

In the new economy, knowledge is a critical raw material to be mined and extracted from any unprotected site: patented, copyrighted, trademarked or held as a trade secret; then sold in the marketplace for a profit. (Slaughter 2004: 4)

In the humanities the prominent form of academic capital that has currency is publishing output. Academics who want to maintain their own habitus and institutions of power have a stake in maintaining the asset value of their publishing. Hence this study's focus on what they publish about, the epistemological trends, and how much of it is available in the marketplace. In the discussion of the empirical findings, an understanding of this trend in education towards the knowledge economy will have a bearing on data interpretation.

Thus far Bourdieu's ideas of field, habitus and capital have enabled the construction of a scale of academic capital value on which to place the values of the texts that have been chosen for the study corpus. The next section discusses the method for the empirical study that will generate data about the texts.

4.3. Empirical Analysis: the Corpus Analysis

At the beginning of this chapter I articulated how I generated the research question and formulated the study method in the context of the wider research landscape. I discussed text, meaning and power to develop an insight into the authority of published text. I then formulated a rationale for selecting journal text and using corpus analysis as the technique for the empirical study. The preliminary disquisition was followed by a presentation of the Bourdieusian framework, which focused on the concepts of field, habitus and capital. I demonstrated that the education field is differentiated by habitus and academic capital that can be gauged by comparing the difference between university accreditation and literacy acquisition. My theoretical analysis was presented in schematic form to show a scale of difference from education in academia to civil

society. The outcome of this process is a theoretical construct that will be used to interpret the study findings. At this point, the need for a more precise measurement system is manifest, as summarised by Zipf:

Until some means has been devised for measuring the phenomena of a given field, one can neither make of that field an exact science nor study the dynamics of the field with any mentionable degree of precision. (Zipf 1965: 9)

In the next sections, I discuss corpus analysis as the method of measurement that has been chosen to identify patterns of change in the field of media education. Section 4.3.1. will explain how a theoretical field can be mapped using corpus analysis. The study strategy has been divided into two separate analyses, section 4.3.2. presents the cross-sectional analysis which will investigate the field across its breadth, and section 4.3.3. will discuss the longitudinal analysis that will explore patterns of change over time. Section 4.3.4. covers the corpus building processes and specifies the corpus configuration when the texts are incorporated. Section 4.3.5. provides an overview of the corpus provenance and content; 4.3.6. discusses timeframes, corpus types and word count; 4.3.7. introduces the British National Corpus as a standard reference for corpus analysis while also discussing stop lists and lemma lists. Section 4.3.8. concerns word units, frequencies and keywords; 4.3.9. explains concordances and collocations. The chapter concludes in 4.4. with a discussion of limitations and advantages of the chosen method.

4.3.1. Mapping a Theoretical Field: The Corpus Analysis Procedure

In the previous sections, text was considered in terms of academic capital. Now the relationship between text and statistical data will be discussed with reference to the corpus analysis method. Within this rubric, text is composed of

words that have symbolic positions in relation to each other within a corpus. The corpus text is formed from content largely chosen by external people whose purpose is to shape the field. The positional relationships of distinctive corpus terms can therefore be mapped to delineate the field. Time can then be used to measure change, for “if everything were at a standstill one could not speak of ‘time’” (Elias 1992: 71). Following the principle that “Historians will be able to track the development of opinions and ideas through study of the words and phrases that refer to them” (Atkins et. al 1992), this study will proceed to track patterns of longitudinal change to trace shifting ideas in the field of media education.

The use of computer hardware and specialist software can assist in finding corpus patterns. Indeed, as Hunston explains:

A corpus by itself can do nothing at all, being nothing other than a store of used language. Corpus access software, however, can re-arrange that store so that observations of various kinds can be made (...). A corpus does not contain new information about language, but the software offers us a new perspective on the familiar. (Hunston 2002: 3)

The basis for analysing words in a corpus is the statistical proof that “language users never choose words randomly” (Kilgariff 2005: 263). Given this assurance, language can be approached as arrangements of data that can be related back to their original meaning. Therefore, statistical findings generated by software applications can offer the opportunity to gain new observations about patterns and meaning in the corpus.

The first stage of a corpus analysis is to sort the data by the most frequent words. The second stage is to use this frequency information to find the most distinctive words. The outcome will be a list of keywords that differentiate the study corpus from everyday language use. In a keyword analysis, distinctiveness is a measure of the relative frequency of words in the study corpus compared to

a reference corpus. The most distinctive corpus patterns will be of particular interest when they confirm or, more interestingly, add to knowledge about the corpus. While preconceptions about the corpus must be assumed, a keyword analysis can stimulate the development of a new hypothesis. Baker observes:

A keywords approach is therefore corpus-driven as the technique drives the analyst to account for patterns that he/she had not considered, rather than the analyst deciding in advance which hypothesis to investigate. (Baker 2012: Note 1, p. 9)

In most cases, a keyword will not constitute enough semantic material to understand its meaning in the context of the original text. For example, the word *film* does not reveal as much about the original meaning as much as a broader range of words *Hollywood film* or *art gallery film*. To extend the word count into a meaningful semantic bundle, a keyword will be combined with the words that occur on either side of it to form word clusters. Using Wordsmith Tools (v5) the default number is three words on either side of the central keyword. Thus, keyword analysis is broader than a single word instance and can be used to disclose new information about patterns of meaning to create new knowledge about the corpus.

Evidently, in this method, much store is set by the veracity of the keyword, which requires an initial explanatory note. This topic will be expanded in the statistical analysis briefing in section 4.3.8. The leading characteristic of a keyword is that its incidence is unexpected compared to standard language use; a keyword is thus a surprising occurrence. The advised algorithm for finding corpus keywords is the log-likelihood analysis, which is “the most accurate measure of how surprising an event is even where it has occurred only once” (Kilgariff 1996: 2). The resulting keyword list is ranked into a hierarchical

relationship determined by keyness values. Every keyword will be more or less distinctive of the corpus than another keyword.

Keyword positions are assigned by a systematic mathematical calculation and words are never random. The positions words occupy in the differentiated space and their relative ranked values can be interpreted as a system of social practice in a field of power derived from habitus and differentiated cultural capital. By these means – and from a Bourdieusian perspective – the empirical method of corpus analysis can be used to interpret corpus patterns alongside the theoretical analysis of text as cultural practice.

The methodological procedure of corpus analysis for mapping differentiated relational data can be applied to find temporal patterns. Since field data can be plotted as a relational entity at a particular time the relative position changes of the data points can be tracked across intervals of time. Using this method, shifts of keyword position can be plotted to reveal patterns of change over time. Since words signify meaning, changing word patterns will indicate shifts of interest in ideas and cultural values over time. The tracks of keyword change across this scale of measurement provided by the software will show strengthening or weakening interests. This method will offer information in response to the research question which seeks to find changes in the field of media education. The next section will describe the procedure for the analysis of the media education corpus in a two-stage study.

This section has explained how corpus data metrics can be applied to map the field using the corpus analysis method. The following section will present the two-stage process, the cross-sectional analysis in 4.3.2. and the longitudinal analysis in 4.3.3. The first stage will verify the field of media education as a distinctive entity and find the internal relationships. When the field of media

education is identified and mapped, the second stage will undertake a longitudinal analysis of a section of the field over time.

4.3.2. Cross-Sectional Analysis

The media education corpus is composed of three sub-corpora, *Screen*, *Convergence* and *Media Literacy Bulletin*, which offer contrasting positions in the field of media education. The cross-sectional analysis will be an investigation of the relationships within and between these texts. A frequency word list and a keyword list will be analysed. The greatest distance between keywords will indicate corpus boundaries. Charting points of difference is a means to find the shape of the material that is being studied. As Deleuze and Patton note:

Contrariety alone expresses the capacity of a subject to bear opposites while remaining substantially the same (in matter or genus) (...). Thus only a contrariety in the essence or in the form gives us the concept of difference that is itself essential. (Deleuze 1994: 30)

Differing relationships in the cross-section will illustrate differences and boundaries while closer keyword relationships will indicate similarities and core values. The *Media Literacy Bulletin* was launched in 2005 as a marker for the beginning of a study frame and the fiftieth anniversary of *Screen* in 2009 suggests an end-point for the timespan and *Convergence* was published throughout this period. Hence the selection of the five-year interval 2005-2009 for a cross-sectional study. The next section outlines the longitudinal analysis of a section of the corpus over time.

4.3.3. Longitudinal Analysis

The aim of the longitudinal analysis is to study a section of the field over time. The narrowest timeframe for the longitudinal analysis would be from 1991 to 2003 to account for the impact of digital media in society and could be extended

on both sides. The only publication that covers this required interval length is the *Screen* journal. Choosing 1990 as the start of the interval will capture the launch of the World Wide Web. Taking *Screen*'s fiftieth anniversary in 2009 as the end point also intersects with the cross-sectional analysis 2005-2009. The corpus text covering two decades from the *Screen* corpus 1990-2009 is therefore selected for the longitudinal study.

Unlike the contrastive corpus for the cross-sectional analysis, the longitudinal corpus will be a single corpus sample of all of *Screen*'s content 1990-2009. Analysis of word frequency and keywords will be the standard procedure. While the corpus analysis method is a process that can find word frequencies and rank keywords, it stops short of categorising words by semantic groups. To find change of behaviour associated with meaning, a device for semantic classification is required that can be incorporated into the corpus analysis process. Biber's work on the vocabulary distribution of university language is useful since the language register is in keeping with *Screen* as an academic publication (Biber 2006: 248). For the purposes of this study, Biber's model of semantic categories of word classes in university language has been adapted to encompass the conceptual categories of media education. The allocation of findings into these categories can be seen in the next chapter in the categories adapted from Biber's original schematic (see Appendix 24).

As a first observation of comparative word location in the cross-section, keywords will be compared in the top ten ranks at the beginning and top ten ranks at the end of the interval. The tracks of these, which could amount to twenty keywords, will be traced through the interval to find words that are strong throughout, the words that disappear by the end and any that emerge in the course of the study period.

Having observed the words that follow the trends, of consistent, exiting or emerging behaviour, and to manage the research effectively, one word will be selected as an exemplar of each pattern. As a result, three words will be investigated in depth across a number of the sample years. The years 1990, 2000 and 2009 have been chosen as regular interval samples and times of particular self-reflection and declaration within the *Screen* corpus. The year 1990 marks *Screen's* split from the government funded British Film Institute and its move into the academic field with Oxford Journals. The 2000 millennium year marks the first decade of *Screen* in academia. In 2009 *Screen's* fiftieth anniversary was a time of celebration with reflection on the past and preparation for the future. This method of keyword pattern analysis of semantic clusters across the interval has been devised to disclose what ideas endure and which concepts shifts out of place or into place in the *Screen* corpus over time.

This section presented how corpus analysis will be used to map the field of media education in a two-stage study and the rationale for the selected study intervals. The strategy is to profile the field in cross-section and then to analyse a field section along the axis of time. The next section of this chapter will proceed to an overview of the corpus building processes.

4.3.4. Corpus Building

The methodological design for this research study includes empirical data gathering from a corpus analysis. This section describes how the corpus was built. The corpus building stages are iterative: build, review, discard and adjust until the text is assembled. Nelson observes that the various difficulties involved in creating a corpus from written text are “the choosing of texts, gaining access to the texts you require and dealing with the process of turning text into a computer-readable format, followed by storage and analysis” (Nelson 2010: 53).

The corpus building and process tests involved three stages which required a file management system to record the file type, volume number, issue number, calendar year and publication title. Stage one of the corpus building for this study involved downloading in the Portable Document Format (.pdf) and file formatting. The number of files downloaded for twenty years for *Screen* 1990-2009 were 770 .pdf files, (the cross sectional study that included *Screen* 2005-2009 used 214 of these.pdf files) *Convergence* 2005-2009 comprises 200 .pdf files and *Media Literacy Bulletin* 2005-2009 60 .pdf files. Each .pdf formatted file was then converted to the Rich Text Format (.txt) as the compatible format type for processing with Wordsmith Tools (v5) software. These 1,030 original files were saved to an archive and copies were batched into one file per year per publication. At the end of the downloading, converting, classifying and archiving process, it was possible to track a file from anywhere in the corpus (as a .txt or Wordsmith file) by its batch year in any format to read its original file. The corpus text was split into the five-year corpus compiled from *Screen*, *Convergence* and *Media Literacy Bulletin* and the twenty-year *Screen* corpus. Ensuring that a corpus based on 1,300 files can be managed requires pre-planning to decide file-naming conventions, organisation of systematic data back-up processes and suitable archiving procedures.

Stage two of the corpus building involves corpus cleaning and testing. A newly compiled corpus requires the removal of non-semantic typographical data. A clutter of erratic marks is generated in the scanning process and other extraneous items of text 'noise' (such as numbers and symbols in footnotes and headings) need to be removed manually. In a large corpus such as I have created for this study, some residual marks are likely to remain after several cleaning reiterations since, "in practice, it is likely that some slight noise will always be

present” (Scott 2010: 146). In addition, affiliations and publication names are removed so that, for example, the titles *Screen, Convergence* and *Media Literacy Bulletin* that occur hundreds of times will not bias the statistical analysis or misrepresent the level of interest in the topics of media convergence or literacy.

The third stage of building a corpus is to undertake preliminary tests to ensure that the software functions as required with the amount of data to be processed. The preliminary tests demonstrated that the software effectively and speedily processed the smaller five-year corpus of approximately 2.5 million words. However, the software strained to cope with the larger twenty-year corpus of approximately 4.5 million words. For example, processing word frequencies needed to be repeated a number of times until an effective outcome was achieved. (Subsequent versions from Wordsmith v6 onwards may have greater capacity). In this third stage the lemma list and the stop list were tested to ensure that word families were clustered together as instructed and that words on the stop list words were not assessed (further detail about the stop list and lemma list is found in section 4.3.7).

Copyright is not normally an issue when discussing the copyright material of others, although there are concerns that this type of work involving electronic texts could face legal disputes in future (Delany and Landow 1993: 17). In this case the corpus analysis method does not infringe the rights of copyright holders, as the corpus analysis process does not materially affect their work. The next section provides an overview of the corpus provenance and content.

4.3.5. Publications: Provenance and Characteristics

Aiming to study the ideas that media educationalists hold foremost, publications are chosen that are largely authored by UK media educationalists. Although media education journals originate in various countries, UK publications are most

likely to offer consistency of register and cultural foundation. The coherence of media education in the United Kingdom is largely the influence of the BFI from the 1970s and 1980s (Bolas 2009: 304). The lineage is traceable further back to the British school of Cultural Studies in the post-war decades (Turner 2002: 33-38). Consequently, a congruity of language use is more likely in UK publications than in texts that are socio-geographically disparate. The BNC will be used as the reference corpus, as will be discussed in 4.3.7., to compare with the target corpus in the log-likelihood analysis. An additional reason for aligning the target corpus to UK media education is to ensure that it is closest to the language of the BNC. Culpeper emphasises that contiguity between the target and reference corpora produces a better focus on the target: “The closer the relationship between the target corpus and the reference corpus, the more likely the resultant keywords will reflect something specific to the target corpus” (Culpeper 2009: 35). The characteristics of the target corpus are provided in Table 3. It shows that all publications share a media education brief and the differences of publishing history, type of format, topics covered and readership.

	<i>Screen</i>	<i>Convergence</i>	<i>Media Literacy Bulletin</i>
Publisher	Oxford University Press	SAGE Publications	Ofcom
First Published and Frequency	1959 quarterly	1995 quarterly	2005 monthly
Format	academic journal, published quarterly articles, conference reports, debates and book reviews	academic journal, published quarterly articles, conference reports, debates and book reviews	eBulletin online and print, monthly digital literacy initiatives, policy updates, research articles
Topics	film, television and screen cultures	impact of new media technologies on culture	media literacy research and developments
Readership	academic lecturers and researchers at university level	academic lecturers and researchers at university level	educationalists (teachers and academics) and social researchers

Table 3 Characteristics: press, history, format, topics and readership

4.3.6. Timeframes, Corpus Types and Word Count

The aim of this study is to gather corpus data across a particular time transformation from the traditional mass media to global digital media. As discussed in sections 4.3.2. and 4.3.3, the cross-sectional corpus requires a five-year duration of 2005-2009 and the longitudinal timeframe accounts for twenty years 1990-2009 to capture the field profile and explore a section in depth. The longitudinal start is fixed prior to the World Wide Web and the cross-sectional interval is set at the first *Media Literacy Bulletin* in 2005. Both studies end in 2009. The interconnecting timeframes for the two studies and corpus reference years are shown in Figure 9 below.

The study corpora are of two types for different purposes. The cross-sectional study is a contrastive corpus and the longitudinal study is homogenous. As Tognini Bonelli comments, the practical use of a contrastive corpus is to disclose contrastive difference:

Sometimes a corpus is built with the specific purpose of making contrasts within itself and declares at the outset that certain of its major components are expected to contrast sharply. (Tognini Bonelli 2010: 21)

Cross Sectional Corpus 2005-2009		
Screen	Convergence	Media Literacy Bulletin
2009	2009	2009
2008	2008	2008
2007	2007	2007
2006	2006	2006
2005	2005	2005
Longitudinal Corpus 1990-2009		
Screen		
2009		
2008		
2007		
2006		
2005		
2004		
2003		
2002		
2001		
2000		
1999		
1998		
1997		
1996		
1995		
1994		
1993		
1992		
1991		
1990		

Figure 9 Corpus Per Year: Cross-Sectional and Longitudinal

In line with this, the cross-sectional contrastive corpus is to illustrate this field which has “the capacity of a subject to bear opposites while remaining substantially the same” (Deleuze 1994: 30). The cross-sectional contrastive corpus analysis of the three publications will depict corpus boundaries through the greatest difference between data positions within the corpus.

Using the same analytical method from a different approach, the longitudinal study aims to identify the behaviour of the most significant keywords within in the homogenous *Screen* corpus. If selected keywords are found to change their semantic associations in the interval, such patterns will indicate changing epistemological values across time.

Regarding word count, the publications *Screen* and *Convergence* contain approximately one million words each. The *Media Literacy Bulletin* word count is significantly lower than *Screen* and *Convergence* at approximately 138,000

words. This word count difference, as discussed in the next section, does not skew the keyword analysis since keywords are compared on their measure of distinctiveness (in Wordsmith terminology, the “Keyness”) not pure word frequency. The corpora word counts, as shown in Table 4 below, show some variation.

Corpus	<i>Screen</i>	<i>Convergence</i>	<i>Media Literacy Bulletin</i>	Word Tokens Total
5 year cross-sectional	20 issues 1,210,245words	20 issues 1,105,773words	30 issues 138,843words	2,454,861
20 year longitudinal	80 issues 4,413,412words	-	-	4,413,412

Table 4 Corpus Word-Count

4.3.7. British National Corpus, Stop List and Lemma List

In Bakers words, “comparing a smaller corpus or set of texts to a larger set of texts or reference corpus, is therefore a useful way of determining key concepts across the smaller corpus as a whole” (Baker 2006: 139). The British National Corpus (BNC, 2007) is a standard reference corpus for corpus analysis.

The British National Corpus was created to be a balanced reference corpus of late 20th century British English. It was compiled by a team of people representing a number of research institutions, publishers and libraries. The aim was to create a very large, carefully planned corpus of contemporary British English (with an end date in the early 1990s). (Hoffmann 2008: 27-28)

The BNC contains over 4,000 files and aims to represent standard British English. Its content ranges from transcribed spoken conversation to newspapers, scripts for broadcast and business reports. It contains approximately 100 million words, 90% written and 10% orthographically transcribed spoken text (BNC: <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/corpus/index.xml>).

Choosing the BNC as the reference corpus establishes a benchmark for the general use of British English as a whole since the BNC is compiled from various genres and represents both written and spoken forms of contemporary language use. The BNC consortium, formed in 1989, comprised academic publishers, computing service providers, language researchers and the British Library with the purpose of collecting a corpus of “at least one hundred million words, to add linguistic annotation (...) and to make the resulting corpus available to the research community in industry and academia” (Clear 1993: 167). According to Jeremy Clear, a founding member of the consortium, their major tasks were typical: to overcome the problems of representativeness, manage the extent of data gathering and, in addition as this was to be a retail product, to clear copyright. They resolved to create this large corpus restricted to British English only and to incorporate both written and oral language from imaginative and informative content in highbrow, intermediate and popular language levels that would be gathered from extant sources as well as recording new samples (Clear 1993: 168). The BNC initiative resolved two problems for people interested in studying language by providing a large study corpus of modern British English (largely post-1975) for the first time and by removing the need to undertake the time-consuming corpus compilation task. The BNC is a corpus of modern British English spoken language. It was devised to assist the analysis of British English corpora:

As indicated in 4.3.4., noise from typographical marks and words not necessary for the analysis are removed. Creating a stop list of unnecessary words/marks excludes those items from analysis. The commonly agreed Zipfian law of language distribution states that “a few words occur with very high frequency while many words occur rarely” (Zipf, 1965: 40-41). Since highly

frequent words such as ‘of’, ‘and’ ‘because’ are rendered invisible to the results in this corpus study cannot be related to the Zipfian standard. A sample of the 286 word stop list for this analysis is shown in Figure 10 below.

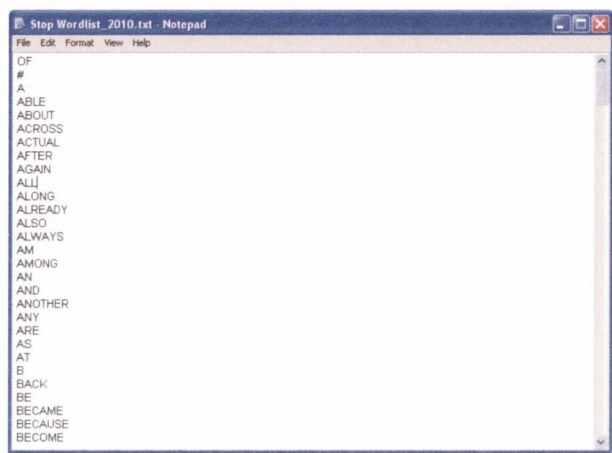


Figure 10 Stop List

A lemma is a word that stands for the variations of that word in its word family for example the headword “film” stands for “films”, “film’s”, “filmed” and “filming”. A sample of the 44,345 word lemma file compiled for this study is shown in Figure 11.⁶ It can be deduced therefore that a lemma is a unit of meaning.

⁶ A basic lemma list available from WordSmith Tools, compiled by Yasumasa Someya in 1998, consists of 14,762 lemma groups but does not account for terms relevant to this research. For this study, 26 new lemma groups such as ‘digital’ and ‘web’ were added to create a customised lemma list.



Figure 11 Lemma List

The lemmatising function minimises the misrepresentation of the significance of corpus themes. However, the drawback is that lemmatising also collapses forms into the headword which can lead to the disappearance of keywords that should be intuitively the headword (Wordsmith v5 does not seem to have a solution for this). For example, *medium* is the headword for the family that includes *media*, which awkwardly creates *medium* as the representative word for *media* when the reference in the original text is to the signature term *mass media*.

When looking at pure word frequencies, if there are many variations of one word and few of another, then a frequency count could be misleading. As Adolphs states, “different forms of the same lemma tend to vary significantly in terms of their overall frequency, with one particular form being more frequent than others” (Adolphs 2006: 41). If the words *film* N600 and *films* N350 were positioned by frequency on graph, their significance would appear less individually than rounded under the lemma *film* N950. While the lemma solution dispenses immediate detail about individual words, its use is to point more clearly to metadata about topic strengths in the corpus.

4.3.8. Word Units, Frequencies and Keywords

In this study a word can be a statistical unit or a unit of meaning. Considering words as meaning, Sinclair refers to a common but problematic division of language into word varieties as either grammatical or lexical words. This simple classification system is “intuitively satisfying though difficult to support with objective criteria” (Sinclair 2007: 232). Sinclair’s preferred system of classification is to describe the smallest unit of meaning as the lexical word. I adopt Sinclair’s approach with the proviso, for the purpose of interpretative analysis, that lexical word clusters are preferable to discern meaning patterns than the isolated word.

When the log-likelihood algorithm is applied, lexical content becomes temporarily unimportant, as the word has value only as a statistical unit in its relationship with other individual words that are also statistical units. Meaning becomes important again when the data findings are to be interpreted.

As discussed in the last section, words are not random. Kilgarrieff explains: “since words in a text are not random, we know that our corpora are not randomly generated” (Kilgarrieff 1996: 2). It follows that frequent words are more significant than others (when the stop list is applied): “A term is more likely to be important in a document the more times it occurs in it” (Kilgarrieff, 1996: 4). For this reason the word frequency analysis is the first step towards assessing what is distinctive about the study corpus.

When a target corpus such as the media education corpus is compared against the BNC, what is brought into statistical relief is the range of words that are unusually frequent compared with ordinarily frequent words. Thornbury observes that “a list of the words that are *key* in the texts may be more revealing than a simple frequency list” (Thornbury 2010: 273). These conspicuous words are the key to understanding patterns of meaning in the corpus content; they are keywords. Words that are distinctive are key words. The higher a keyword’s

keyness value, the more strongly distinctive the word is of the corpus. Kilgariff argues that the log-likelihood formula (G2) is the most accurate means of finding keywords:

Finding the most surprisingly frequent words in a corpus without looking at the internal structure of the corpus, G2 is a mathematically well-grounded and accurate measure of surprisingness (...) it corresponds reasonably well to human judgements of distinctiveness. (Kilgariff 1996: 3)

In addition to its veracity of analysis, log-likelihood is judged best for comparing corpora of unequal size (Adolphs 2006: 44). Therefore a log-likelihood analysis is set as the formula for the corpus analysis in this study.⁷ Although the arguments are persuasive, there is the possibility that a finding will be delivered by chance. Some level of tolerance must be accepted as the uncertainty of statistical significance. As McEnery states there is a standard level of toleration of risk:

While we cannot be 100 per cent sure, the closer the likelihood is to 100 per cent, the more confident we can be. By convention, the general practice is that a hypothesis can be accepted only when the level of significance is less than 0.05 (i.e. $p < 0.05$). In other words, one must be more than 95 per cent confident that the observed differences have not arisen by chance. (McEnery 2006: 55)

In Baker's words, "in order to address the problem of over focussing on differences at the expense of similarities, it is recommended that the corpus being analysed is used in the creation of more than one keyword list" (Baker 2006: 139). In this study several keyword lists will be generated and negative keywords, those at the lower end of distinctiveness, are considered less important for the analysis of dominant trends.

⁷ The G2 log-likelihood formula is:

$$G2 = 2(a \log(a) + b \log(b) + c \log(c) + d \log(d) - (a + b)\log(a + b) - (a + c)\log(a + c) - (b + d)\log(b + d) - (c + d)\log(c + d) + (a + b + c + d)\log(a + b + c + d))$$

4.3.9. Concordances and Collocations

Exploring words in context is the main process for exploring the corpus text after frequency words have been observed. Using this approach, semantic cluster patterns can be observed to detect ideological concepts as “the set of ideas which arise from a given set of material interests or, more broadly from a definite class or group” (McEnery 2006: 85). Collocates are the words that have a strong tendency to co-occur together. This associative preference can be used to identify prevalent ideas in a particular corpus. In this study, selected keywords and the collocates that form semantic clusters will be explored for pattern change over time. Concordancing is a deceptively simple technique that can yield important insights and indicate general principles, in Evison’s words:

Concordancing is a valuable analytical technique because it allows a large number of examples of an item to be brought together in one place, in their original context. It is useful for both hypothesis testing and for hypothesis generation. (Evison 2010: 129)

Software programmes can present the keyword in context with the target keyword as a node in the centre of a span of words on either side as shown in Figure 12 below. This shows the most common format for concordance presentation “in which a single *node* or search term (this can be a word-form or phrase) is looked for in all its contexts across a text” (Tribble 2010: 171). Usefully for analysis, the keyword can be interpreted from the immediate location to the full extent of original text.

N	Concordance
1	research in the pioneering field of new media technologies. When we
2	is, they demonstrate the impact that new media technologies have had on
3	is the need for those working with new media technologies to approach
4	productive ways of understanding the new medium. Turning to the field of new
5	the new medium. Turning to the field of new media art Michael Punt, in his
6	established forum for the exchange of new ideas - the festival celebrated its
7	and a willingness to consider new approaches that inform the debates
8	Angeles, USA, as an example of how new media technologies can transform
9	can emerge from game play and 'the new forms of playfulness that sustain
10	Technologies Journal of Research into New Media Convergence: The
11	by courts as a way to understand the new medium. As a result, the metaphor
12	metaphors for understanding the new medium. Metaphors, the That
13	It is natural, when confronted with a new technology, to law draw
14	which one is more familiar, so that the new subject is more approachable
15	are useful in popular discourse about new technologies, they are equally at
16	The following example shows how new technologies can present difficulty
17	in drawing parallels between what is new and what has come before: If the
18	This example shows that, in completely new situations, judges must resort more
19	to metaphor in order to see how the new concept fits within the existing legal
20	the freedoms that would be afforded the new medium. While the internet can

Figure 12 Concordance of ‘new’ from *Convergence* 2005-2009

Tracking changing ideas in media education is the main purpose of this study, keywords and their collocates will be the main instrument for analysis.

4.4. Limitations and Advantages of the Study

Corpus analysis is a research method that could be deployed as empirical evidence disassociated from theoretical concepts. As summarised by Charles:

The focus on surface features can give corpus approaches an ‘ad hoc’ feel, and it can appear that research of this kind lacks the consistent theoretical underpinning of much discourse-based work. (Charles 2009: 3)

Allowing the research to be driven by computer technology could also be limiting, as Widdowson points out:

The computer can only cope with the material products of what people do when they use language (...) it cannot account for the complex interplay of linguistic and contextual factors whereby discourse is enacted. (Widdowson 2000: 7)

Widdowson adds that computing methods could offer the false certainty by creating “an analytic construct which then effectively produces reality in its own image” (Widdowson 2000: 23).

The computer analysis is not 100% accurate; there should be some doubt about the accuracy of the findings. The persistence of ambiguity is based on the level of probability that the statistical analysis is accurate to a probability of *P Value.01* which is a 1% danger of being wrong in claiming a relationship between words.

These notes of caution emphasise that corpus driven or technology dependent research methods are insufficient. Such views compel the researcher to follow standard scholarship practice to integrate empirical and theoretical process within the research framework to create new knowledge from the data.

The selected publications for the corpus share a strong interest in media education. Although the difference in word count does not present a statistical problem for comparative analysis, the *Media Literacy Bulletin* is evidently different from both *Screen* and *Convergence* as it is not an academic journal. It has been noted that the cross-sectional corpus was selected to be contrastive. However, there remains a disparity of language register. At the time of the research process, the *Media Literacy Bulletin* was the only extant UK publication for debates and issues about Media Literacy. Subsequently the Media Education Research Journal, first published in 2010 (Gray 2007), has become the academic journal that highlights Media Literacy topics.

The BNC was distributed prior to the release of the World Wide Web: "The first general release of the corpus for European researchers was announced in February 1995" (BNC 2007). Since the vocabulary does not represent present day involvement in digital cultures, some academics view this as a problem (Hoffmann 2008). The research interval is set to a period following the World Wide Web and a contrastive analysis using the BNC would pick up digital media references as all the more distinctive compared to general language use.

Consequently, the BNC limitations are not material to the findings for internal field variation and the change over time.

Most corpus analysis software programmes link to output data on other programmes in which the data can be re-sorted for different ways of viewing data patterns. Excel is an example of a useful programme for re-sorting and compiling charts for data but limited in the visualisation functionality. Text may be read in a linear sequence but the patterns that language generates are more diverse. The limited use of data visualisation suggests the next stage of development for corpus analyses is to develop visual representation formats.

Since a media education corpus had not previously been created, this study required its formation; the media education corpus remains available for further study. As discussed in section 4.1.5. on selecting the study material, considering the broad range of text that could be studied, the decision was made to collect publications written by educationalists in the UK. This decision led to the production of the specialist media education corpus that contains a representative selection of approaches in the field during the interval studied. The cross-sectional corpus is a repository that will continue to have significant historical value. The *Screen* corpus is a somewhat different specialist corpus from a single text source consisting of all the *Screen* text published from 1990 to 2009. At another time, a different research brief may necessitate the construction of the companion corpus *Screen* 1970-1989 to compare two distinctively different eras of socio-historical and educational change. However, further corpus development is not required since the exiting corpora developed for this investigation offer researchers an archive of data rich text for further study.

The design for this study is a distinctive construct that has proved to be robust for the requirements of the investigation. As an example of research practice the

method stands as a model for similar studies. The particular attribute that this design offers is the integration of theory with practice so that one would be insufficient without the other. Researchers are often asked if their work is quantitative or qualitative, but the adopted method demonstrates that such binary oppositions can be false. The framework devised by Bourdieu, as applied in this study, requires an astute interpretative analysis of sometimes quite small language patterns to construe underpinning human motivation. In contrast, the empirical approach entails acquiring large amounts of data to sift for those disclosing language patterns. As such, this research is neither quantitative nor qualitative, as it is necessarily engaged in both.

The knowledge supports that are required to interlock this methodological construct are three-fold: sociological theories from Bourdieu, Applied Linguistics through corpus analytics, and the subject-specific understanding of media and media education. Others may adopt this methodological design as an effective method for further research.

This study of media in education is distinctive: to date no other study has been published that combines theoretical analysis with corpus analysis. Indeed, I have established that there is a history of empirical neglect in this subject area. By placing the empirical research into a theoretical frame, the present study thus offers new insights into the field of power within education and broader society.

4.5. Establishing Trustworthiness

Appropriate criteria for establishing the trustworthiness of qualitative research have been debated by several writers on research methods. For example, Lincoln and Guba comment that “the basic issue in relation to trustworthiness is simple: how can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including self) that the

findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of?” (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 290). They argue that one of the most important factors determining trustworthiness is the credibility of the research undertaken (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 296). Subsequently Andrew Shenton demonstrated how Guba’s four criteria of trustworthiness – credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Guba 1981: 80) – can provide a rigorous framework for the qualitative researcher who needs to ensure the validity of his or her research findings. Following Shenton I will now address the means by which the research methods used in my study conform to each of Guba’s criteria.

The notion of credibility concerns operational steps that ensure that the “study actually measures or tests what is actually intended” (Shenton 2004: 64). In the first instance, credibility needs to be demonstrated by adopting well-established and tested research procedures “that have been successfully utilised in previous comparable projects” (Shenton 2004: 64). Furthermore, supporting material should be used to establish the context for understanding the behaviour of the groups or organisations under scrutiny (Shenton 2004: 64-66). My study meets the criterion of credibility by using corpus analysis as a well-established research method that enables the capture and analysis of vast amounts of data from a particular field, in my case the field of media education. In order to establish credibility I therefore first assessed related research in 1.4. before profiling corpus analysis in 4.1.4. and outlining the standard procedural stages in 4.3. The broader context for understanding the particular “culture of participating organisations” (Shenton 2004: 65) studied here was the specific subject of Chapter Three, which offers an historical perspective on the evolving field of media education in the United Kingdom.

The criterion of transferability “is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations” (Merriam 1998: 39). However, for this category a note of caution is warranted since qualitative work often relies on unique contexts that cannot easily be transferred to other situations. Without minimising the importance of specific contextual factors, Shenton suggests that “it is the responsibility of the investigator to ensure that sufficient contextual information about the fieldwork sites is provided to enable the reader to make such a transfer” (Shenton 2004: 69-70). Since my research situates the corpus analysis of the core academic journals about Film and Media Studies in a particular socio-historical context in the United Kingdom, it allows the reader to determine “how far they can be confident in transferring to other situations the results and conclusions presented” (Shenton 2004: 70). Arguably, the methodological procedure and research findings presented in this study can transfer to other humanities subjects that also had to respond to the arrival of the knowledge economy and the ensuing reconfiguration of third-level education. Readers can make an informed judgment to what extent and how my results and conclusions as presented in Chapter Five and Chapter Six might transfer across to other subject areas and possibly to different contexts.

The criterion of dependability requires that “if the work were repeated, in the same contexts, with the same methods and with the same participants, similar results would be obtained” (Shenton 2004: 71). My research approach fulfils this requirement by recording the corpus building process in procedural stages so that the method described should be replicable. Consequently matching outcomes should be achieved by using the same corpus text and process of analysis to perform the tasks described in sections 4.3.1. to 4.3.9.

Finally, the criterion of confirmability refers to the researcher's concern for objectivity. Even though the "intrusion of the researcher's biases is inevitable" (Shenton 2004: 72), she or he should aim to find an approach that, as far as possible, represents the experiences and ideas of the organisation or study group under scrutiny rather than the investigator's preconceived ideas. My selection of some journals over others as explained in section 4.1. may be viewed as a bias based on my predispositions and professional experience in media education across a time span of thirty years. On the other hand, my selection was tested against the proclamations of the journal editors and publishers who assert a representative or even leading position for their journals in their field. A data audit trail that "allows any observer to trace the course of the research step-by-step" (Shenton 2004: 72) is accounted for through most of Chapters Four and Five. A theoretical audit trail, which tracks "the manner in which the concepts inherent in the research question gave rise to the work" (Shenton 2004: 72) is presented in Chapter Two which establishes the Bourdieusian framework. I showed that Bourdieu was very much aware of the multi-faceted challenges of field analysis, in particular the predicament of making invisible assumptions about our social worlds visible from within. The researcher's attempt to understand a field is hampered by naturalised assumptions about the social world that often remain hidden under the umbrella of social consensus and common sense (Bourdieu and Nice 1977a: 167).

Faced with this dilemma, Bourdieu proposed a mode of reflexivity that "calls less for intellectual introspection than for permanent sociological analysis and control of practice" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 40). He explicated that this entailed the exploration of "unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought" (ibid.), that is the vigilant interrogation

of the researcher's own intellectual predispositions and unconscious assumptions. As Wacquant further explains, Bourdieu's notion of self-reflexivity demands an examination of the very epistemes and conventions that structure a field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 36). While the analysis of the collective unconscious in its totality is arguably an unreachable goal, the researcher can nevertheless strive towards a robust level of trustworthiness by adopting the criteria as discussed in this chapter and applied throughout in practice.

5. Findings

One exciting prospect arising from computational analysis of very large corpora is the potential to see entirely new patterns and features of language by means of statistical methods (Clear 1993: 185)

5.1. Introduction: Presenting Findings

The analysis of the media education corpus involves two stages. The cross-sectional analysis charts keyword relationships within the media education corpus to create a corpus map of relationships between the corpus constituents. The second study is a longitudinal analysis that tracks keywords and their collocated words in the *Screen* journal across the duration 1990-2009. Findings from this analysis show strong evidence of shifting changes in the *Screen* corpus. The keywords that were studied in depth as corpus exemplars were *film*, *popular* and *media*.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the in-depth investigation of the transformation of media education subjects in the era of the World Wide Web requires firstly a description of the field of media education and then the scrutiny of patterns of change in a particular section of that field. In order to achieve these aims, I have undertaken a cross-sectional analysis of a media education corpus to capture the content created by specialists writing in academic journals that claim to represent Film Studies, Media Studies and Media Literacy. This means that the authors of the corpus text have been involved in establishing what is meaningful for participants in the field. I then selected the *Screen* corpus to explore changing patterns over the long-term since the launch of the World Wide Web. Accordingly, there will be a cross-sectional analysis followed by a longitudinal analysis of the corpus.

The language patterns found in the corpus analysis are interpreted in terms of Bourdieu's theory of language and power, as discussed in Chapter 2. Bourdieu argued that social power and power within fields can be observed in language. The authorised language of academic publications is a site of contestation where power can be won, sustained or lost and advantages gained. My interpretation of the media education corpus findings will be based on the Bourdieusian notion of the authority of published text as a means of legitimating ideas and claiming social advancement.

Moving to the principles of corpus analysis from the stance of Applied Linguistics, Zipf demonstrated that common grammatical words have the highest frequency, unusual words have the lowest frequency, and words that contain the most representative lexical content are found in the middle. This implies that the middle usually holds the most interesting words for a lexical study (Zipf 1965: 40-46). My analysis concerns lexical words but uses a different method as discussed in section 4.3. of the previous chapter. While the raw data correlates with the Zipfian pattern, the method applied here departs from Zipf's model when the data are filtered to find the most distinctive terms – the keywords. Consequently, the words that will be investigated are not in the middle set, but the keywords which are defined as words "which occurs with unusual frequency in a given text" (Scott 197: 236).

The words analysed in this study will have one of two characteristics. A frequent word is derived from a count of how frequently it occurs in the corpus. Word frequency is the required basis for finding keywords. A keyword is one that is found by statistical analysis to be particularly distinctive of the corpus. This is achieved by comparing the study corpus with reference corpus such as the British National Corpus (BNC). The calculation of difference between the

standard and the study corpus generates patterns of word distinctiveness. As a result, some keywords are more distinctive than others, the keyword ranks are presented accordingly and the most distinctive are selected for analysis.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the veracity of the statistical method for finding keywords is based on the log-likelihood algorithm. Here it should be noted that the probability value (P Value) is set at 0.000001, giving a probability of one in one million risk of the algorithm mistaking the relationship between words. The number (N) of keywords per list will be presented as N1-N500 and word distinctiveness is presented as keyness (K). To narrow the scope of such a large amount of corpus data and to retain a manageable amount in focus, the analysis of keywords will be limited to keywords of K5,000 and above. This constraint produces twenty-seven keywords from the whole corpus for the cross-sectional analysis. To control the longitudinal analysis, a keyword will be selected from each category type (exiting, consistent and emerging) for an in-depth exploration of the keywords and their collocates over a twenty-year period.

This chapter presents the findings from the corpus analysis as follows: while section 5.2. deals with the cross-sectional analysis, 5.3. addresses findings from the longitudinal analysis. Initial observations are presented in section 5.4. Chapter 6 will then discuss the findings in relation to the theoretical framework and the overriding research questions.

5.2. Cross-Sectional Analysis: A Field Map

The aim of the cross-sectional analysis is to find the distinguishing features of media education in the five-year interval 2005-2009 (see Appendices 1-3). This corpus contains approximately 2.5 million words. First, a frequency analysis is undertaken and then a keyword analysis is conducted. The whole corpus is

looked at in overview to gain preview of corpus content. Then different word positions within the corpus are plotted from the corpora data of *Screen*, *Convergence* and *Media Literacy Bulletin*. At the end of this procedure, a set of word positions and word relationships will be used to create a map of the corpus.

5.2.1. Frequent Words

A first indication of the whole corpus can be observed in Table 5 below which shows the top ten most frequent corpus words. The dominant topics are media related: *film* (N1), *media* (N2) *new* [media] (N3) *cinema* (N4) *television* (N7), *image* (N8) and *internet* (N10); *culture* (N5), and *history* (N9) are also highly frequent.

N	Word	Freq.
1	Film	12,829
2	Media	10,007
3	New	7,945
4	Cinema	5,540
5	Culture	5,411
6	Digital	4,021
7	Television	3,853
8	Image	3,163
9	History	3,056
10	Internet	2,799

Table 5 Frequent Words, Corpus

The most frequent words in *Screen*, 2005-2009, are shown in Table 6. This shows that the dominant topics are the media forms of *film* (N1), *cinema* (N2), *new* media (N3), *image* (N5), *television* (N7) and the *press* (N10). The dominant medium is *film* and the media are linked with *culture* (N4), *history* (N6) and *screen* (N8). The word *screen* (N8) refers to the screen media and *world* (N9) is a reference to the World Wide Web.

N	Word	Freq.
1	Film	12,225
2	Cinema	5,014
3	New	2,679
4	Culture	2,514
5	Image	2,218
6	History	2,217
7	Television	2,084
8	Screen	1,664
9	World	1,524
10	Press	1,406

Table 6 Frequent Words, *Screen*

The most frequent words in *Convergence* are shown in Table 7. Here, the digital media relationships dominate: *new* (N2), *digital* (N4), *game* (N5), *mobile* (N6), *internet* (N8), and *online* (N10). Other frequent words, *media* (N1), *culture* (N3) and *news* (N7) refer to the wider media and *public* (N9) connects the media and society.

N	Word	Freq.
1	Media	5,867
2	New	4,726
3	Culture	2,792
4	Digital	2,734
5	Game	2,280
6	Mobile	2,233
7	News	1,961
8	Internet	1,894
9	Public	1,836
10	Online	1,737

Table 7 Frequent Words, *Convergence*

The most frequent terms in the *Media Literacy Bulletin* are presented in Table 8. This list shows the words *media* (N1) and *literacy* (N2) at the highest level of interest and digital media terms follow: *online* (N3), *digital* (N4) and *internet* (N5). This demonstrates an interest in digital media literacy. The remaining words, *Ofcom* (N6), *UK* (N7), *people* (N8), *information* (N9), and *children* (N10) indicate an important interest in the nation state, society and children as a specified group with attention to “the changing risks to children as a result of an

increased use of information and communications technology” (*Media Literacy Bulletin* Issue 4, December 2005:9).

N	Word	Freq.
1	Media	2,189
2	Literacy	1,503
3	Online	930
4	Digital	926
5	Internet	826
6	Ofcom	825
7	UK	765
8	People	733
9	Information	611
10	Children	569

Table 8 Frequent Words, *Media Literacy Bulletin*

The most frequent words, in the complete corpus and the individual corpora confirm a prior conjecture that the traditional popular media and the digital media are the most frequent interests in media education.

When the three publications are compared types of media are differently distributed. *Screen* is most interested in the topics of film, cinema and television (see footnote 1). In contrast, the dominant topics in *Convergence* tend towards digital games, mobile devices and the internet. There is a common approach to media linked with culture in both *Convergence* and *Screen*, but there is no frequent interest in culture in the *Media Literacy Bulletin*. Some of the most frequent words in the *Media Literacy Bulletin* are similar to *Convergence*, so that digital media, the internet and online communications appear to be joint interests. The *Media Literacy Bulletin* is different from *Convergence*: it is more frequently interested in Ofcom, the United Kingdom, information and children.

These frequency trends confirm that the popular media of film and television are the most frequent interests in the corpus. Initial conclusions can be drawn from this overview. The word frequency findings suggest that *Screen* and *Convergence* are connected by their interest in culture. A relationship between

Convergence and *Media Literacy Bulletin* is indicated in digital media. *Media Literacy Bulletin* is set apart by the absence of a dominant interest in culture. The next stage in the cross-sectional analysis is to find the keywords that are distinctive of the corpus. This is achieved by applying the log-likelihood algorithm to analyse the patterns of words frequencies in the study corpus in comparison with a reference corpus. The BNC has been chosen as the reference corpus of standard language for the comparative analysis of difference. The next section presents findings from the keyword analysis.

5.2.2. Keywords

Keywords can be used to define the corpus profile more precisely than is illustrated by raw frequencies, since keyword patterns demonstrate how this particular corpus is set apart by its distinct difference from everyday interests. Keyness values also indicate position differences that can be used as a measurement system to map the corpus.

As indicated, the log likelihood algorithm generates a wide range of keyness values. To focus this study, a limitation has been set to select the keywords that have a keyness value of K5,000 and over. Keyword lists are presented in order of rank, keywords are presented by rank number (N), the highest is number one (N1) and keyness values (K) in thousands. When the Keyness value limitation of K5,000 and over is applied, the overall corpus data range is (N1:K63,350) to (N27:K5,009). In the separate sub-corpora, *Screen* has a range of (N1:K76,778) to (N12:K5,035); *Convergence* ranges from (N1:K42,886) to (N11:K7,086) and the *Media Literacy Bulletin* has a range of (N1:K20,371) to (N7:K7,459). These figures show that in comparison with interests expressed in everyday language, *Screen* is the most distinctive publication in the corpus, *Convergence* is moderately

distinctive and the *Media Literacy Bulletin* is the least distinctive of the corpus publications.

The next sections present keyword findings for the complete corpus of 2.5 million words in 5.2.2.1. and then by individual sub-corpora as follows: *Screen* in 5.2.2.2., *Convergence* in 5.2.2.3. and *Media Literacy Bulletin* 5.2.2.4.

5.2.2.1. Corpus Keywords

The complete corpus keywords for the keyness value K5,000 and above, are ranked N1-N27, these are presented in Table 9.

N	Keyword Corpus	Keyness	N	Keyword Corpus	Keyness
1	Film	63,350	15	Ofcom	8,201
2	Medium	56,854	16	Broadcast	7,675
3	Cinema	32,515	17	DVD	6,925
4	Digital	22,240	18	Content	6,712
5	Culture	21,852	19	Filmmaker	6,688
6	Internet	19,788	20	Website	6,431
7	Online	16,942	21	Convergence	5,991
8	Mobile	13,024	22	History	5,585
9	Television	12,643	23	Communication	5,437
10	Image	10,651	24	Screen	5,373
11	URL	9,669	25	Game	5,146
12	Audience	9,367	26	Access	5,062
13	Narrative	9,098	27	BBC	5,009
14	Literacy	8,330			

Table 9 Keywords, Corpus

To gain an impression of emerging themes, I have sorted keywords as they cluster under the headings: *General Terms*, *Media Forms*, *Distribution Modes* and *People & Society*, these are presented in Table 10 as follows:

- *General Terms*: culture (N5) narrative (N13), literacy (N14), content (N18), history (N22), communication (N23), screen and (N24)
- *Media Forms*: film (N1), medium (N2), digital (N4), television (N9), image (N10), website (N20) and game (N25).
- *Distribution Systems*: cinema (N3), internet (N6), online (N7), mobile (N8), URL (N11), broadcast (N16), DVD (N17), convergence (N21) BBC (N27) and access (N26).
- *People & Society*: audience (N12), Ofcom (N15) and filmmaker (N19)

N	General Terms	N	Media Forms	N	Distribution Systems	N	People & Society
5	Culture	1	Film	3	Cinema	12	Audience
13	Narrative	2	Medium	6	Internet	15	Ofcom
14	Literacy	4	Digital	7	Online	19	Filmmaker
18	Content	9	Television	8	Mobile	26	Access
22	History	10	Image	11	URL		
23	Communication	20	Website	16	Broadcast		
24	Screen	25	Game	17	DVD		
				21	Convergence		
				27	BBC		

Table 10 Keywords by Category, Corpus

General terms include words such as *culture* and *narrative* which suggest a scholarly interest in areas such as textual analysis, aesthetics, ideology and philosophy. The less obviously connected words *Ofcom* and *access* indicate interests in communications regulation and participation in the public media sphere. The category of Media Forms indicates that the traditional popular media prevail in the cross-sectional corpus over the digital media 2005-2009. Words that refer to digital topics fluctuate and are difficult to categorise, terms such as *mobile* and *internet* are in the category Distribution Systems as they refer to distribution and also media content. Here old and new systems of media distribution are found together, while terms such as *URL* and *DVD* are becoming less common. The category People & Society shows that the field is divided into distinctively different sectors for people who use the media, people who make the media, and people who govern the media.

The overview of interests represented in the cross-sectional corpus shows that it is distinguished by a high level of interest in the traditional media of film and television and to a lesser extent by the digital media. The preliminary markers demonstrate that each publication contributes differently to what distinguishes the corpus; *Screen* is the strongest identifier. Modes of articulating the media are disclosed as *culture*, *narrative*, *history* and *communication*.

Overall, the relationship of people to the media is divided into users or makers. Already by 2005 certain digital terminology such as *URL* had fallen out of use. The next three sections present corpus findings separately by publication: *Screen*, *Convergence* and *Media Literacy Bulletin*.

5.2.2.2. *Screen* Keywords

Screen's keywords with value of K5,000 and above rank N1-N12, these are presented in Table 11. The keyword *film* (N1 K76,778) is the most distinctive media type for study, as accentuated by the following quotation: “studies of the film attest to the rich potential of reexamining ‘classic’ texts” (Street 2005:3). After a sizable drop in keyness the keyword *cinema* (N2 K36,041) is ranked second. It is notable that the medium *television* (N6 K7,525) is five ranks lower than *film* (N1 K76,778) with a wide keyness difference (rounded up to the nearest thousand) of K77,000 for *film* dropping to K8,000 for *television*. *Screen* most values the concept *culture* (N3 K10,546) followed by the media term *image* (N4 K9,188) and the people who make film *filmmaker* (N5 K7,540).

N	Keyword <i>Screen</i>	Keyness
1	Film	76,778
2	Cinema	36,041
3	Culture	10,546
4	Image	9,188
5	Filmmaker	7,540
6	Television	7,525
7	Screen	7,164
8	Narrative	6,878
9	Medium	6,266
10	History	5,630
11	Viewer	5,161
12	Audience	5,053

Table 11 Keywords, *Screen*

Other distinctive keywords in the *Screen* corpus are common terms in film analysis, these are *screen* (N7 K7,164), *narrative* (N8 K6,878) and *medium* (N9

K6,266). The top-ten ranked position of *history* (N10 K5,630) shows that the historical tradition of film remains important for *Screen*, as underlined by the following statement: “Britain’s screen history is far richer and open to more interpretations than is generally understood” (Russell 2005: 111). Film spectatorship is a topic of interest which is indicated by the keywords *viewer* (N11 K5,161) and *audience* (N12 K5,053). Keyword patterns show that in *Screen*, the media of film, cinema and television are interpreted through cultural narratives, history and spectatorship. For example, an historical approach to the study of a particular film would be “the various discourses – aesthetic, cultural, political – that circulated around the film upon the occasion of its initial release” (Chapman 2005:33). In the top keywords for *Screen*, there is no obvious indication of an interest in digital media.

5.2.2.3. Convergence Keywords

The *Convergence* keywords that have a keyness value of over K5,000 rank N1-N18, these are presented in Table 12 below.

N	Keyword <i>Convergence</i>	Keyness
1	Medium	42,886
2	Digital	18,109
3	Internet	16,121
4	Mobile	14,612
5	Online	12,861
6	Culture	12,546
7	URL	10,470
8	Technology	9,813
9	Game	7,402
10	Convergence	7,107
11	Broadcast	7,086
12	DVD	6,792
13	Content	6,193
14	News	5,791
15	Communication	5,502
16	Radio	5,475
17	Television	5,319
18	Website	5,275

Table 12 Keywords, *Convergence*

The *Convergence* corpus contains a higher number of keywords (N1-N18) within this keyness range than *Screen* (N1-N12) or the *Media Literacy Bulletin* (N1-N7) which indicates that *Convergence* has the broader spread of distinctive interests. A stated priority in *Convergence* is “the impact that new media technologies have had on how we experience our culture and how we communicate with one another” (Knight et al. 2005: 5). This is corroborated by the *Convergence* keywords that show digital media themes and digital technologies to have the strongest presence in this corpus. The keywords *medium* (N1 K42,886) and *digital* (N2 K18,109) link to *digital media*. Others in *Convergence* are *culture* (N6 K12,546), *technology* (N8 K9,813), *convergence* (N10 K7,107) and *communication* (N15 K5,502). When the word *convergence* is used as a journal title it has been removed from the corpus; the discussion topic of *media convergence*, combining previously separate media in the new digital systems, emerges as a strong topic of cultural interest in *Convergence*, as well as convergence policy such as the EU *Audiovisual Media Services Directive* of 2007 that “goes beyond the scope of TV alone and is expected to set convergence appropriate European standards for content regulation” (Latzer 2009 :421). The keyword *website* (N18 K5,275) has a surprisingly low keyness value (N18 K5,275) in this corpus compared with the higher ranked *internet* (N3 K16,121). This suggests that the *internet* is a multipurpose term, used for topics about media convergence, games distribution and the location for websites. There is an interest in digital distribution in the keywords: *mobile* (N4 K14,612), *online* (N5 K12,861), *URL* (N7 K10,470) and *DVD* (N12 K6,792).

The digital media phraseology is in transition in the *Convergence* sample 2005-2009. The words *website* and *mobile* can both refer to media content and to distribution operations, as exemplified in the following quote by a BBC media

editor who “blamed the mobile operator’s inflexible tariff structures for failing to produce low cost content” (Perryman 2008: 33). Other digital media terms such as *URL* and *DVD* are phasing out. From the list of *Convergence* keywords, one can glean that its interest in the digital media is different from *Screen*’s interest in the popular screen media of film and television. *Convergence* has a more inclusive range of media from traditional radio and television to digital games and mobile media. This wide range of interests is facilitated by the digital era since the convergence of all media forms in the digital format occurs as a consequence of digital technologies. *Screen* does not display any significant interest in media convergence. By contrast, *Convergence* shows an apparent lack of interest in film.

5.2.2.4. Media Literacy Bulletin Keywords

The keywords in *Media Literacy Bulletin* with a keyness value above K5,000 are ranked N1-N7, as presented in Table 13 below. The two top ranked and distinctive words are *medium* (N1:K20,371) and *literacy* (N2:K16,210). The other keywords that cluster together are *Ofcom* (N3:K10,685), *internet* (N4:K10,068), *online* (N5:K10,001) *digital* (N6:K8,393) and *website* (N7:K7,459). Since *medium* is the lemma headword for the word family that contains *media*, these findings confirm the assumption, as conveyed in the publication title, that media literacy is the strongest topic in the *Media Literacy Bulletin*. The keyword ranks also show that digital media are more important than traditional mass media. None of the traditional media (such as *film*, *television* or *radio*) are found in the top ranks nor is *culture* ranked in the top keywords in *Media Literacy Bulletin*.

N	Keyword MLB	Keyness
1	Medium	20,371
2	Literacy	16,210
3	Ofcom	10,685
4	Internet	10,068
5	Online	10,001
6	Digital	8,394
7	Website	7,459

Table 13 Keywords, *Media Literacy Bulletin*

5.2.3. Map of Objective Relationships

The keyword metrics enable the construction of the corpus map. This stage will implement the procedure for charting word positions as directed by the data. The corpus map will be structured from the systematically measured relationships of word positions that represent the ranked interests of the corpus authors. The previous overview of the whole corpus and the details of the individual sections indicated that media forms – traditional mass media and newer digital media – are the most distinguishing corpus features. The strong presence of ancillary terms such as *culture*, *narrative*, *history* and *literacy* indicate differences of approach to the shared media topics. The keywords that match will share the same space, those that are similar will be placed beside each other and those that are different can be set apart. This charting process uses graphical language in the map format to show shared, close and distant relationships that have emerged from the findings. The creation of a map resolves the underlying research question of what topics constitute the field of media education within a specific timeframe based on the interests of self-determining field experts. A field map of the cross-section 2005-2009 will include locations that could be prospected to study field shifts in media education in the longitudinal timeframe 1999-2009.

Initially the data from the individual corpora were placed contiguously to observe positional relationships within the cross-section as shown in Table 14.

N	Screen	Keyness	N	Convergence	Keyness	N	Media Literacy Bulletin	Keyness
1	Film	76,778	1	Medium	42,886	1	Medium	20,371
2	Cinema	36,041	2	Digital	18,109	2	Literacy	16,210
3	Culture	10,546	3	Internet	16,121	3	Ofcom	10,685
4	Image	9,188	4	Mobile	14,612	4	Internet	10,068
5	Filmmaker	7,540	5	Online	12,861	5	Online	10,001
6	Television	7,525	6	Culture	12,546	6	Digital	8,394
7	Screen	7,164	7	URL	10,470	7	Website	7,459
8	Narrative	6,878	8	Technology	9,813			
9	Medium	6,266	9	Game	7,402			
10	History	5,630	10	Convergence	7,107			
11	Viewer	5,161	11	Broadcast	7,086			
12	Audience	5,053	12	DVD	6,792			
			13	Content	6,193			
			14	News	5,791			
			15	Communication	5,502			
			16	Radio	5,475			
			17	Television	5,319			
			18	Website	5,275			
• Keywords across the whole corpus • Keywords connecting <i>Screen</i> and <i>Convergence</i> • Keywords connecting <i>Convergence</i> and <i>Media Literacy Bulletin</i>								

Table 14 Cross-Sectional Data Comparison

Table 14 above shows that *medium* is the only keyword common to all corpora. Two keywords, *culture* and *television*, are shared only in *Screen* and *Convergence* and not in *Media Literacy Bulletin*. There are four keywords, *digital*, *internet*, *online* and *website*, which appear in *Convergence* and the *Media Literacy Bulletin* that are not found in *Screen*. These configurations show that *Convergence* and *Media Literacy Bulletin* have common interests that are different from shared interests in *Screen* and *Convergence*. A striking difference between *Screen* and

Media Literacy Bulletin is that they share only a general interest in the media and not in media forms (film versus digital media). And while *Screen* favours the cultural approach to film, the *Media Literacy Bulletin* prioritises skills in digital media. In contrast, topics covered by *Convergence* intersect interests in *Screen* and *Media Literacy Bulletin* so that *Convergence* can be seen to function as a link that bridges the extent of the field.

Since the data has now been analysed and a set of relationships had been observed from the findings, the cross-section of the corpus can now be visualised as map of objective word locations. To graphically represent relative corpus values and positions mapped in the form of a Venn diagram, the font sizes are presented in proportion to keyness values of the keywords as follows:

$5,000 < K \leq 10,000 = 10\text{pt}$
 $10,000 < K \leq 20,000 = 20\text{pt}$
 $20,000 < K \leq 30,000 = 30\text{pt}$
 $30,000 < K \leq 40,000 = 40\text{pt}$
 $40,000 < K \leq 50,000 = 50\text{pt}$
 $50,000 < K \leq 60,000 = 60\text{pt}$
 $60,000 < K \leq 70,000+ = 70\text{pt}$

In the map of the media education corpus in Figure 13 keyword values in an intersection are averaged, colour coding is used to highlight keyword intersections and, for practicality, at the higher and lower ends have been restricted to within 10-70 point font size.

Figure 13 illustrates that the generic term *medium* connects the whole corpus. Identifying distinctiveness by sector, the keyword *film* is found only in *Screen*. It can be deduced that *film* is what most differentiates *Screen* and separates it from the rest of the corpus; *film* is also the most prominent interest in the study corpus. In *Convergence* the keywords are more diffused across media forms from television and radio to mobile and game interests. *Screen* contains marginally fewer keywords than *Convergence* but *Screen's* keywords have a much higher level of keyness so that *Screen* can be considered the most distinctive corpus publication in the set. *Convergence* contains the most keywords. The most differentiating keywords in *Convergence* are digital technology oriented (digital, internet, mobile, technology and online). However, since digital technologies are explored through their role in culture, *Convergence* can be understood as a media culture journal that specialises in the digital media and is interested in a wider range of media forms than *Screen*. As the *Media Literacy Bulletin* contains the least keywords it can be considered as closer to everyday interests than the other publications. The most distinctive keyword in *Media Literacy Bulletin* is *literacy* which links digital media to the wider society linked through the statutory communications regulator Ofcom.

Turning to the overlapping sectors, *Screen* and *Convergence* are linked by the keywords *culture* and *television*. *Convergence* overlaps with the *Media Literacy Bulletin* though *digital*, *internet* and *online*. Other than *medium*, which is the common corpus keyword, no keyword is shared between *Screen* and the *Media Literacy Bulletin*.

Furthermore, the map of the media education corpus in Figure 13 above shows that the traditional media and the comparatively new digital media are found in different sectors of the media education corpus. *Screen* does not connect media with literacy or digital culture. While *Convergence* does not connect media with literacy, the *Media Literacy Bulletin* connects media with literacy. But unlike *Convergence* and

Screen, *Media Literacy Bulletin* does not connect media with culture. This suggests that the *Media Literacy Bulletin* is an anomaly in the corpus.

These sections have presented the cross-sectional corpus analysis from word frequency gathering to keyword analysis and map making. The next section will present findings from the longitudinal analysis. The *Screen* corpus is selected as the corpus area to explore over a longer term shifting interests in the field since the launch of the World Wide Web. The cross-sectional analysis illustrated that *Screen* is the most distinctive publication in the field and its traditional media interests in film and cinema suggest that *Screen* is more likely to have enacted shifts during the period of change in the media landscape 1990-2009.

5.3. Longitudinal Analysis: Tracks and Traces

Findings from the analysis of the cross-sectional corpus that were presented in the previous sections demonstrated how the data were used to map objective relations in the corpus. This section presents the longitudinal analysis as the second stage of the empirical study. Having charted the corpus, the aim of the longitudinal analysis is to observe changes in one sector across an extended interval. The *Screen* corpus 1990-2009 was selected for the longitudinal analysis (see Appendices 4-23 for keyword data). The longitudinal study will track keywords and collocated words across time. It is expected that change of meaning will be observed in pattern variations.

The process begins with an analysis of frequencies in the twenty-year corpus of *Screen* and processing that data for keywords using the BNC reference file for comparison. Keyword patterns and their changing points of reference will be the important indicators of change. To identify broad temporal shifts, the ten top-ranked keywords will be tracked from 1990 across the timeline in annual stages to 2009 and keywords in the equivalent ranks in 2009 will be tracked in annual stages back to 1990. By these means, each keyword will be identified as belonging to one of three

categories: consistent, exiting or emerging. Having established the keywords by category, one representative keyword will be selected to investigate its lexical activity further. Since all keywords in the top ranks are distinctive of the corpus, keyword selection for further exploration relies on a subjective judgment about which keyword is more productive for this research. The collocational patterns of these selected keywords will be tracked across the corpus interval to find evidence of change. Having summarised the stages of the longitudinal analysis, the next sections present the findings from the implementation of this procedure, beginning with the analysis of word frequencies.

5.3.1. Frequent Words

Word frequency analysis is the first stage towards finding the keywords that are distinctive of the corpus. In *Screen* 1990, the top ten most frequent words, as presented in Table 15 below, are: *film*(N1), *culture* (N2), *woman*(N3), *television*(N4), *cinema*(N5), *history*(N6), *genre*(N7), *study*(N8), *American*(N9) and *popular*(N10).

N	Screen 1990	Freq.
1	FILM	2280
2	CULTURE	1047
3	WOMAN	849
4	TELEVISION	791
5	CINEMA	754
6	HISTORY	624
7	GENRE	557
8	STUDY	461
9	AMERICAN	408
10	POPULAR	371

N	Screen 2009	Freq.
1	FILM	1874
2	CINEMA	1172
3	SCREEN	594
4	TELEVISION	505
5	WORLD	441
6	MEDIA	424
7	HISTORY	418
8	ART	302
9	COLOUR	289
10	UNIVERSITY	279

Table 15 Top 10 Frequent Words: 1990 & 2009

By the end of 2009, after an interval of twenty years, the top ten most frequent words, as shown in Table 15 above, are: *film*(N1), *cinema*(N2), *screen*(N3), *television*(N4), *world* (N5), *media*(N6), *history*(N7), *art*(N8), *colour*(N9) and *university*(N10).

Comparing word frequency data in *Screen* 1990 with *Screen* 2009 gives a first indication of the constant and the changeable themes across the interval. At either end of the interval the four words that are most frequent in 1990 and 2009, are: *film*(N1), *cinema*(N2), *television*(N4), and *history*(N7). There are six words that were present in *Screen* 1990 that exit *Screen* by 2009, these exiting words are: *culture*(N2), *woman*(N3), *genre*(N7), *study*(N8), *American*(N9) and *popular*(N10). There are six words that were not present in 1990 which emerge in the corpus text by 2009, these emerging words are: *screen*(N3), *world*(N5), *media*(N6), *art*(N8), *colour*(N9) and *university*(N10). As an initial impression of corpus behaviour, the word frequency patterns show a decline in the topics of American film and women and film. This indicates that interest in the study of film from the theoretical genre approach has declined alongside a move away from the study of popular culture as typified in Hollywood film. A comparison of word frequency patterns in *Screen* 1990 and 2009 indicates an increased interest in screen studies, world cinema, digital media, and film art.

The word frequency patterns thus suggest a move away from the 1970s era of film theory, which was founded on the study of popular media through class, race and gender, towards themes such as world cinema, the cinematic image and art film. However, evidence from a word frequency analysis does not warrant an assured interpretation at this stage. In the next step, the word frequencies will therefore be analysed in comparison with the BNC to produce a list of the most distinctive keywords ranked by their keyness value. This will produce further data that can be used to identify pattern change in the corpus across time. The keyword findings are presented in the next section.

5.3.2. Keywords

Keywords are found by comparing word frequencies in the study corpus with the British National Corpus to find the most distinctive corpus words. They are ranked by

keyness values; the most distinctive keywords are placed in the top ranks. A means of identifying how a particular keyword changes over time is to mark and track its rank position along intervals on the timeline. The trends that are of interest will fall into three general categories: consistent, exiting and emerging. While a consistent keyword might vary somewhat, it remains relatively consistent across the term. An exiting keyword will be strongly present at the beginning and clearly drop out before the interval end. An emerging keyword will not be highly ranked at the start but enter into the higher ranks at some point within the interval. These distinctive patterns illustrate a keyword choreography that will indicate changing interests and concepts in the corpus over the study duration. In all likelihood there will be an overabundance of keywords in pattern sets. To limit the scope and enable better focus on shifting interests in the most distinctive areas, one keyword from each category will be selected for in-depth exploration from the sampled years: the start year 1990, the middle year 2000 and at the end of the interval in 2009. Keywords are found by their particular attributes of frequency in comparison with a reference corpus. Any keyword is also typical of any word use in language, as it needs to be attached to other words to create meaning; keywords can be observed as the nucleus of semantic word clusters. The contextual meaning of keywords can thus be construed from the collocational relationships of clustering words. Changes in the typical collocates of a keyword indicate how the semantic role of that keyword changes over time.

Keyword behaviour in the consistent, exiting and emerging categories is shown in Table 16 below.

N	Screen 1990 Keyword			Keyness	N	Screen 2009 Keyword			Keyness
1	FILM	•	=	8,762	1	FILM	•	=	8,285
2	CINEMA	•	=	4,794	2	CINEMA	•	=	8,092
3	TELEVISION	•	=	3,506	3	SCREEN	•	+	2,624
4	GENRE	•	x	2,391	4	TELEVISION	•	=	2,154
5	CULTURE	•	x	2,151	5	MEDIA	•	+	1,833
6	WOMAN'S	•	x	1,648	6	IMAGE	•	+	1,606
7	BFI	•	X	1,371	7	DELEUZE	•	+	1,251
8	NARRATIVE	•	=	1,283	8	SPECTATOR	•	+	1,142
9	POPULAR	•	x	1,188	9	CINEPHILIA	•	+	1,034
10	CASTRATION	•	x	1,099	10	NARRATIVE	•	=	892

Table 16 Keywords: 1990 and 2009

Key:

consistent	•	=
exiting	•	x
emerging	•	+

When the keywords in 1990 are compared with 2009, the consistent keywords found are: *film*, *cinema*, *television* and *narrative*; exiting keywords are *genre*, *culture*, *woman's*, *BFI*, *popular* and *castration*; emerging keywords are *screen*, *media*, *image*, *Deleuze*, *spectator*, and *cinephilia*. Patterns of change emerge that are sufficiently significant for further exploration. The next stage in analysing semantic change will begin with identifying representative keywords for further exploration. As presented in section 5.3.3.1., the consistent keyword *film* is selected for further study as it is the most distinctive word in the corpus; the exiting keyword *popular* is explored in section 5.3.4. and has been chosen as a catchword in Film Studies after the 1960s; and the emerging keyword *media* is presented in 5.3.5. as a likely expression of interest in the digital media that have emerged between 1990-2009.

5.3.3. Consistent Keywords

Four consistent keywords were found in the top ten ranks when the 1990 data were compared with 2009, as highlighted in Table 16 above. This section presents findings for the consistent keyword *film*. The investigation of its rank position and patterns of collocates in the sample years of 1990, 2000 and 2009, established that, while *film*

remained a stable keyword by the measure of its consistent rank, the collocational associations of *film* changed. This indicates that in the meaning system of the corpus, the role of *film* in the discourse of screen studies changes, although it appears stable as a statistically consistent feature of interest.

The set of consistent keywords comprises *film*, *cinema*, *television* and *narrative*. Comparing data from 1990 with 2009, some variations in rank and keyness surface. The keyword *film* holds rank and displays a relatively small decrease of keyness value from 1990 *film* (N1,K8,762) to 2009 *film* (N1,K8,285). The keyword *cinema* maintains the second rank position and from 1990 moves closer towards *film* by keyness value from 1990 *cinema* (N2,K4,794) to 2009 *cinema* (N2,K8,092). The keyword *television* drops one rank and its keyness value reduces from 1990 *television* (N3,K3,506) to 2009 *television* (N4,K2,154). The keyword *narrative* falls by two ranks and in keyness value from 1990 (N8,K1,283) to *narrative* 2009 (N10,K 892).

The annual keyness positions of consistent keywords are depicted in Figure 14 below. This confirms that *film* is consistently the most highly positioned keyword throughout the duration. An upward spike in *film* in 2004 is due to two special issues on film, Michael Powell’s films and children’s film. There is no obvious indication for the spike in 2007. This diagram also illustrates how *cinema* closely trails *film* throughout, while *television* and *narrative* trail among the lower top ten ranks.

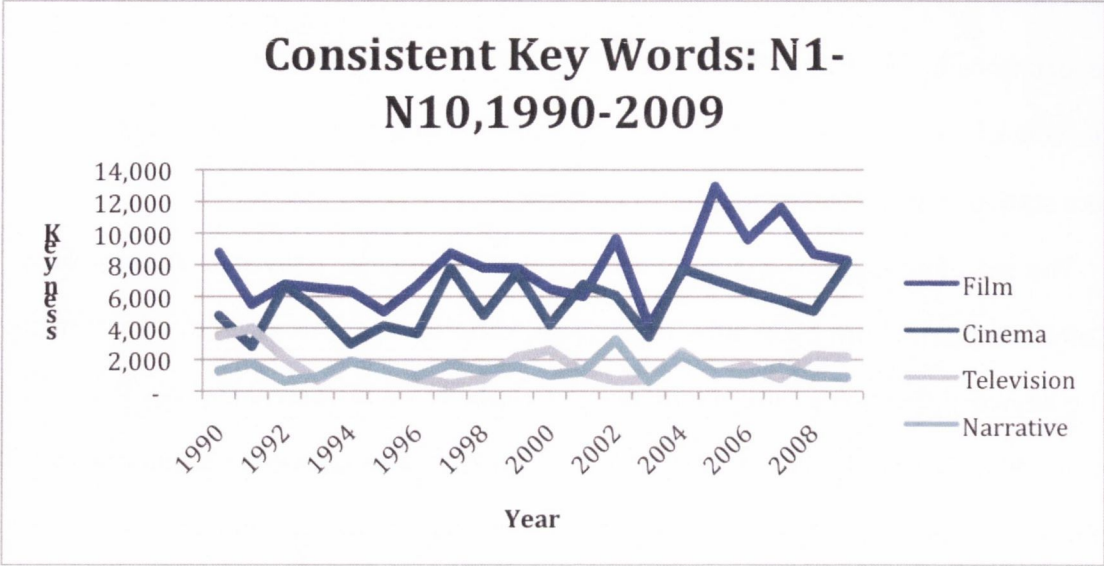


Figure 14 Consistent Keywords 1990-2009

In addition to the data that shows the distinctiveness of film in the period 1990-2009, with reference to the discussion of media education in Chapter 3 it is also known that *film* study had a foundational role in UK media education from before the 1960s. Therefore, *film* is selected from the category of consistent keywords for further study. An exploration of *film* through associated collocates is presented in the next section.

5.3.3.1. Consistent Keyword: *film*

The keyword and its closely collocated words form a lexical bundle to show how words create meaning in context.¹ Here the collocates of *film* are surveyed in the sample years 1990, 2000 and 2009. Table 17 below shows the closest lexical collocate that occurs in the original text to the left (L1) of the keyword *film* shown in the centre and the closest collocates that occurs to its right (R1) to compare patterns across 1990, 2000 and 2009.

¹ Biber and Conrad are credited with coining the term lexical bundle to indicate a sequence of collocational words that are probably not a complete structural unit and will commonly occur in a particular register. Thus, lexical bundles can be regarded as three or more words that are “the most frequent recurring lexical sequences” in a corpus (Biber and Conrad 1999: 183).

Constant Keyword: film						
Collocates						
L1	L1	L1		R1	R1	R1
1990	2000	2009	Keyword	2009	2000	1990
woman's british horror american feminist hollywood war girl independent narrative feature proletarian detective national entertainment hindi contemporary	british american german uk us silent contemporary national fiction new hindi horror hitchcock's early	british yiddish psychoanalytic feminist colour fiction feature national (avant)garde silent gallery us structural early french game reframing art american cinema inventing contemporary	film	studies theory institute history exhibition production industry reader historians television performance festival criticism viewing scholarship theorists theatre adaptation distribution experience culture scholars print policy	industry studies policy music production institute theory culture history style franchises cognition text television	studies institute history industry noir censorship culture theory music musical makers television criticism texts scholars scholars production viewing version analysis critical genre scholarship

Table 17 Constant Keyword *film*: collocates 1990, 2000 & 2009

Although some clarity has emerged in selecting the sample comparison, it can be seen that the keyword *film* is a highly frequent word in the corpus and therefore has a large number of collocates which poses a difficulty for identifying patterns in the data set. To find patterns from an additional process, *film*'s collocates will be categorised into cognate themes which are adapted from Biber's model for the classification of academic language (Biber 2006: 248; see Appendix 24). The original eight categories can be refined to four headings and linked to the keyword *film* and its collocates as follows:

- People, Group & Place: film directors, types of film and countries of film origin
- Cognitive, Academic & Abstract: intellectual approaches, academic methods and epistemological terms
- Concrete & Technical Concrete: tangible media items
- Industry & Institution: institutional systems and organisational aspects of the film sector.

The collocates of *film* that have been sorted by semantic category are presented in the following tables: Table 18 for 1990; Table 19 for 2000; and Table 20 for 2009. The patterns that emerge show that some collocates are steadfastly attached to film, some disappear, some return after an interval, and others transpire as new associations.

In the presentation of collocated words for *film* in 1990 in Table 18, words that occur again in 2000 are represented in normal font; collocates that will not occur in any of the other sample years are shown in grey font; collocates with an asterisk will disappear in 2000 and return in 2009.

The People, Group & Place category in Table 18 shows that the collocates that become detached from *film* between 1990 and 2000 relate to ideology, popular culture and the independent film-making sector. The discontinuation of *woman's* and *proletarian* during the 1990s shows a decline of interest in the cognate areas of feminist film studies and social and class analysis of film. Occasionally, the analysis of women's and proletariat film topics coincide, for example in an article by Haralovich who discusses "the proletarian woman's film (...) tied to the social relations of power" (Haralovich 1990: 173).

The collocates that disappear from the People, Group & Place category, between 1990 and 2000 illustrate a separation of *film* from popular culture. There is the discontinuation of *musical*, even though, as Rowe argues, "few forms embody the utopian impulse of popular culture more insistently than the musical" (Rowe 1990: 418), the *detective* film, which is "dominated by the devices of suspense, narrative digression and hermeneutic delay" (Neale 1990: 66), declines, and at the same time the association between film and *Hollywood* weakens. In the same decade one can observe a termination of the collocates *independent* and *makers*, a disappearance that coincides with the cessation of public funding for independent film production as film and broadcasting become deregulated industries.

Turning to the category Cognitive, Academic & Abstract in 1990 in Table 18, the grey font shows collocates that will have disappeared by the next sample year 2000, the asterisks show recurring collocates that are absent in 2000 but return in 2009. In this category, the number of collocates overall is reduced in 2000. The collocate *genre* is especially notable for its disappearance because of the high value placed on *genre* study in 1970s. In 1990, Neale emphasised the importance of genre study: “Genre is of course an important ingredient in any film’s narrative image (...) institutionalized in public discourses” (Neale 1990: 49), but *genre* has dropped from the top keyword ranks and exited the orthodoxy of film study by 2000.

Consistent Keyword FILM				
1990 Collocations				
People, Group & Place	Cognitive, Abstract	Academic &	Concrete Concrete	Technical Industry & Institution
american	analysis		production	industry
british	censorship		television	institute
contemporary	content			
detective	critical			
entertainment	criticism*			
feature	culture			
girl	feminist*			
hindi	genre			
hollywood	history			
horror	music			
independent	narrative			
makers	scholars			
musical	scholarship*			
national	studies			
noir	texts			
proletarian	theory*			
version	viewing*			
war				
woman's				

Table 18 Collocations by category: *film* 1990

The collocates that occur in the sample year 2000 for the keyword *film* are shown in Table 19. The new collocates that have not occurred in the previous sample year 1990 are shown in bold font. In the year 2000 the new collocates *German* and *Hitchcock's* in the People, Group & Place category refer to the study of film by director and by country of origin. In this year, an historical theme appears: the collocates *early* and *silent* suggest an increased tendency to link film with its history.

Moving to the Cognitive, Academic & Abstract category in 2000, *new* is an introduced collocate. Without further information, *new* is an ambiguous word that could signal an interest in digital media in media education. Therefore, it is important to disambiguate *new* to discover whether the collocate *new* creates a link between *film* and *new* media or *new* technologies.

The collocates of *new* in 2000 are in the order of their frequency: *York* (75), *Latin American* (30), *German* (25), *media* (19), *Munich* (8), *technologies* (8), *film* (7), *economics* (6), *forms* (5) and *Hollywood* (5). The collocates of *new* in association with *film* thus show that *film* is considerably more likely to be linked with *New York* (75) than *new media* (19). When in the sample year 2000 the collocate *new* is found with *film*, the association with new media is of little significance in *Screen*.

In the Concrete & Technical Concrete category, there is no change between 1990 and 2000. However, in the adjacent category of Industry & Institution in 2000, the word *policy* is newly introduced. This is an ambiguous collocate as the word *policy* has several potential associations. Observing the collocates of *policy* next will clarify its role in relation to *film*.

The collocates of *policy* positioned to the left (L) or the right (R) are: L1, *film* (40), *competitiveness* (14) *competition* (7) and R1, *review* (9). Thus, when *film* is linked to *policy* in 2000, there is no indication of any association with cultural policy. Rather, *policy* links *film* more often with *competitiveness* (14) and *competition* (7). This is reflected in the millenium editorial of *Screen* which argues that, as a result of the policies of Thatcherism, New Labour and the global developments in media technologies, "one consequence for film and television has been a confusion of cultural and economic policy" (*Screen* 41/1: 3). The *Screen* editorial of the same issue also expresses concern about EU and UK film policies that incorporate film as economic products rather than as cultural expressions.

Consistent Keyword FILM 2000 Collocations					
People, Group & Place	Cognitive, Abstract	Academic	&	Concrete Concrete	Technical Industry & Institution
american british contemporary early fiction franchises german hindi hitchcock's horror national silent uk us	cognition culture history music new studies style text theory			production television	industry institute policy

Table 19 Collocations by category: *film* 2000

Moving from 2000 to the sample year 2009 and the collocates of *film* at the end of the study interval, three types of collocates can now be identified. The first type is the consistent collocate found in each previous sample year, which is shown in standard font in Table 20. The second type is the newly introduced collocate of *film* in 2009 compared with the previous sample years 1990 and 2000, which is shown in bold font. The third type of recurring collocates are indicated with an asterisk, these were found in 1990, absent in 2000 and return in 2009.

In the People, Group & Place category in 2009, the two new collocates are *adaptation* and *Yiddish*, both refer to standard Film Studies methods: while the former refers to a type of film, the second usage concerns films from a cultural or national origin. In the same category in 2009, there is evidence of academic film researchers formulating their own academic identity as *scholars* and historians. A further new theme in the People, Group & Place category of 2009 is a link created between the keyword *contemporary* and *art* with *film* with a cluster. Given the prior observation that, between 1990 and 2009, popular culture collocates of film disappear, it would seem that the collocates *art* and *avant-garde* may be replacing an interest in studying film as popular culture.

Moving to the Cognitive, Academic & Abstract category in 2009, two recurring collocates *criticism* and *scholarship* are standard within the academic sphere, and

the collocate *viewing* is a customary reference in Film Studies. As the reappearance of *feminist* is unexpected in 2009, it requires further analysis.

The 1990 collocates of *feminist* were: L1 *post* (22) and R1 *film* (21), *theory* (9), *criticism* (8), *studies* (7), and *political* (6). In 1990 the discussions were about post-feminist discourse and post-feminist ontology. Two decades later in 2009, two collocates for *feminist* surface, which are R1 *film* (11) and R2 *theory* (9). Thus, it can be assumed that the post-feminist discussions of the 1990s signal the demise of feminist Film Studies, although the validity of this assumption would need to be further tested. The source text shows that feminist film theory is part of *Screen's* fiftieth anniversary editorial retrospective with reference to out-dated trends.

Moving to other aspects of collocation in 2009, there is no change in the Industry & Institution category. However, the Concrete & Technical Concrete category contains numerous and diverse new collocates; in fact the collocate list increases from two to twelve between 2000 and 2009. Many of the collocates concern diverse matters, such as chemical processes of *colour* and the technology of the film *print*. The collocate *game* is a reference to 'mind-game' films rather than video games. In the Concrete & Technical Concrete category of 2009, *film* is now a system of associated activities that comprise: *production*, *distribution*, *exhibition*, *cinema*, *theatre* and *festival*. Together, these related collocates situates *film* within a production system.

A further theme that has emerged in the Concrete & Technical Concrete category of 2009 derives from the collocate *gallery* that can be linked across to the emergence of *art* and *avant-garde* in the People, Group & Place category in the same year. This combination suggests film, having moved away from popular culture, has a new association with art, the avant-garde and the art gallery in which, as Kim explains, the gallery film can "inherit and expand a strategy of avant-garde

filmmaking practice (...) in order to question the constructed nature of narrative forms and the materiality of the film medium” (Kim 2009: 118).

Consistent Keyword FILM				
2009 Collocations				
People, Group & Place	Cognitive, Abstract	Academic &	Concrete & Technical	Industry & Institution
(avant)garde adaptation american art british contemporary early feature fiction french national historians scholars silent us yiddish	criticism* culture experience feminist* inventing psychoanalytic reader reframing scholarship* structural studies theorists theory viewing*		cinema colour distribution exhibition festival gallery game performance print production television theatre	industry institute policy

Table 20 Collocations by category: *film* 2009

5.3.3.2. Collocates to Collocates: *film*

The previous sections presented findings from an analysis of the collocates that occur in immediate connection with *film*. Prominence was given to collocational change in the semantic categories. Change was analysed and compared in the sample years, and where necessary, a contextual exploration was implemented (*new* and *feminist*). In the process of disambiguation, it was found that the collocate of a collocate can have an impact on the meaning of a keyword at a two-step remove. This section will explore those indirect collocates of the keyword *film*. While the surface statistical measure indicates no significant change, the changing keyword collocates demonstrate underlying shifts of interest. The question then is whether there are further patterns to be observed from tracking those apparently stable collocates of the apparently stable keyword film.

The collocates of *film* that are found to be consistent in each of the sample years, 1990, 2000 and 2009, for each semantic category are shown in Table 21. One collocate is selected from each set based on my judgement of whether one collocate

is more relevant to media education than another. These choices, emphasised in bold, are: *contemporary*, *culture*, *production* and *industry*.

Semantic Category	Consistent Collocates film : 1990, 2000, 2009
People, Group & Place	<i>American, British, contemporary, national</i>
Cognitive, Academic & Abstract	culture , <i>studies, theory</i>
Concrete & Technical Concrete	production , <i>television</i>
Industry & Institution	industry , <i>institute</i>

Table 21 Consistent collocates of *film*

For the first collocate *contemporary*, the span in each of the sample years is shown in Table 22. This shows that *contemporary* changes its associations from 1990 to 2009. In this semantic shift *art* has become the strongest association with *contemporary* since the 1990s. This evidence corroborates the previous observation that R1 *art* (19) has increased in its importance in association with *film*.

Consistent Keyword: film						
Category: People, Group & Place						
L1	L1	L1		R1	R1	R1
1990	2000	2009	Collocate	2009	2000	1990
			contemporary	art 19 cinema 7 media 5 film 5	Hollywood 12 Film 8	economic 6 film 6 women 6 audiences 5 cultural 5 discourses 5

Table 22 Consistent collocate of *film*: *contemporary*

The span of the second selected collocate *culture* is shown in Table 23. Across the sample years, the greatest change is that *popular* decreases from 1990 *popular* L1 (N111) to 2009 *popular* L1 (N15). This observation signals the decreasing value of popular culture in association with film.

Consistent Keyword: film						
Category: Cognitive, Academic & Abstract						
L1	L1	L1		R1	R1	R1
1990	2000	2009	Collocate	2009	2000	1990
popular 111 national 34 mass 24 film 20 American 20 television 20 enterprise 16 high 13 media 11 class 8 theory 8 dominant 7 capitalist 6 consumer 6 pop 6 western 6 postmodern 5	media 15 popular13 film 12 television10 national 8 public 6 mass 5 feminine 5	popular 15 visual 13 media 12 screen 9 mass 9 image 8 Yiddish 5 film 5	culture		media 11	popular 6 London 6

Table 23 Consistent collocate of *film*: *culture*

The span of the collocate *production* in each of the sample years is shown in Table 24. The variation in the link between *production* and its collocate *film* 1990 L1 (N7) in 2000 *film* L1 (N 33) and 2009 *film* L1 (N 17). This corroborates the previous observation that film production became a particularly important interest in 2000 in discussion about film production policy.

Consistent Keyword: film						
Category: Concrete & Technical Concrete						
L1	L1	L1		R1	R1	R1
1990	2000	2009	Collocate	2009	2000	1990
cultural 14 studio10 video 8 high 8 economic8 film 7 artistic 6	media 52 film 33 cultural 19 television16 independent12 mass 5	film17 video5	production	values 6 company5	process10 code 9 sector 9 companies8	code 38 values 22 distribution14

Table 24 Consistent collocate of *film*: *production*

The span of the collocate *industry* for the sample years is shown in Table 25. The collocates of *industry* in 1990 are reduced from three collocates in 1990 to a single collocate which links *film* with *industry* in 2009. The relationship between film and industry peaked in 2000 film L1 (N63).

Consistent Keyword: film Category: Industry & Institution						
L1	L1	L1		R1	R1	R1
1990	2000	2009	Collocate	2009	2000	1990
film 28 picture14 communications10 cable 10	film 63 television15 music 8	film 14	industry			

Table 25 Consistent collocate of *film*: *industry*

The collocates of the keyword *film* show that stability is apparent when the keyword is viewed at the range of one collocate. Shifts appear when the collocate itself is explored through its own collocates. This suggests that apparently stable topics can shift their terrain of interest quite radically, while retaining a level of reassuring stability in a transition from one set of interests to another. The next section turns from a consistent keyword to the patterns of exiting keywords and explores the keyword *popular* as an exemplar of Film Studies from its post 1968 rubric.

5.3.4. Exiting Keywords

Keyword patterns have been categorised as consistent, exiting or emerging. The previous section discussed *film* which was selected from the consistent keyword category. This section turns to the category of keywords that exit the top ranks in the study timeframe 1990-2009. The keyword *popular* is chosen for its conceptual significance in the field of media education, particularly in the era after 1968.

Six keywords found at the beginning of the interval that exit from the ranks at the end are: *genre* (N4:K2,391), *culture* (N5:K2,151), *woman’s* (N6:K1,648), *BFI* (N7:K1,371), *popular* (N9:K1,188) and *castration* (N10:K1,099). The trend of decline through the keyword ranks for each of these keywords can be seen in Figure 14.

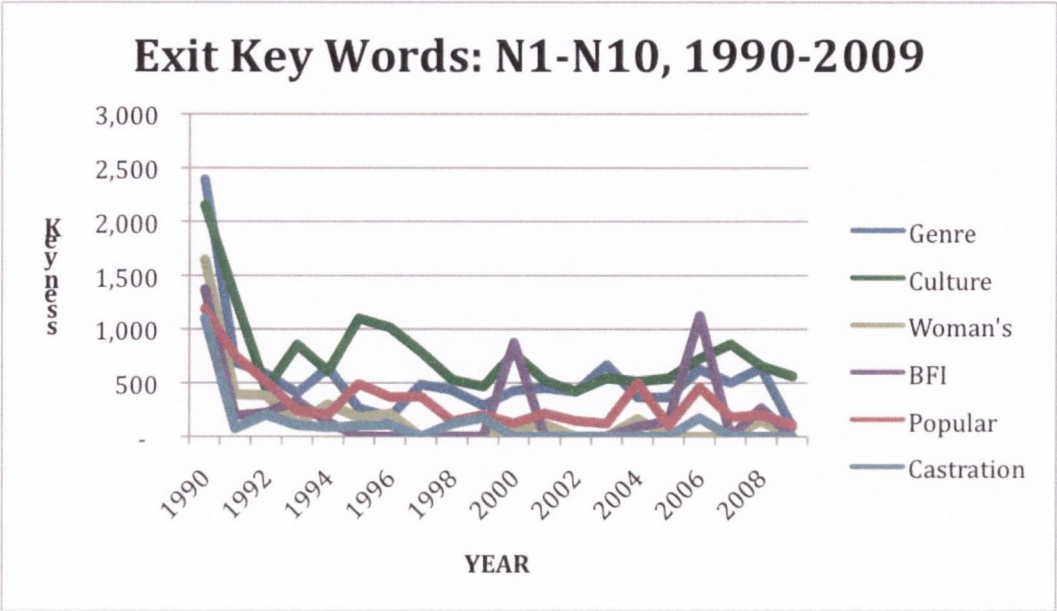


Figure 15 Exit Keywords 1990-2009

Towards the beginning of the interval from 1990 to 1993, as can be seen in Figure 15 above, there is a very significant drop in all the exiting keywords. It follows that what was detected as an exit from the top ranks in 2009 is clearly a trend across the study duration and not an aberrant reading. While there are occasional upward spikes, none of the exiting keywords reach their 1990 ranking. Among this set, the keywords that have a strong connection with *Screen* theory in the 1970s are: *genre* which stems from the study of film genre; *woman's* film from feminist film theory and *castration* from psychoanalytic film theory. The exit of the keyword *woman's* is noteworthy. However, the strongest claim to represent the media education ethos is the keyword *popular* which was a founding principle for media education from the 1960s. Therefore, the keyword *popular* is chosen for further exploration.

5.3.4.1. Exiting Keyword: *popular*

The collocations of *popular* for 1990 are in Table 26, for 2000 in Table 27 and for 2009 in Table 28. As the exit keyword *popular* has a small number of collocates, it is unnecessary to sort collocates further to observe patterns. Collocates that are on the left (L) position of *popular* and to the right (R) of *popular* are shown with the number

of occurrences for each collocate that demonstrates a hierarchy of meaning. In 1990 the most likely formulation associated with *popular* is *popular culture*.

Exiting Keyword popular 1990		
L1	Rank (N9) Keyness (N1,188) Frequency(N371)	R1
culture 6	popular	culture 111 cinema 16 entertainment 11 press 10 forms 10 music 9 television 7 films 6

Table 26 Collocations: *popular* 1990

In 1990 the rank of the keyword *popular* is (N9). The sole L1 collocate is *culture*. The most probable R1 collocate in 1990 is *culture* R1 (N111) which is a large margin above the next likely association *cinema* R1 (N16). The collocates *culture* R1 (N111), *entertainment* R1 (N11) and *forms* R1 (N10) are general nouns. The other collocates are specific media forms: *cinema* R1 (N16), *music* R1 (N9) and *television* R1 (N7).

The collocates of *popular* in 2000 are shown in Table 27. The keyword *popular* drops in frequency to (N86) in 2000 from 1990 (N371) and its rank position reduces from 1990 (N9) to 2000 (N241). Whereas there was one L1 collocate in 1990, in 2000 there was no L1 collocates. Where there were two R1 collocates in 2000, there were eight R1 collocates in 1990. Comparing the year 1990 with 2000, the number of words that associate with *popular* has reduced from nine collocates in 1990 to two collocates in 2000. The collocates that do remain occur less often. The collocate *culture* occurs over 100 times in 1990 R1 (N111) but less than twenty times in 2000 R1 (N13). The collocate *music* is relatively stable, 1990 R1 (N9) to 2000 R1 (N10).

Between 1990 and 2000, the keyword *popular* has greatly reduced in all aspects: in rank, in its number of occurrences, range of collocates and the number of collocational occurrences.

Exiting Keyword popular 2000		
L1	Rank (N241) Keyness (N124) Frequency(N86)	R1
-	popular	culture 13 music 10

Table 27 Collocations: *popular* 2000

Overall from 1990 to 2000, *popular culture* remains the strongest keyword association. The topic of popular music is continued and the association between *popular* and film, cinema and television has disappeared.

In the sample year 2009, *popular* is marginally more frequent at (N91) than in 2000 (N86), but it has dropped rank from (N241) in 2000 to (N300) in 2009. As can be seen in Table 28, the collocational occurrences linking *popular* and *culture*, which had dropped from over 100 in 1990 to fewer than twenty in 2000, has remained at that low level in 2009 R1(15). In the previous sample year 2000, there were only two collocates of *popular*, the second collocate *music* (N10) was replaced by *cinema* in 2009 R1(N5). Kuhn observed retrospectively that media educators always entertained “a love-hate relationship with popular cinema” (Kuhn 2009: 3).

Exiting Keyword popular 2009		
L1	Rank (N300) Keyness (N111) Frequency(N91)	R1
-	popular	culture 15 cinema 5

Table 28 Collocations: *popular* 2009

Table 29 below shows the collocates per sample year: 1990, 2000 and 2009.

Exiting Keyword: popular collocates						
L1	L1	L1		R1	R1	R1
1990	2000	2009	Keyword	2009	2000	1990
culture 6	-	-	popular	culture 15 cinema 5	culture 13 music 10	culture 111 cinema 16 entertainment11 press 10 forms 10 music 9 television 7 films 6

Table 29 Exiting Keyword *popular*: collocates 1990, 2000 & 2009

To summarise, the keyword *popular* was chosen as a representative of media education from the keyword set that exited from the top ten ranks by 2009. Analysing various patterns in the sample years 1990, 2000 and 2009 demonstrated the features of a keyword clearly marked by decline. The characteristics of an exiting keyword are: a reduced frequency of the instances of the keyword, a reduced number of collocated words associated with the keyword and, consequently, a smaller number of collocational occurrences. Although the concept of popular culture diminished in importance, the association between *popular* and *culture* is enduring. The next section turns to keywords that have emerged within the duration of this longitudinal study of the *Screen* corpus 1990-2009.

5.3.5. Emerging Keywords

Six keywords appear in 2009 that were not in the top-ten ranks in 1990. The keywords that have emerged in the study duration are presented in Figure 16 below. Their rank and keyness values are: *screen* (N3:K2,624), *media* (N5:K1,833), *image* (N6:K1,606), *Deleuze* (N7:K1,251), *spectator* (N8:K1,142) and *cinophilia* (N9:K1,034). Identifying keyword emergence is difficult, as clear entry points are not well defined.

The spike in frequency of *screen* towards the end of the interval is due to two factors. Firstly, in 2009 there is an increase in the number of self-references to *Screen* from *Screen*’s retrospective editorial on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary

(*Screen* 50: 1). References to Film Studies are frequent as a result of the proposed name change from Film Studies to Screen Studies.

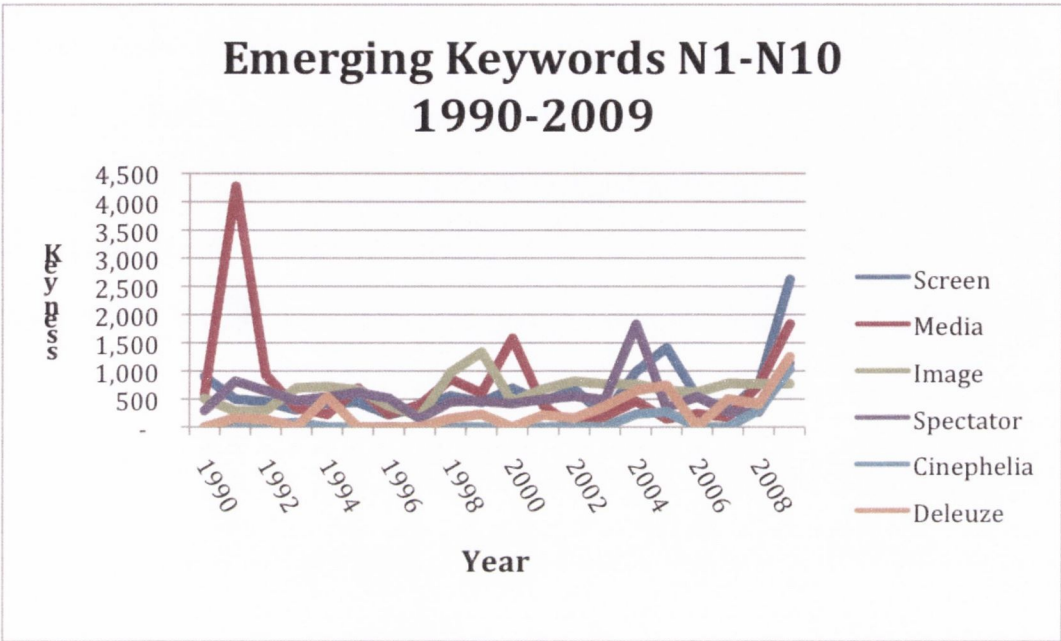


Figure 16 Emerging Keywords 1990-2009

The spike in *media* in 1991 is the outcome of a special issue of *Screen* dedicated to Media Studies (*Screen* 32: 4). In 2000 a second spike occurs, since half the articles in one issue are dedicated to Media Studies (*Screen* 41: 1).

Since the 2009 patterns do not greatly differentiate one keyword trend above the others, the selection of an emerging keyword for further analysis is more a matter of judgement here than in the previous sample years. A useful issue that can be addressed is how the media are positioned at this end of the interval when popular culture and popular media have declined. What replaced the popular media in media education? One assumption would be that the digital media became a significant factor in the media landscape within the duration. Selecting the keyword *media* offers the opportunity to observe how or whether the digital media have any distinctive role in the field of media education in the *Screen* corpus in the context of the World Wide Web. The keyword *media* is chosen for analysis in the sample years 1990, 2000 and 2009.

5.3.5.1. Emerging Keyword: *media*

The keyword *media* occurs with a frequency of N219 and is ranked (N36) in 1990. In this sample year, as shown in Table 30, *media* has six collocational references 2 L1 and 4 R1. Of the two collocates positioned at L1, *mass* L1(N8) with *media*, *mass media* is a synonym for *popular media*. The collocate *other* L1(N6) refers to unspecified additional media forms. The R1 collocates have diverse reference points: *Media Studies* R1(N31) is a subject area within education, *media culture* R1(N11) is a topic of media study, *media education* R1(N9) is the broad field, and *media texts* R1(N5) refer to media productions that are singled out for study.

Emerging Keyword media 1990		
L1	Rank (N36) Keyness (N593) Frequency(N219)	R1
mass 8 other 6	media	studies 31 culture 11 education 9 texts 5

Table 30 Collocations: *media* 1990

Data for the sample year 2000 are presented in Table 31. The keyword *media* occurs with a frequency of N359, which is an increase of 140 occurrences compared with *media* in 1990. Compared with the sample year 1990 in which there were six collocates, the number of collocated words in 2000 has nearly doubled to 11. The total occurrences of the various *media* collocates in 2000 are 241 which is an increase of 171 from the previous sample year 1990.

Emerging Keyword media 2000		
L1	rank (N4) keyness (N1,583) frequency(N359)	R1
new 19 mass 12 culture 11 screen 8 electronic 6	media	studies 61 production 52 culture 15 theory 14 institutions 8 research 7 communication 7 texts 6 industries 5 intellectuals 5 education 5

Table 31 Collocations: *media* 2000

In 2000, the additional *media* collocates that were not present in 1990, are L1: *new* L1(N19), *culture* L1(N11), *screen* L1(N8) and *electronic* L1(N6). In the R1 position, the new collocates of *media* in 2000 are: *production* R1(N52), *theory* R1(N14), *institutions* R1(N8), *research* R1(N7), *communication* R1(N7), *industries* R1(N5) and *intellectuals* R1(N5). The range of collocates has extended in 2000 by frequency of occurrence and by range of meaning. In the L1 collocate list, the first indirect reference to *new media*, as a synonym for *digital media*, is suggested from the arrival of the collocate *new* L1(N19).

Turning to 2009, the frequency of occurrence of *media* (N424) is shown in Table 32 below. This frequency number has risen: in the sample year 2000 *media* (N359) was higher than *media* (N219) in 1990. Although the keyword *media* demonstrates variance in across the study duration, there is a significant frequency increase from 1990 to 2009 when the sample years are compared.

In 2009 there are thirteen collocated words associated with *media*, which is three more than the eleven collocates in 2000 and more than twice the six collocates in 1990.

Emerging Keyword media 2009		
L1	rank (N5) keyness (N1,833) frequency(N424)	R1
new 48 digital 15 technical 9 screen 7 audiovisual 6 contemporary 5 different 5 image 5	media	culture 12 studies 10 industries 9 theorist 8 images 5

Table 32 Collocations: *media* 2009

The L1 absent collocates of *media* in 2009 that were present in 2000 are: *mass* and *electronic*. Also in 2009, the R1 collocates that are absent compared with 2000 are: *production*, *theory* (which is replaced by *theorist* in R1), *institutions*, *research*, *communication*, *texts*, *intellectuals* and *education*.

The new collocates in 2009, compared with 2000, are L1: *digital* (N15), *technical* (N9), *audiovisual* (N6), *contemporary* (N5), *different* (N5) and *image* (N5); the new R1 collocates are *theorist* (N8) and *images* (N5). A summary of the collocates of the keyword *media* in each of the sample years is presented in Table 33.

Emerging Keyword: media collocates						
L1	L1	L1		R1	R1	R1
1990	2000	2009	Keyword	2009	2000	1990
mass 8 other 6	new 19 mass 12 culture 11 screen 8 electronic 6	new 48 digital 15 technical 9 screen 7 audiovisual 6 contemporary 5 different 5 image 5	media	culture 12 studies 10 industries 9 theorist 8 images 5	studies 61 production 52 culture 15 theory 14 institutions 8 research 7 communication 7 texts 6 industries 5 intellectuals 5 education 5	studies 31 culture 11 education 9 texts 5

Table 33 Emerging Keyword *media*: collocates 1990, 2000 & 2000

A significant theme can be observed from the collocational associations of the emerging keyword *media* in the sample years 1990, 2000 and 2009. It seems clear that the topic of digital media which begins to emerge in 2000 develops a stronger presence in 2009, particularly as the top L1 collocates of *media* are *new* and *digital*. However, it is important to note that the emerging significance of an interest in digital media in *Screen* in the longitudinal analysis 1990-2009 is not represented as a distinguishing factor in *Screen* in the more recent cross-sectional analysis of 2005-2009. This would suggest that *Screen* reached a settlement with digital media as a lower ranking interest, as it continued to prioritise the traditional approach to the academic study of film. This corresponds with the cross-sectional study, which positioned *Convergence* in culture and digital media technologies, while *Screen's* territory is firmly staked out by the more traditional landscape of film and cinema.

5.4. Summary: Findings and Research Questions

This section concludes the presentation of the corpus findings with initial comments to be discussed further in the next chapter. This corpus analysis of media education has confirmed aspects about the field of media education that were previously deduced in the historical overview in Chapter 3. The empirical analysis uncovered further characteristics that might not otherwise have been revealed without using corpus analysis as part of the research method. There is strong evidence of a changing field in response to the question of change in media education since the digital era. These shifting interests include a move away from popular culture and towards film as art and avant-garde, and there is a more diversified range of approaches to the study of film and increased emphasis on the importance of academic scholarship.

The first survey mapped the field through a cross-section of the corpus text. This charting process illustrated the relationships between the specialist areas of film, digital media and media literacy. As expected, the central corpus topic in *Screen* is

film. The strongest relationship bonds are formed through an interest in culture which indicates an academic approach in the largest sector of the field. The greatest keyword distance within the corpus illustrated the difference between an academic interest in film culture and a social involvement with media literacy.

The longitudinal analysis was a temporal study of change. It demonstrated that, while the study of film remained at the core of *Screen*, approaches to film study have changed. There is a clear shift away from some of the dominant Screen Studies axioms of the 1970s-1980s towards a more diffused set of interests. Although there is a more dispersed terrain, there is also a clear movement towards the study of film as film art and avant-garde which corroborates the movement away from popular film culture. The influence of digital media becomes evident by 2000. Considering that media is the corpus core, the emergence of an interest in digital media is less striking as new media replaces popular media.

The next chapter will discuss the empirical findings of the corpus analysis in relation to the research questions discussed in Chapter 1, within the Bourdieusian theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 2 and the historical context of media education as presented in Chapter 3.

6. Discussion

6.1. Research Questions in the Research Context

This chapter discusses the corpus findings in relation to the research questions which are interpreted through a Bourdieusian lens in the context of the history of media education. Research questions are determined by the need to investigate a topic that will add to existing knowledge about that subject. My investigation of media education pursues the question of how media education responded to the new challenges arising from the radical transformation of the entire media sector in the digital era.

The research question is posed at a time when digital global communications have become dominant with the uptake of the World Wide Web (Berners Lee 1999). Although this seemed to be a communications revolution that contributed to the common good (Castells 2000), there was also considerable distrust about the flow of unregulated communications (Hobbs 1998). The widespread effects of the new digital technologies disrupted the traditional media landscape. Emerging digital cultures became a topic of debate (Lunenfeld 2000), the authority of the media professions was challenged (Lupton 2006), and media traditions such as the cinema were reconfiguring (Mulvey 2004). The British government was an early responder to the possible social and economic advantages of digital media which it attempted to manage and harness through regulation of broadcasting and communications (Communications Act 2003) and policies such as *Digital Britain: Building Britain's Future* (Government UK 2009).

As previously demonstrated, Pierre Bourdieu's theory addressed the interrelationship of education, media and society from philosophical and sociological vantage points. Bourdieu, who was extremely critical of extant research practices, directed the researcher towards a set of thinking tools that

he devised as research guidance. Chapter 2 demonstrated how Bourdieu constructs the topic into an object of study by analysing it as a field of power constituted by relationships that are motivated by the habitus of the field occupants. At the core of Bourdieu's theoretical construct is a variant of the market in which agents seek to gain assets that represent exchange value. Drawing on Marx, he conceptualised the notion of social capital, which posits a relationship between scarcity of asset availability and marketplace value. Academic social capital is thus a variant of social capital, which increases in value with qualifications that are more difficult to achieve. This idea helps to elucidate why certain subject areas may be rated more highly when they hold specialist academic monopolies. Bourdieu strongly advised empirical work as a research method to restrict the researcher from overly subjective involvement in the object of study. Accordingly, my study objectifies media education as a distinct field occupied by agents that are related through positions of power. The empirical dimension consists in the application of a corpus analysis of text from media education publications, principally academic journals.

The process of establishing the Bourdieusian framework prompted a second line of investigation: if media education has to be objectified as a field of power then the field requires description prior to analysis of change in the field. The question I had to address was how to delineate the field of media education from other social fields. Corpus analysis is a procedure that can be used to investigate both the prerequisite and the main research questions. Sufficient text of an appropriate type was used to build a media education corpus for analysis. Customised software has been configured to undertake such analysis, and the veracity of the analytic method has been found reliable (Kilgariff 1996 and 2005).

While corpus analysts have debated the question of corpus representativeness (Biber 1993, Widdowson 2000 and Williams 2002), I do not aim to resolve the issue of representativeness. Chapter 4 already demonstrated to what extent and from what perspective the media education corpus built for this research can be labelled sufficiently objective. Even though the selection of texts was initially subjective as they were chosen by me, their qualification for inclusion was then corroborated by external and arguably objectifying criteria: all the journals and publications selected overtly place themselves in the field by stating in their editorials or on their websites that they represent one or more areas of media education; they are all published by British publishers, and the contributors are media educationalists and researchers in the field. The corpus analysis was therefore designed in two stages, firstly by mapping the corpus as a lateral section across the field to describe the object of study and secondly by undertaking a longitudinal survey to track how the field has changed in one particular area within two decades after the launch of the World Wide Web.

This section has summarised the context of the research questions, the Bourdieusian theoretical framework that will guide an interpretation of the findings and the basis for choosing the empirical method of corpus analysis. The next section will discuss the findings from the prerequisite investigation into the question of how the field of media education is shaped by its constituents.

6.2. Cross-Sectional Analysis of the Field of Media Education

Adopting the approach set out in the Bourdieusian framework, the corpus was first analysed to establish a profile of the object of study and find relationships in the field. The first question is: what are the constituent topics in the media education corpus and how do they relate to each other? The cross-sectional

media education corpus was built, as described in Chapter 4, to address this pre-requisite question before undertaking an investigation of the longitudinal corpus to explore the central research question of change in the field.

The media education map, as represented in Figure 13, was created from the contrasting corpora of *Screen, Convergence* and the *Media Literacy Bulletin* between 2005-2009. Statistical data gained from this combined corpus were used to find the distinguishing characteristics of the field and to plot relationships between the field topics. The most distinctive keywords were analysed and placed in ranked positions according to a hierarchy of keyness values. These corpus findings are the basis of an interpretation of how media education operates as a field of power. Using keyness values, it can be observed where areas are positioned closely together showing affiliations and the distances that disclose differences between the constituent parts. I will now consider the findings from the cross-sectional analysis with particular reference to the Bourdieusian concepts of field, habitus and capital to explore the field of media education.

The keyword *medium* is the only common keyword that is found throughout the cross-sectional corpus. The topics that are less distinctive of the corpus are those that share similar levels of interest expressed in everyday recent British English usage as represented by the British National Corpus. These less distinctive corpus topics include *games* (N25), *access* (N26) and the *BBC* (N27). The more most distinctive corpus topics are those that present an unusually high level of interest in the corpus, these identifiers include *film* (N1), *cinema* (N3), *digital* (N4) and *culture* (N5). Marking the distinguishing characteristics and shadings of the corpus profile in this way offers a broad-brush outline of the field. The findings also highlight strong or weak connections between the constituents that

can be interpreted as a set of power relationships in terms of Bourdieu's field and habitus which I interpret for each publication in turn.

Observing the corpus cross-section, the *Screen* journal has exclusive claim to *film* (N1) and *cinema* (N2), which are also the most highly ranked topics in the cross-sectional corpus. The keyword *culture* (N5) is the most highly placed concept indicating that the media are understood in the cognitive domain of the study of culture. In *Screen*, the term *culture* (N3) is more highly ranked than in the corpus overall which indicates the comparative strength of *Screen's* academic orientation. These corpus findings about the distinctiveness of *film* and the importance of *culture* indicate that *Screen* is the principal agency for academic study in the field of media education. From a Bourdieusian perspective, *Screen* controls a monopoly over the assets that are likely to be of most value in the field. The exclusive academic capital held by *Screen* has potential for exchange into other forms of capital such as financial capital outside the field. As Bourdieu argues, the field is also shaped by the concept of the habitus of the agents who participate in the field. Research has demonstrated that academic journal editors perceive their power to drive the direction of their specialist field through their journal activities (Nixon and Wellington, 2005). As demonstrated in section 4.2.3., the collective habitus of the editorial core of the *Screen* journal is comprised of academic professors who are based in British universities. By the 50th anniversary in 2009, *Screen* had established its dominant position as the leading journal for the study of film, television and screen media. It can be concluded that *Screen's* academic capital represents the highest value in the field.

Comparing the cross-sectional corpus findings, the *Convergence* journal has claim to a high level of capital below the level of *Screen*. Unlike the other two publications, *Convergence* can also be seen to connect the main topics in this

cross-sectional corpus. The most important topics in *Convergence* refer to digital media and culture which are of somewhat less importance in the corpus overall. In *Convergence* the highest keywords are *digital* (N2), *internet* (N3) and *mobile* (N4) and in the cross-sectional corpus overall the same keywords rank lower *digital* (N4), *internet* (N6) and *mobile* (N8). In *Convergence*, the term *culture* (N6) is highly valued and similar to the general cross-sectional value *culture* (N5) and three ranks below *Screen's* position for *culture* (N3). The habitus survey of the *Convergence* journal editors, as discussed in Chapter 4, demonstrated that the editors are high-ranking university academics, including (but not exclusively) professors. This designates *Convergence* as an esteemed academic journal whose editorial group is marginally less highly ranked in the education system than *Screen*. Consequently, in Bourdieusian terms, the relationship between *Convergence* and *Screen* can be drawn in terms of academic capital. Within the field of media education, *Convergence* has a somewhat lower value of academic capital assets than *Screen*. Although it could also be argued that, when the topmost digital media keywords are aggregated, it would have greater corpus authority and a higher academic capital perhaps on a par with *Screen*. However, the more persuasive argument is that *Convergence* disperses its topics across the broad generic category of digital media which diffuses its power. It can thus be concluded that *Convergence* presents a form of diffused power across the field and possesses a lower level of academic capital than *Screen*.

The *Media Literacy Bulletin* differs from the other corpus publications since it is not an academic journal. As a more marginal publication, the *Media Literacy Bulletin* is of importance through its link to statutory authority and its exclusive control of media literacy as discussed in Chapter 4. Published under the auspices of the communications regulator for the UK, the *Media Literacy Bulletin* repre-

sents a governmental view of media literacy which means that its value orientation is not primarily academic capital but the social capital of civil society. The habitus survey of the *Media Literacy Bulletin* is not comparable with the academic journals since there is no formal editorial panel for the *Media Literacy Bulletin*. As discussed in Chapter 4, the capital gains from literacy are much lower compared with the high gains from academic achievements in the university sphere that are convertible into other capital assets. In the *Media Literacy Bulletin* the highest-ranking topics are *literacy* (N2), *Ofcom* (N3), and *internet* (N4), which have lower rankings in the cross-sectional corpus for the same keywords *literacy* (N14), *Ofcom* (N15). The internet is the intersecting topic of interest within the *Media Literacy Bulletin* ranking *internet* (N6) and a rank lower in the corpus *internet* (N5). There is no relationship between these keywords and culture in *Media Literacy Bulletin* for which Ofcom may be a substitute as the point of reference. A Bourdieusian interpretation of the position of *Media Literacy Bulletin* in the corpus is that it has a low level of academic capital, as its range of topics are narrowly confined to digital media literacy. Yet, according to Bourdieu, the field of government has considerably greater power in society than the field of education. The implication then is that in addition to its role in media education, the *Media Literacy Bulletin* also represents a different form of power which exceeds academic media education and is assigned by government. While the *Media Literacy Bulletin* only holds low academic capital value, its alternative value as an agent of social governance is an interesting finding which is, however, not related to this research and as such remains an observation of the findings.

In conclusion, this interpretation of the findings from the cross-sectional corpus analysis has demonstrated that there are distinctive characteristics and relationships that can be discerned in the field of media education. The relation-

ship between the field constituents was discussed by linking field position with the habitus motivating those constituents that led to assessments about social and academic capital. It was concluded that *Screen* has the most prominent position with the highest level of academic capital, *Convergence* follows *Screen* in a slightly lower academic capital value but interlinks the main topics across the corpus. And while the *Media Literacy Bulletin* has a low level of academic capital it can draw externally on social capital from the authority of government.

Having presented an overview of the distinctive field characteristics and relations between the field constituents, the interpretation of the findings will proceed to the longitudinal analysis. *Screen* was chosen for its attribute of the most significant corpus publication to compile a *Screen* corpus from the full journal text 1990-2009. This longitudinal corpus was investigated to explore the core research question: how did media education respond to the new challenges arising from the widespread adoption of the World Wide Web and the radical transformation of the entire media sector?

6.3. Longitudinal Analysis of Field Change

According to Bourdieu, social phenomena can be summarised as fields of power that are occupied by individuals who are motivated by a dispositional habitus at some level in pursuit of social capital. The field of education, as discussed in Chapter 2, was considered as a self-regulating market influenced by the field of government as the superior authority. The knowledge economy exercises pressure on education by valuing specific forms of academic outputs; national governments are also subject to flows of power in global networks.

The ensuing sub-chapter interprets findings from the corpus analysis of the longitudinal *Screen* corpus 1990-2009 as a subject field within the wider field of education, which is motivated by the habitus of its constituents to acquire, main-

tain and increase academic capital as a form of social capital. As noted in the previous section and discussed in Chapter 2, social capital has a scale of differentiated value that places academic achievement in the university sector at a much higher level than literacy acquisition at the low end of the educational scale. Within this paradigm, a decreasing pattern of interest in a topic can be interpreted as a devaluation of that topic and greater interest can indicate its increased academic capital value.

The longitudinal findings from Chapter 5 were drawn from annual keyword positions in the topmost ranks (of K5,000 upwards) across twenty years. The patterns of particular interest were the high ranking keywords that remained consistent and those that changed a pattern of behaviour. Exiting keywords are taken to signify a decrease in the academic capital of that topic, the emergent keywords indicate which areas are upwardly valued, and the consistent keywords are those that hold the value of academic capital over the long term.

The longitudinal findings demonstrated that *film* 1990 (N1) - 2009 (N1) was the most distinctive keyword across the twenty years in the *Screen* corpus. This central position of distinctiveness in the corpus was the basis of selecting *film* for further analysis. The exiting keyword *popular* 1990 (N9) - 2009 (N0) was selected for further analysis on the basis that the study of popular media was a founding principle in media education from 1968 onwards and its decline is significant. The emerging keywords exhibit less clearly defined patterns than those that exit. The emerging keyword *media* 1990 (N0) - 2009 (N5) was chosen for further study since its path is marked by a significant upsurge later in the next decade which appears unmotivated. The longitudinal findings for the consistent keyword *film*, the exiting keyword *popular* and the emerging keyword *media* are interpreted individually in the next sections.

6.3.1. The Shifting Role of *Film*

The longitudinal analysis of the *Screen* journal corpus shows that the keyword *film* is dominant and consistent throughout the study interval 1990-2009. Since *film* is a relatively stable keyword, it would at first appear to have a constant semantic role. However, when its collocates are analysed, the study of film moves away from popular culture and aspects of 1970s Screen Theory towards an emphasis on film linked with art and the avant-garde.

There are three diminishing collocates of *film* after the sample year 1990 (see Tables 18, 19 and 20), these are *woman's*, *proletarian* and *Hollywood*. The strength of interest in *woman's* film and the relevance of *proletariat* film can be linked with leftist ideological Screen Theory after the 1970s. The study of Hollywood film was instigated after 1968 to challenge the academic canon as was discussed in Chapter 3. Indeed, there can be a dialectic relationship between women's film, proletariat film and Hollywood: Haralovich argues that "in any investigation of the women's film is the problematic of female subjectivity, agency and desire in Hollywood cinema. In the proletarian woman's film, this problematic is firmly tied to the social relations of power" (Haralovich 1990: 173). When *woman's*, *proletariat* and *Hollywood* are reduced in distinctiveness, the 1970s orthodoxy of class and gender in film study is diminished. From a Bourdieusian perspective, this move can be interpreted as a reduction of the academic capital of class and gender in *Screen* in the early 1990s.

A new set of collocates that emerge introduces new ideas in association with *film* (see Tables 18, 19 and 20). Some of these film interests are not necessarily linked: *German* cinema, *Hitchcock's* films and the film *adaptation* are distinctively different specialist areas of film study. Within this broad array of new associations, two essential patterns emerge. There is evidence of a strengthened

claim to academic value of film study and a stronger interest in avant-garde film and film art.

High academic standing is emphasised by *Screen* through an increased use of the collocates *scholar* and *history*. The assertion is that longstanding film scholarship is due credit above other external agencies that are encroaching into the film studies field. Hence Caldwell's assertion that "for over half a century film historians have systematically, and with scant acknowledgement, tilled much of the very terrain with which contemporary media industries researchers and media anthropologists are now concerned" (Caldwell 2009: 179). *Screen* is claiming its place in the esteemed tradition of film scholarship which, in Bourdieusian terms, can be interpreted as increasing the value of its academic capital above other academic areas in the field of education.

A further change associated with *film* becomes prevalent in the latter part of the timeline 1990-2009, this is formed by the group of collocates *avant-garde*, *art* and *gallery*. The introduction of *avant-garde* as a collocate of *film* (see Table 17, L1 2009) indicates a more elite type of film compared with popular film in which "spectacle, digression, suspense and the generation of passion and emotion are properties common to all Hollywood films" (Neale 1990: 66). The collocate *Hollywood* was last found in relation to film in 1990 and not found in 2000 or 2009 (see Table 17, L1 1990). Thus a newly formed interest in *avant-garde* film after 2000 could be seen as occupying the space left by a disengagement from Hollywood film.

The semantic association between *film* and *art* not found in 1990 or in 2000 becomes established by 2009 (see Table 17, L1 2009). The relationship between *film*, *art* and *avant-garde* was confirmed by investigating *contemporary* as another of film's collocates. The collocate *contemporary* was present in all of the

sample years 1990, 2000 and 2009 (see Table 17). The findings across the sample years 1990, 2000 and 2009 show the behaviour of the collocate *contemporary* has no preference in 1990, it leans towards *Hollywood* in 2000 and in 2009 the strongest association is forged between *film*, *contemporary* and *art* (see Table 22). This shows that despite the semantic stability of *contemporary* associated with the consistent keyword *film*, a reorientation has occurred by 2009 when the cluster *contemporary art film* became dominant (see Table 22). The new collocate *gallery* also emerged in association with film in 2009 (see Table 17, L1 2009) also prompts an association between art film and the gallery as an exhibition space. This relationship between film and art, the avant-garde and the art gallery is underlined by observations such as: “throughout the 1990s film and video have become increasingly central to contemporary art practice, moving into the gallery to change both the cinema and the art world” (Balsom 2009: 411).

The empirical analysis provides clear evidence of shifting interests. From a Bourdieusian perspective it can be concluded that the conceptual approaches that have been found to be in ascendance are intended – consciously or unconsciously – to direct academic capital to certain areas of the field, which reflect the dispositional habitus of academic journal editors. In *Screen* 1990-2009 shifts of upward value are marked by increased emphasis on scholarly research and in the more exclusive terrain of film as art. Here the Bourdieusian market metaphor can be applied to the corpus findings to interpret the turn of film study away from popular film to elite film cultures. The discussion of the historical context of media education in the 1980s and 1990s, as discussed in Chapter 3, further suggests that this move from the study of popular film was a move away from an area that had already been reduced in value by the external field of government

that disparaged the study of popular culture. The next section will explore further how the findings demonstrate a turn away from popular culture.

6.3.2. The Turn Away From *Popular*

The importance of studying popular culture as a principle in media education after 1968 is the basis on which the keyword popular was chosen for further exploration. The post-68 media academics challenged the “prevailing high culture/mass culture divide by taking popular culture seriously as an object of study” (Kuhn 2009: 3) and, in doing so, they confronted the academic cannon recognising that “popular culture makes intellectuals anxious because it threatens their authority as intellectuals” (Frith 1990: 231) The *Screen* editorial of 2000 considered the 1990s as a period of change shaped by Thatcherite conservatism and “a certain coming of age of Screen Studies” during its first decade at the University of Glasgow (*Millennial Editorial* 2000: 1).

The keyword *popular* was highly distinctive as one of the top ten keywords in the *Screen* corpus year 1990 *popular* (N9) (see Figure 15 and Table 16). By 2009, *popular* was no longer ranked among the top 100 keywords in *Screen* (see Appendix 23). In 1990, *popular culture* was associated with film cinema, music television and entertainment in general, as can be seen in Table 27. By the end of the study interval in 2009, the findings show that the exiting keyword *popular* (N300) has only two associations, culture or cinema. During the time that *popular* falls through the ranks it is notable that its rich range of associations reduce from eight collocates to two. These findings also show that, as a word becomes less significant in its field, it represents in a semantic downturn of frequency, keyness and collocational association. Although the specific term *popular culture* is greatly reduced, the study of culture that is popular through the various media of film, cinema and television continue under different terms of reference.

Applying a Bourdieusian analysis to the exiting pattern of *popular*, it could be concluded that by the year 2000 the Film Studies constituency had moved to a position of market advantage in which it no longer needed to challenge the established canon. By the 1990s the *Screen* journal was firmly established in the educational field as exemplified by its move to the University of Glasgow. By the early 1990s there was no longer need for ideological weaponry since media education had shifted from confrontation to reconciliation, aiming for “a period of productive and peaceful co-existence with our fellow disciplines” (Harvey 1992: 27). By 2009 *Screen* was guided by an editorial board whose professorial habitus is an indicator of the embedded position of a particular approach to the study of film in academia. Within the Bourdieusian framework this shift away from an interest in popular film can be summarised as a move away from the popular conceptual area that was already devalued by external discourses that Film Studies readily shed in a revaluation of its academic assets.

This section discussed the diminishing role of popular culture in film scholarship, the previous section illustrated how film studies incorporated a more elite set of interests in place of the popular, the next section will discuss the incoming keywords found in the corpus analysis as indicated by the changing role of the keyword *media*.

6.3.3. The Rise of New *Media*

The keyword *media* has been chosen to investigate further as an emerging term of significance in the 1990-2009 *Screen* corpus. Curiously, there is no obvious trigger for the increased distinctiveness of *media* in *Screen* since the individual media of film, cinema and television remain highly ranked discursive options.

In 1990 *media* achieved a rank of (N36). The most likely collocates of *media* in 1990 was *studies* (see Table 32, R1). As Caughie and Frith argue, “the success of

the BFI and SEFT in defining media studies embedded film at the centre of, and provided a model for, a media theory which was quite distinct from existing sociologies of media” (Caughie and Frith 1990: 219). The limited range of collocates in this year refer mostly to *mass media*, *education* and *culture*. By the sample year 2000, *media* has ascended the keyword ranks from (N36) to (N4) and has accumulated an increased number and range of collocates that are not apparent by looking at the keyword ranks alone. Investigating its collocates shows that while *studies* continues to be the most likely collocate of *media* in 2000, other collocates are introduced that refer diversely to *media production*, *research*, *institutions*, *intellectuals* and *texts* (see Table 33 R1). Significantly for the first time in 2000, the collocate *new* suggests an interest in the topic of new media, since *new* is now the most likely collocate the L1 position of *media* (see Table 33 R1).

In the millennial year media scholars imbued in the old media are directed in *Screen* to think about the new media, not as an accumulation of the traditional media but to think anew. As Oswell argues, “the ‘new’ of new media suggests something more, something altogether more philosophical, but also researchable in empirical terms. The prefix ‘new’ provides the opportunity for *thinking differently*” (Oswell 2000: 430).

Finding *media* in the compound noun *new media* in 2000 indicates a somewhat delayed corpus response to the development of digital media that grew exponentially in popularity in the wider society from 1991. In 2009 *media* (N5) remains in relatively the same keyword rank as in 2000, but significantly the L1 collocates have increased and identified *media* with digital media. For example, in 2009 the top collocated L1 partnership of *new media* is now twice as likely compared to the previous sample year 2000 (see Table 33, 2009, L1 and 2000,

L1). Furthermore in 2009, this ascendance of the digital media association is amplified by synonymous collocates that substitute for the new media, the topmost likely L1 collocates of *media* by 2009 are *new*, *digital* and *technical*.

Chapter 4 argued that the decisive impetus for the widespread uptake of digital media was the launch of the World Wide Web in 1991. An exploration of the emerging keyword *media* and its collocates since 1990 has indicated that the emergence of digital media was the strongest motivating factor for the increased significance of *media* linked to *new*, *digital* and *technology*. The emergence of the digital media topic in *Screen* lagged behind the development of digital media in popular culture. From a Bourdieusian perspective, one can thus conclude that *Screen* adopted the digital media when its currency became of value in academic terms. By 2009 the digital media could be linked through film to art and the avant-garde. For example, Kuhn identifies an affinity between “practicing filmmakers from both the visual art avant-garde and the radical wing of the independent filmmaking sector” (Kuhn 2009: 9). This implies that the digital media that is commonly to be found in the form of popular culture was ill-fitted to the *Screen* ethos that had already turned away from popular culture in the early 1990s. However, when artists and independent filmmakers incorporated digital media into their practices, and when art galleries curated digital film, this offered *Screen* an opportunity to incorporate digital media at an appropriate level of academic capital that segued with its academic interests.

6.4. Interpreting Field Change

I have argued throughout that the question of change in media education after the World Wide Web requires an empirical investigation and a strong theoretical framework. My study is heavily indebted to Bourdieu’s “sociology of symbolic

power” (Swartz 1997: 6), precisely because it helps to illuminate the enactment of power through processes of “‘naturalization’, where what is conventional and position- or class-based appears to the actors as natural and objective” (Lukes 2005: 141). While the corpus analysis generated keyword patterns and collocates which identify changing topics of interest, the interpretation of these shifts is hugely enhanced by the concepts of field, habitus and capital. Change is not merely motivated by academic debate but also by the dynamic of education as a self-regulating market in which different types of value, ranging from the financial to the symbolic, regulate competition. Hence my discussion of the findings in relation to how the field was shaped by internal relationships and how some of those changes connected to wider society.

The keyword findings show that *film* was the most stable topic across the longitudinal study; however, an investigation of *film*’s collocates revealed a thematic realignment of film study. This was evident in the newly formed relationship between film as art and film and the avant-garde. Previously, there had been a marked decrease in the study of popular film and themes of gender and class. This change of thematic emphasis from the popular and the political to the elite and experimental was interpreted as a strategic move to increase the academic capital of the film studies sector of media education.

An exploration of the dramatic exit of *popular* in the keyword ranks and its pattern of reduced collocates confirmed the thematic decline of popular culture from the early 1990s. This was interpreted as the result of two types of action. Firstly, there was evidence of an internal field decision to reconstitute the standard approaches to film study. Secondly, the turn away from popular culture was a plausible response to governmental disapproval of the study of popular

culture, the emergence of the cultural industries and the discourses of the knowledge economy.

The findings revealed that the keyword media rose through the ranks between 2000 and 2009, and its collocates showed that this was due to an interest in digital media. Comparing themes on the corpus timeline with wider social change, a time lapse occurred between the widespread adoption of digital media in society and the uptake of digital media in the *Screen* corpus. Considering this late adoption of digital media, a factor is likely to be that digital media content compared poorly with film technology and narrative accomplishments. Interpreting this early disinterest in digital media from a Bourdieusian perspective, it could be argued that when widespread participation in popular culture became a social phenomenon rather than a cultural theory, the exclusive rights to producing and theorising popular culture became a saturated market and thus reduced in capital value. By the time the World Wide Web was released, the field area represented by *Screen* had already turned against popular culture. Born refers to the power of cultural production with reference to broadcasting as an “inescapable representational and cultural power” (Born 2000: 405). It may seem surprising that *Screen* had a restrained response to the paradigm shift that allowed the general public to assume the power to create media and distribute their work in society. Indeed, the establishment of the *Convergence* journal in 1995 was in reaction to the lack of an opportunity to engage with the digital media. A different opportunity was offered by digital filmmaking as an uncommon practice. Digital media in the form of experimental and art filmmaking thus became commensurate with *Screen*’s academic interests after its turn from popular culture. Bourdieu’s concepts of field, habitus and capital thus offer a compelling analytical vocabulary for the interpretation of significant shifts in the

field of media education. The empirical findings in this study show that increased value in the field of media education was to be found in a scholarly approach to the analysis of rarefied film. While the avant-garde and art film have been of enduring interest in film analysis since its very inception, this study shows their reconfiguration and re-entry through the digital media after 2000. However, the dramatic drop of popular culture from the top keyword ranks does not simply indicate the complete eradication of popular culture from academic debate, it is rather indicative of a general shift away from Marxist paradigms in an era which has been dominated by neoliberal debates of the knowledge economy. Precisely at that very moment when the World Wide Web made access to participation in popular culture nearly universally available, research into popular culture enjoyed only low value in the esteemed *Screen* journal. Once more this irony underlines Bourdieu's insight into the complex dynamic of power relations which involves habitualised strategies, financial resources, the actors' cultural capital as well as the entire symbolic value system of a society. Of course class, race and gender continue to feature in film scholarship as evidenced in recent contributions to the *Screen* journal (Ball 2013, Collie and Irwin 2013, Hallam 2013, Imre 2013, Moran 2002, Moseley et.al. 2013, Quinn 2012 and Spigel 2013). While the actors in the field may believe that their shifting academic interests are merely intrinsically motivated by the study of the object, Bourdieu argues that they also service broader mechanisms of the social reproduction of power. From this perspective, *Screen's* discovery of the digital media through experimental filmmaking and the art gallery only accentuates an established academic value system that, in spite of the long debate on the erasure of the distinction between low and high culture, latently favours high culture.

7. Conclusion

My concluding commentary reflects on how I approached and answered the research questions and the efficacy of the method used. The chapter also remarks on alternative theories and methods that could feature in future research.

Bourdieu's theory of power, with its focus on the field, capital and habitus, proved a useful frame for interpreting the corpus findings. Although Bourdieu has been criticised for not sufficiently accounting for change (Born 2010: 179; Calhoun 1993: 66), his unique combination of empirical research with socio-political and philosophical reflection provides an insightful interpretive model that is particularly suited to the analysis of the way in which the field of media education has adjusted to the digital era (Bigo 2011: 233). It should be clear from the thesis that corpus analysis proved a useful empirical technique to find patterns of change for theoretical analysis. However, in order to evaluate the broader study outcomes, one must ask to what extent the research model was really effective in answering the research question as outlined in Chapter 1.

As previously shown, I devised a research model that, in Bourdieusian terms, attempted to bridge the humanities and social sciences by integrating the theoretical analysis of power in society with an empirical analysis of change in the specific field of media education. The principle underpinning my study is that suitably representative text can be used to study ideas in a particular constituency informed by historical knowledge. Further to this, I adopted a historical line of investigation to place the three subjects of media education – Film Studies, Media Studies and Media Literacy – in the broader socio-political context of the United Kingdom. The case study of the CCCS in Birmingham was

included because as it became the most renowned centre of cultural studies in the UK, it coincided with the advent of Films Studies as an academic subject, playing a pivotal role in “putting questions of cultural analysis and cultural politics at the centre of its politics” (Hall 2010: 187). From a Bourdieuisan perspective, its closure was not arbitrary but a logical extension of its failure to accrue sufficient symbolic capital in the struggle for legitimacy in a university sector that, in the wake of the Thatcher era, continued to adopt neoliberal market principles. In sharp contrast to the CCCS, the media education subjects, which originally had a similarly left-leaning political outlook, survived either by becoming subsumed into educational institutions or by transforming themselves in line with new priorities of the educational system in the Thatcherite era and beyond. While in the 1970s *Screen* was the battleground of massive ideological rifts and conflicts (Lovell 1972 and Buscome et al. 1976), in the decades to follow the editors of *Screen* acquired considerable professional habitus and symbolic capital (see Table 1). *Screen* is now the single most influential British journal of Screen Studies with huge international standing.

Against this socio-historical background, the longitudinal corpus analysis provoked interesting insights into the internal transformation of the media education landscape. While the longitudinal analysis corroborated the historical line of investigation, it also produced unanticipated and surprising information about significant shifts in media education. In line with *Screen*’s self-declared role, the analysis found that its most consistent feature is the study of film and cinema cultures. However, the disappearance of “1970s *Screen* Theory” (Kuhn 2009: 5) in the late 1990s was unexpected. Its decline was observed in *Screen*’s sustained shift away from the topics of popular culture, feminist film study and class analysis. It was also surprising to find that the cluster of digital media, art

film and avant-garde became newly distinctive discussions in *Screen* after the millenium. Without the interpretive knowledge of how to differentiate between different types of change in the data, particular patterns might not have been discerned as historically distinctive. I have argued that the shift of interest towards digital media, art film and avant-garde allowed *Screen* to adjust to the digital era while bolstering its symbolic capital as a high-end academic journal. By contrast *Convergence* adopted the whole scale remit for research into digital cultures.

Bourdieu's theory of systemic power informs the historical argument that, from the 1990s, the wider socio-political context of the post-Thatcherite era and the increasing marketisation of education pressurised Film Studies to drop its left-wing credentials and to enhance its academic capital within the field. By filtering historical knowledge through a theoretical lens and corroborating it with empirical data, my study provides a set of answers that is firmly grounded in empirical evidence but framed by theoretical as well as methodological reflection. The approach to the relationship between systemic power and academic capital developed here lends itself to future application in other subject areas.

It is obvious that alternative approaches to my field of enquiry are conceivable and would have provided different observations. For example, one could have selected the *Convergence* journal from 1995 for the longitudinal study instead of *Screen*. In all likelihood, a study of *Convergence* would reveal new departures and responses to the new digital media cultures as technologies developed and became widely adopted. Alternatively, a longitudinal analysis of the *Media Literacy Bulletin* from 2005 could have illuminated how the United Kingdom adopted a strong policy position on the role of Media Literacy in society. As was noted (see Table 13), the presence of Ofcom in the *Media Literacy*

Bulletin is a distinguishing characteristic and evidence of a strong interventionist stance on behalf of the government. A radically different approach would consist in changing the research scope by varying the basis of question from a non-hypothetical discovery to testing a hypothesis. For example, one could hypothesise that educational and pedagogic themes were dropped from the discursive field of media education after 1970s when Screen Theory became dominant (Kuhn 2009: 4). In order to approach this hypothesis, the researcher would need to investigate its legitimacy by tracking the role of *education* in the corpus.

If asked to reconsider the research model employed here, I would retain the model for its empirical robustness but balance out the empirical and interpretive analysis in practice. My commitment to undertaking empirical research was a direct consequence of Bourdieu's insistence that the gap between theory and empiricism needed to be bridged. Corpus analysis is a method that has the potential to bridge quantitative and qualitative research (Hunston 2002: 3); the statistical data is only meaningful to the extent that it is filtered through an interpretive lens. Delany and Landow rightly observe that the use of corpus software to process huge amounts of academic texts to find distinctive patterns at great speed is a significant advantage in text-based research (Delany and Landow 1992: 13). As my research necessitated the systematic analysis of large amount of text, corpus analysis promised an efficient tool of undertaking this particular task. While, as previously observed, corpus analysis was a useful technique, in practice it gained far greater prominence than I had originally envisaged when developing a research model that attempted to straddle theory, empiricism and history. The procedures for data gathering, testing, analysing and the protocols for verifying and reporting are hugely demanding. By itself corpus analysis is

useful but a limited method: it can only show what happens but not explain why change occurs. In other words: it is a research tool that does not engage in the kind of socio-political arguments about power that are at the very heart of Bourdieu's thinking. Corpus analysis can observe but not elucidate the broader implications of change in language usage that it finds, nor can it analyse the battles and quality of arguments in a particular field. These are political and socio-cultural matters that require hermeneutic tools of interpretation. As stated in Chapter 3, hermeneutics has a long standing in the humanities but it is not a preferred method in the social sciences. By filtering the corpus findings through the Bourdieusian lens, my thesis strove to achieve equilibrium between empirical and theoretical analysis. Chapters 4 to 6 primarily engage with the principles of corpus analysis on its own terms, even though I have adopted a Bourdieusian line of interpretation throughout. The challenge for anyone involved in this kind of research then is how to arrive at the right balance between a demanding and highly self-reflexive empirical research method on the one hand, and the need for hermeneutic interpretation on the other. The next section will discuss some of the other topics that have arisen in the course of my study that would merit the development of new research studies.

If research is productive, it not only answers its own research agenda but formulates new questions. Three issues have arisen during my research that would warrant further enquiry: a first question concerns the type of governance that Media Literacy represents. Is it merely a top-down process of implementing government policies that are often driven by a fear of the negative effects of uncontrolled media access? Or is there evidence that the debate on Media Literacy has emancipated itself from governmental policy by staking out its own field of enquiry in terms that reflect how people use the internet? Following this line,

a study could investigate how the European Union and the United States differ in their respective approaches to media literacy. A second question concerns how the regulated broadcast media have become de-regulated as a result of the World Wide Web and whether this enhances democracy as advocates initially hoped (Berners Lee 1999). Finally, a recurring theme meriting more enquiry is how the self-regulating market of education has been reconstituted by the knowledge economy (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004).

A comparison of the policies on media literacy in the European Union and the United States would need to take account of substantial differences about the role of the state in education and in society at large. The core themes for this line of investigation would need to draw on theories of civil society, democracy and social communication. A theoretical frame could be based on political theorist Jürgen Habermas whose philosophical work addresses modern politics of governance, the public sphere and notion of social co-operation (Habermas 1991). As Cooke explains, “Habermas emphasizes that the motivation of citizens to live together peacefully in a particular political order cannot be separated from their view of the justification of the political authority governing that order” (Cooke: 2007: 224). Research into media literacy and social governance would involve gathering policy texts and published debates in the EU and the US for a comparative analysis. However, such a comparison would need to be based on a socio-political model of citizenship and the public sphere, as exemplified by Habermas, to produce an informed and engaged analysis of the social effects of media literacy discourse. The timeliness of such research is underlined by the fact that, in the period from 2011-2014, the EU has funded a longitudinal research project on how young people across the EU access the World Wide Web and participate online (Livingstone 2011). While in the UK the relationship

between formal education, media technologies and informal media participation is a topic of debate (Buckingham 2011), in the US the discussion focuses more on the question of protection from risk versus self-actualisation (Potter 2010; Hobbs 2011). An international comparative analysis within the context of the ongoing debate about civil society could contribute to enhanced understanding of the role of public policy in the digital era.

Another line of research concerns the changing role of broadcasting. This research brief would investigate how unregulated open access media has reshaped regulated professional broadcasting. While audience access to the media is often tracked through radio phone-in shows (O’Keefe 2006), new uses of the media such as citizen journalism have emerged that enforce revolutionary change in the field of broadcasting (Howard et al. 2011). Between the endurance of tradition and the force of the new there is an underlying change in how producers invite public participation to shape the media production agenda. To date, little attention has been paid to how professional broadcasters perceive their role as media producers in a rapidly transforming media landscape. The question is whether digital communications are enabling a new type of virtual civic agora that no longer adheres to the rules of established broadcasters. An approach to this topic would investigate the historical development of public service broadcasting and the cultural industries in the 20th century. Topics to be considered here are the rise of neo-liberal deregulation of broadcasting and the effects of technological change (Winston 1998; Castells 2000; Hesmondhalgh 2013). An historical analysis would set the scene for a case study of generational differences in a broadcast organisation such as the public service broadcaster RTÉ in Ireland. Interviews with media professionals about their roles before and after the digital technologies led to media convergence would result in a ‘memory pro-

ject' that could be used to critically evaluate the proclamations in policy documents and political statements. Georgina Born applied a similar type of research model to good effect in her investigation of the new managerialism in the BBC (Born 2005). In this way, the hypothesis that there was a democratic turn in broadcasting following the widespread adoption of digital communications could be tested.

A further question has arisen in connection with the knowledge economy. Bourdieu developed his theory of power prior to the arrival of World Wide Web, so he could not take account of the unprecedented transformation of the social sphere through global digital networks. As shown in Chapter 1, the term knowledge economy captures knowledge generation and dissemination in an environment where established knowledge becomes quickly obsolescent. According to Olsen and Peters the discourse on the knowledge economy and globalisation tends to represent education in terms of "an input-output system which can be reduced to an economic production function" (Olsen and Peters 2005: 324). Their research shows a massive shift in higher education from the liberal principles of governance of the 1960s towards neoliberal governance structures now. In line with this, universities in the United Kingdom are held to account by evaluation systems such as the Research Excellence Framework for their production of academic capital in return for public investment. Castells argued that the power flows in global networks transcend and influence nation states (Castells 2000: 442). According to Bauman, 'liquid power' that is beyond tangible grasp creates instability, unpredictability and disconnection from responsibility for action (Bauman 2011[1998]: 9).

My study recognises these power shifts in the discussion of the impact of the knowledge economy on the transformation of media education since the radical

era of the 1960s. I argued that the idea of the knowledge economy impinged on the education sector to the extent that it is no longer a self-regulating market in Bourdieu's sense. The difference between the 1960s and the early 21st century is not simply the increased power of governments within the education system as a market, but the shift in the traditional form of national governance due to the influence of global flows. Here a tension or even contradiction emerges: as the freedom of universities is being further harnessed by policy instruments, national governments are arguably losing the very sovereignty on which their democratic power rests. My study thus calls for further research into how the marketisation and globalisation of education has reshaped education.

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Appendix 1

N	Screen 2005-2009 Key word	Keyness	N	Screen 2005-2009 Key word	Keyness
1	FILM	76778	51	TRAUMA	1555
2	CINEMA	36041	52	DVD	1504
3	CULTURE	10546	53	ENGAGE	1485
4	IMAGE	9188	54	EXPERIENCE	1470
5	FILMMAKER	7540	55	DRAMA	1466
6	TELEVISION	7525	56	OBJECT	1456
7	SCREEN	7164	57	FEATURE	1400
8	NARRATIVE	6878	58	REPRESENT	1397
9	MEDIUM	6266	59	REVEAL	1395
10	HISTORY	5630	60	CRITICAL	1382
11	VIEWER	5161	61	SPECTACLE	1360
12	AUDIENCE	5053	62	REALITY	1351
13	DOCUMENTARY	4869	63	SEQUENCE	1324
14	HOLLYWOOD	4687	64	PROTAGONIST	1313
15	AESTHETIC	3550	65	EISENSTEIN	1304
16	CAMERA	3408	66	ARCHIVE	1281
17	SCENE	3285	67	DESCRIBE	1277
18	NY	3264	68	SHOW	1268
19	SHOOT	3131	69	CONTEXT	1257
20	GENRE	3087	70	TEXTUAL	1245
21	PRESS	2984	71	MONTAGE	1233
22	ARGUE	2925	72	EMPHASIZE	1229
23	ESSAY	2895	73	TERM	1225
24	SPECTATOR	2756	74	DIGITAL	1224
25	ART	2553	75	FOOTAGE	1219
26	REPRESENTATION	2519	76	TECHNICOLOR	1205
27	MOVIE	2473	77	CINEPHILIA	1196
28	POLITIC	2447	78	URL	1187
29	DELEUZE	2255	79	CINEMA'S	1183
30	IDENTITY	2205	80	LA	1175
31	VISUAL	2133	81	VIDEO	1173
32	MEMORY	2124	82	STORY	1168
33	CONTEMPORARY	2097	83	BROADCAST	1165
34	CRITIC	2076	84	AUDIOVISUAL	1160
35	STUDY	1855	85	YORK	1158
36	RELATION	1829	86	DEMONSTRATE	1152
37	FOCUS	1800	87	CHANNEL	1144
38	FRAME	1796	88	CREATE	1135
39	ROUTLEDGE	1783	89	TELETUBBIES	1135
40	DISCOURSE	1769	90	NOTES	1130
41	CHARACTER	1728	91	EDIT	1125
42	FILMIC	1685	92	SPECTATORSHIP	1108
43	PRODUCTION	1683	93	VAMPIRE	1104
44	TEXT	1673	94	RECEPTION	1098
45	WOMAN	1655	95	CLOSEUP	1091
46	BFI	1616	96	ADAPTATION	1088
47	DESIRE	1611	97	WUORNOS	1082
48	UNIVERSITY	1592	98	NOIR	1074
49	WRITE	1591	99	FORM	1073
50	QUEER	1568	100	AVANT	1065

Appendix 2

N	Convergence 2005-2009 Key word	Keyness	N	Convergence 2005-2009 Key word	Keyness
1	MEDIUM	42886	51	ART	2589
2	DIGITAL	18109	52	ING	2478
3	INTERNET	16121	53	PROGRAM	2457
4	MOBILE	14612	54	JOURNALISM	2448
5	ONLINE	12861	55	TECHNOLOGICAL	2374
6	CULTURE	12546	56	INTERACTIVE	2358
7	URL	10470	57	INTERACTIVITY	2341
8	TECHNOLOGY	9813	58	PSB	2336
9	GAME	7402	59	SERVICE	2333
10	CONVERGENCE	7107	60	PUBLIC	2323
11	BROADCAST	7086	61	IMAGE	2247
12	DVD	6792	62	JOURNAL	2238
13	CON	6265	63	CANT	2212
14	CONTENT	6193	64	ARGUE	2185
15	RST	5945	65	TION	2169
16	NEWS	5791	66	PRACTICE	2151
17	COMMUNICATION	5502	67	CINEMA	2126
18	RADIO	5475	68	TV	2120
19	TELEVISION	5319	69	AUDIO	2117
20	WEBSITE	5275	70	DIF	2080
21	SPECI	5138	71	BASE	2057
22	SIGNI	4858	72	GAMING	2037
23	ACCESS	4757	73	PUBLISH	1999
24	AUDIENCE	4711	74	PRODUCTION	1983
25	NEW	4547	75	RESEARCH	1958
26	USER	4473	76	PLATFORM	1955
27	NETWORK	4463	77	CATION	1935
28	FAN	4127	78	SITE	1933
29	TEXT	4019	79	CYBERSPACE	1932
30	HTML	3927	80	COMPUTER	1897
31	BBC	3886	81	READER	1891
32	PAGE	3795	82	IDENTI	1887
33	VIDEO	3697	83	POLITIC	1876
34	BROADCASTER	3616	84	ADVERTISE	1870
35	SAGEPUB	3400	85	CONSUMER	1826
36	VIRTUAL	3383	86	CIAL	1807
37	VIEWER	3228	87	IDENTITY	1795
38	NEWSROOM	3180	88	LMS	1785
39	NARRATIVE	3174	89	BENE	1782
40	PHONE	3160	90	TRAILER	1781
41	WEB	3143	91	ND	1773
42	PLAYER	2969	92	UNIVERSITY	1770
43	STUDY	2947	93	ARTIST	1752
44	INDYMEDIA	2918	94	BLOGS	1749
45	EMAIL	2830	95	GAMER	1746
46	BLOG	2758	96	EXPERIENCE	1741
47	DOWNLOADED	2661	97	AESTHETIC	1730
48	CREATE	2660	98	VIDEOGAMES	1701
49	ARTICLE	2634	99	ROUTLEDGE	1671
50	ELD	2605	100	PRESS	1651

Appendix 3

N	MLB 2005-2009 Key word	Keyness	N	MLB 2005-2009 Key word	Keyness
1	MEDIUM	20371	51	WEBSITES	893
2	MEDIA	17784	52	COMMUNITY	887
3	LITERACY	16210	53	BROADBAND	840
4	OFCOM	10685	54	EDUCATION	838
5	INTERNET	10068	55	PARENT	823
6	ONLINE	10001	56	ADULTS	820
7	DIGITAL	8394	57	PROMOTE	816
8	WEBSITE	7459	58	NETWORKING	802
9	UK	3337	59	FILM	762
10	CHILD	3235	60	SERVICE	747
11	BULLETIN	2649	61	SURFERS	726
12	LEARN	2478	62	CHILDNET	725
13	ADULT	2405	63	YOUNG	716
14	CONFERENCE	2204	64	ISSUE	709
15	LEARNER	1963	65	PROGRAMME	707
16	EMAIL	1958	66	AWARENESS	697
17	LEARNING	1827	67	HIGHLIGHT	667
18	CONTENT	1807	68	GROUP	663
19	LEARNERS	1748	69	VISIT	662
20	INFORMATION	1736	70	PROVIDER	661
21	NIACE	1667	71	BECTA	647
22	INCLUSION	1630	72	WORKSHOP	642
23	SKILL	1624	73	USER	640
24	PUBLISH	1498	74	INITIATIVE	638
25	CHILDREN	1481	75	ICT	630
26	EBULLETIN	1463	76	FOCUS	628
27	REPORT	1435	77	TECHNOLOGIES	623
28	LAUNCH	1433	78	OPPORTUNITY	621
29	RESEARCH	1427	79	SUPPORT	616
30	TECHNOLOGY	1414	80	INCLUDE	607
31	EU	1400	81	RADIO	606
32	SAFE	1369	82	WALES	601
33	STAKEHOLDER	1367	83	THINKUKNOW	596
34	COMMUNICATION	1343	84	AIM	583
35	IWF	1293	85	TEACHER	578
36	MOBILE	1251	86	PARTICIPATION	565
37	STAKEHOLDERS	1228	87	DETAIL	560
38	COMMUNICATIONS	1207	88	NEWS	541
39	ACCESS	1106	89	EVENTS	539
40	SAFER	1096	90	IRELAND	533
41	SURFER	1085	91	SCHOOL	529
42	SKILLS	1057	92	UNITE	526
43	RESOURCE	1015	93	CREATIVE	525
44	FORUM	1009	94	ORGANISATIONS	524
45	PEOPLE	970	95	PLEASE	521
46	NETWORK	956	96	ACTIVITY	519
47	CEOP	945	97	APMLG	518
48	SAFETY	943	98	DELIVER	516
49	BBC	915	99	AWARD	508
50	PROJECT	894	100	DEVELOP	507

Appendix 4

N	Screen 1990 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 1990 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	8,762	51	LONDON	457
2	CINEMA	4,794	52	CRITICAL	446
3	TELEVISION	3,506	53	SYMBOLIC	436
4	GENRE	2,391	54	WARNER	423
5	CULTURE	2,151	55	PRESSBOOK	399
6	WOMANS	1,648	56	BROADCASTING	397
7	BFI	1,371	57	ELLIOT	396
8	NARRATIVE	1,283	58	WOMB	393
9	POPULAR	1,188	59	SEFT	390
10	CASTRATION	1,099	60	POSTMODERNISM	383
11	HOLLYWOOD	1,064	61	SEXUALITY	379
12	BATMAN	942	62	BFIS	375
13	DISCOURSE	921	63	INTELLECTUALS	373
14	FEMINISM	906	64	WORKSHOPS	367
15	HISTORY	905	65	GENDER	365
16	SCREEN	899	66	SPECTACLE	348
17	FEMINIST	880	67	CLASS	345
18	AMERICAN	876	68	MUSICAL	345
19	STUDIES	850	69	SUBJECTIVITY	343
20		842	70	DISCUSSION	342
21	AESTHETIC	825	71	BLACK	341
22	MPPDA	787	72	PUBLIC	337
23	HORROR	777	73	DOMINANT	335
24	HYSTERIA	749	74	ENTERTAINMENT	330
25	FEMALE	738	75	DEMILLES	328
26	BEVERLY	703	76	TEXTUAL	323
27	CENSORSHIP	695	77	PRESS	322
28	RINGERS	692	78	DOESNT	320
29	PRODUCTION	666	79	ANALYSIS	319
30	TWINS	643	80	REALISM	318
31	REPRESENTATION	634	81	AESTHETICS	317
32	AUDIENCES	629	82	CONTEMPORARY	317
33	FEMININE	619	83	MELODRAMA	315
34	MALE	597	84	SEXUAL	313
35	CHANNEL	595	85	CABLE	311
36	MEDIA	593	86	VIEWER	307
37	TEXTS	578	87	MPAA	305
38	ROSEANNE	575	88	THIRTYSOMETHING	302
39	HAYS	569	89	TEXT	299
40	DESIRE	544	90	QUALITY	298
41	VERISIMILITUDE	531	91	HOLLYWOODS	293
42	CINEMATIC	525	92	INDUSTRYS	293
43	AUDIENCE	516	93	SPECTATOR	292
44	IMAGE	509	94	TUDOR	292
45	HISTORICAL	504	95	MEANINGS	288
46	ALTMAN	501	96	NOTION	285
47	IDEOLOGICAL	483	97	FREUD	283
48	VIDEO	474	98	SOCIAL	283
49	SOLLORS	469	99	TRADITIONALISM	280
50	IMAGES	461	100	MARKED	277

Appendix 5

N	Screen 1991 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 1991 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	5,502	51	COMMUNICATION	360
2	MEDIA	4,274	52	POSTMODERNISM	356
3	TELEVISION	3,986	53	AVANT	347
4	CINEMA	2,845	54	NARRATION	344
5	CULTURAL	2,207	55	GARDE	339
6	NARRATIVE	1,760	56	AS	335
7	FEMINIST	1,667	57	SEXUALITY	334
8	STUDIES	1,310	58	ITS	329
9	CULTURE	1,285	59	EISLER'S	327
10	WOMEN	1,241	60	DISCOURSES	326
11	THEORY	985	61	GENDER	325
12	GENRES	907	62	REPRESENTATION	324
13	SPECTATOR	822	63	IDENTITY	321
14	POSTMODERN	790	64	PRESS	313
15	POPULAR	750	65	BRINKMANN	312
16	EISLER	704	66	MODERNIST	310
17	GENRE	690	67	BLACKMAIL	308
18	AUDIENCE	675	68	CRITIQUE	306
19	AUSTRALIAN	648	69	SPECTACLE	305
20	MELODRAMA	628	70	FEMININITY	300
21	THEORETICAL	597	71	CONTEMPORARY	297
22	DISCOURSE	595	72	IN	296
23	CYBORG	593	73	ENUNCIATION	294
24	BROADCASTING	586	74	GENERIC	291
25	PSYCHOANALYSIS	576	75	KISWANA	290
26	FEMALE	572	76	IMAGE	287
27	FEMINISM	538	77	ANALYSIS	287
28	TEXTS	515	78	PSYCHOANALYTIC	286
29	HISTORICAL	512	79	CINEMATIC	284
30	JAMESON	507	80	JAMESON'S	283
31	SCREEN	501	81	BORDWELL	282
32	CBS	493	82	TECHNOLOGICAL	282
33	TEXT	490	83	SEITER	278
34	TV	484	84	DESIRE	278
35	CRITICAL	476	85	AESTHETIC	277
36	TEXTUAL	474	86	PALEY	277
37	HISTORY	472	87	FORMS	276
38	AUDIENCES	466	88	MELLENCAMP	275
39	HOLLYWOOD	463	89	IMAGES	270
40	FABULA	458	90	MULVEY	266
41	MATTIE	458	91	NBC	262
42	ILONDON	448	92	FILMIC	261
43	VIDEO	418	93	WHICH	260
44	SOAP	417	94	PRODUCTION	260
45	CRITICISM	398	95	ART	256
46	WOMEN'S	394	96	THE	254
47	BLACK	392	97	IS	253
48	ROUTLEDGE	380	98	COLOR	253
49	IBID	379	99	AUTHORIAL	243
50	SUBJECTIVITY	372	100	MATTIE'S	242

Appendix 6

N	Screen 1992 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 1992 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	6,761	51	PINOCCHIO	305
2	CINEMA	6,685	52	REPRESENTATION	303
3	TELEVISION	2,115	53	FILM'S	302
4	DISNEY	1,534	54	CUIQIAO'S	297
5	ANIMATION	1,048	55	GITAI	297
6	FLEISCHER	953	56	IMAGE	296
7	MEDIA	930	57	AESTHETIC	293
8	HOLLYWOOD	924	58	LA	293
9	CULTURAL	898	59	VINCENDEAU	288
10	HORRABIN	754	60	ANIMATED	288
11	ROMANCE	753	61	ILONDON	284
12	DEBATES	664	62	KAES	284
13	SPECTATOR	653	63	FEMININE	280
14	NARRATIVE	645	64	IN	272
15	GENRE	582	65	WINIFRED	272
16	AUDIENCE	578	66	MASQUERADE	269
17	FEMINIST	570	67	SCREWBALL	263
18	PRODUCTION	534	68	STUDIES	263
19	MULTIPLANE	519	69	CRITICAL	262
20	POPULAR	512	70	FILMMAKER	260
21	FANTASY	496	71	ITS	257
22	ROMANTIC	480	72	STUDIOS	256
23	CINEMATIC	477	73	AND	255
24	BROADCASTING	469	74	PANS	255
25	SCREEN	456	75	MADDALENA	254
26	FILMMAKERS	446	76	WOMEN	253
27	REALISM	440	77	WESTLAKE	251
28	CULTURE	439	78	THEORY	249
29	REVIEWS	430	79	CUIQIAO	247
30	AUDIENCES	430	80	GENRES	247
31	FRENCH	423	81	FEMALE	242
32	COMEDY	389	82	LAPSLEY	241
33	SEXUAL	387	83	HISTORICAL	241
34	SOAP	385	84	INDEPENDENT	240
35	WOMEN'S	382	85	RKO	239
36	THAI	379	86	IDENTITY	239
37	COMEDIES	372	87	SCANNELL	235
38	STEREOPTICAL	371	88	CHICHABA	235
39	HISTORY	367	89	VIDEO	231
40	SOVIET	365	90	GU	230
41	DEREN	362	91	MALE	227
42	AS	351	92	DEVI	226
43	FILMMAKING	343	93	VIEWER	224
44	AMERICAN	342	94	CINEMA'S	222
45	THAILAND	337	95	CINENOVA	222
46	MELODRAMA	334	96	DEREN'S	222
47	CAMERA	331	97	DOYAMOYEE	222
48	DESIRE	331	98	PATTAWI	222
49	LACAN	330	99	WILLEMEN	222
50	THE	320	100	BFI	222

Appendix 7

N	Screen 1993 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 1993 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	6,538	51	SUBJECTIVITY	410
2	CINEMA	5,168	52	WOMEN	408
3	CAHIERS	2,418	53	PHANTASY	408
4	CULTURAL	1,470	54	GENRE	406
5	AESTHETIC	1,200	55	INSTITUTIONAL	402
6	DESIRE	1,196	56	FILM'S	397
7	WENDERS	1,116	57	DEBATES	396
8	DEPARDIEU	1,067	58	FEMINIST	390
9	FRENCH	1,042	59	LES	386
10	AUTEUR	963	60	IN	385
11	BEUR	921	61	NEGATION	380
12	CINEMATIC	903	62	GENDER	379
13	NARRATIVE	902	63	ILONDON	379
14	CULTURE	855	64	HABERMAS	372
15	ADORNO	807	65	HOLLYWOOD	369
16	IDENTITY	802	66	DIFFERENCE	368
17	VARDA	765	67	DANEY	366
18	BROADCASTING	742	68	SPECTATORSHIP	362
19	TELEVISION	720	69	IS	359
20	FEMALE	709	70	SEXUALITY	352
21	IMAGE	700	71	DE	350
22	SPHERE	691	72	BEURS	345
23	CRITICAL	667	73	MEDIA	345
24	REPRESENTATION	648	74	MONTAGE	344
25	AUDIENCE	647	75	AESTHETICS	343
26	PUBLIC	613	76	FILMMAKERS	341
27	AUDIENCES	603	77	BILDERVERBOT	341
28	DEPARDIEU'S	585	78	LANG'S	334
29	QUEER	536	79	BFI	333
30	TEXTUAL	529	80	HAL	329
31	DISCOURSE	514	81	MADJID	328
32	VIETNAM	506	82	CAMERA	325
33	AS	499	83	RELATION	323
34	MALE	481	84	WOMANS	318
35	VOL	480	85	GARDE	318
36	SEXUAL	479	86	IBID	314
37	HISTORICAL	478	87	AVANT	311
38	SPECTATOR	473	88	DISCURSIVE	310
39	DU	466	89	FEMININE	309
40	STUDIES	461	90	SCHREBER	305
41	ADORNO'S	459	91	SCREEN	303
42	THEWELEIT	454	92	GAY	300
43	OEDIPAL	438	93	FILMIC	298
44	IMAGES	435	94	NICK'S	297
45	PRODUCTION	430	95	PABLO'S	296
46	PABLO	430	96	LIGHTNING	295
47	THEORY	423	97	JANE	295
48	KLUGE	422	98	MOTHER	294
49	VARDA'S	420	99	OTTINGER'S	290
50	SPACE	418	100	ITS	289

Appendix 8

N	Screen 1994 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 1994 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	6,340	51	MEMORIES	360
2	CINEMA	3,003	52	REPRESENTATION	357
3	NARRATIVE	1,887	53	THE	353
4	TELEVISION	1,854	54	WOMEN	353
5	FEMINIST	1,346	55	RADIO	349
6	IDENTITY	1,046	56	IDEOLOGY	341
7	SOAP	1,030	57	FANTASY	339
8	CULTURAL	980	58	NOELINE	336
9	SYLVANIA	939	59	DESIRE	334
10	MASCULINITY	928	60	HYBRID	332
11	OEDIPAL	831	61	NATION	328
12	MASCULINE	780	62	KOVIC	327
13	HOLLYWOOD	769	63	VIETNAM	322
14	MALE	732	64	ANIMATION	322
15	IMAGE	723	65	CRITIQUE	320
16	FAMILY	722	66	PHALLIC	319
17	REALIST	716	67	JEFFREY	315
18	COPRODUCTION	697	68	ILONDON	311
19	DOCUMENTARY	683	69	PAGNOL	304
20	REALISM	665	70	VOL	303
21	GENRE	640	71	WOMEN'S	300
22	IMAGES	631	72	MEGAN	299
23	DEBATES	628	73	PATRIARCHAL	299
24	MELODRAMA	623	74	INEW	299
25	CULTURE	607	75	POSTMODERNISM	296
26	POSTCOLONIAL	600	76	CRAIG'S	292
27	FEMININE	589	77	LYNCH'S	291
28	AUSTRALIAN	560	78	WATERS	291
29	DELEUZE	543	79	GENDERED	290
30	GENDER	541	80	BORDWELL	290
31	SPECTATOR	538	81	CINEMATIC	288
32	FEMALE	517	82	FILMMAKING	283
33	MEMORY	508	83	IDEOLOGICAL	280
34	OPERA	502	84	HARRIET'S	279
35	HISTORY	494	85	COPRODUCER	278
36	VIEWERS	476	86	MACCABE	275
37	AUDIENCES	473	87	DISCOURSES	273
38	SPECTATORSHIP	439	88	FESTIVAL	270
39	SCREEN	426	89	CHARACTERS	269
40	NARRATIVES	420	90	VELVET	269
41	DOCUMENTARIES	410	91	EUGENE	266
42	FEMININITY	385	92	CALEB	263
43	AUDIENCE	383	93	ROUTLEDGE	263
44	POSTMODERN	383	94	IN	263
45	PRODUCTION	378	95	SOCIAL	259
46	POSTCOLONIALISM	373	96	ELVIS	257
47	CLAIR	373	97	IS	257
48	THEORY	372	98	SPECTATORS	256
49	DISCOURSE	366	99	MELODRAMATIC	255
50	VIEWER	362	100	REVIEWS	255

Appendix 9

N	Screen 1995 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 1995 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	5,038	51	ERFAHRUNG	380
2	CINEMA	4,145	52	SEXUAL	380
3	MASCULINITY	1,935	53	SEXUALITY	378
4	TELEVISION	1,438	54	TEXTUAL	377
5	NARRATIVE	1,395	55	NOSTALGIA	363
6	PARACINEMATIC	1,128	56	DISCOURSE	363
7	CULTURE	1,100	57	VIEWER	360
8	CINEMATIC	1,037	58	SURREALIST	355
9	MALE	988	59	STUDIES	354
10	AUDIENCE	893	60	QUEER	345
11	GENDER	846	61	CAMERA	345
12	FEMINIST	767	62	PARADISO	340
13	SCENE	756	63	HAN	335
14	COOPER	741	64	ITS	333
15	VIDEO	740	65	PATRIARCHAL	333
16	FEMININITY	716	66	MELODRAMA	330
17	MEDIA	700	67	OEDIPAL	329
18	MASQUERADE	671	68	SYMBOLIC	327
19	IMAGE	663	69	GENRES	324
20	IDENTITY	635	70	REBECCA	323
21	FANTASY	623	71	VISUAL	316
22	SPECTATOR	618	72	HETEROSEXUAL	316
23	MASCULINE	611	73	ARTAUD	316
24	BAINES	575	74	GAZE	313
25	HISTORY	566	75	ROUTLEDGE	312
26	AESTHETIC	513	76	HYBRIDITY	310
27	SUBJECTIVITY	494	77	POSTMODERN	309
28	FEMALE	493	78	ENFRAMING	307
29	POPULAR	491	79	IMAGES	304
30	FUNG'S	490	80	NARCISSISTIC	302
31	DESIRE	450	81	REBECCA'S	301
32	HISTORICAL	446	82	IS	298
33	SCREEN	444	83	CONTEMPORARY	298
34	MAORI	438	84	POSTCOLONIAL	298
35	PIANO	438	85	DRAG	298
36	DOMINANT	421	86	FUNG	297
37	NARRATIVES	421	87	NAFICY	294
38	WOMEN	412	88	MEMORY	293
39	HOLLYWOOD	406	89	CHARACTERS	288
40	DAVIS'S	403	90	IDENTITIES	288
41	AUDIENCES	401	91	GAY	287
42	CRITICAL	397	92	FEMINISM	287
43	EFFORT	391	93	CINEMA'S	285
44	REPRESENTATION	391	94	SILVERMAN	283
45	DEBATES	390	95	POESIS	282
46	SKEFFINGTON	388	96	NEALE	279
47	NOIR	386	97	MODERNITY	271
48	DISCOURSES	383	98	PRODUCTION	270
49	VIEWERS	382	99	REVIEWS	269
50	NARRATION	381	100	RELATION	269

Appendix 10

N	Screen 1996 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 1996 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	6,693	51	HISTORICAL	366
2	CINEMA	3,651	52	IDENTIFICATION	366
3	KAPLAN	1,192	53	SUBLIME	359
4	FEMALE	1,159	54	POLITY	357
5	WOMEN	1,065	55	POSTMODERN	356
6	CULTURE	1,015	56	MASCULINITY	354
7	MTV	986	57	IMAGES	350
8	NARRATIVE	938	58	RESPONDENTS	347
9	BARDOT	920	59	BARDOT'S	344
10	RACIAL	859	60	DISCOURSE	340
11	TELEVISION	816	61	AESTHETIC	340
12	AUDIENCE	813	62	ART	336
13	CAPRA	803	63	CAPRA'S	331
14	NATION	797	64	Ñ	331
15	CINEMATIC	693	65	CINEMA'S	329
16	GAY	653	66	WOMAN	323
17	SEXUALITY	650	67	NELLY	317
18	MALE	631	68	ABJECT	314
19	SEXUAL	580	69	DISCOURSES	311
20	AUDIENCES	576	70	FEMININE	310
21	GENDER	542	71	MONGOLIA	310
22	DESIRE	532	72	REVIEWS	306
23	FEMINIST	520	73	MONGOLIANS	297
24	SPECTATOR	516	74	INANGBAYAN	294
25	SPECTACLE	492	75	WINDEMERE	294
26	THE	489	76	KO	294
27	CRITICAL	486	77	ROUTLEDGE	294
28	DOE	471	78	CHARACTERS	289
29	CUBAN	457	79	ALLIE	278
30	SPECTATORSHIP	455	80	LESBIAN	275
31	VIEWERS	455	81	MONGOLIAN	272
32	VISUAL	453	82	BOBO	270
33	IDENTITY	446	83	WHITENESS	268
34	REPRESENTATION	446	84	MELODRAMA	266
35	GANCE	442	85	SPACE	262
36	MOVIES	441	86	BELÉN	262
37	KAPLAN'S	428	87	DIFFERENCE	256
38	DEBATES	418	88	MASS	256
39	RACIALIZED	417	89	CONFERENCE	256
40	FANTASY	413	90	POSTCOLONIAL	250
41	WHITE	396	91	OTTINGER'S	245
42	FEMININITY	393	92	HISTORY	245
43	BROCKA	393	93	FILMIC	243
44	SLAVE	390	94	MOVIE	239
45	DOCUMENTARY	387	95	STUDIES	239
46	IMAGE	387	96	IN	236
47	HOLLYWOOD	381	97	TEXTS	233
48	BAYAN	375	98	GRIPSRUD	233
49	POPULAR	368	99	WHISSEL	233
50	FENS'S	368	100	PSYCHOPATH	233

Appendix 11

N	Screen 1997 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 1997 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	8,744	51	HU	347
2	CINEMA	7,799	52	CANTONESE	340
3	NARRATIVE	1,718	53	JAMIE'S	335
4	HUANG	1,163	54	SOCIAL	333
5	HISTORICAL	1,130	55	FILMMAKING	333
6	FEIHONG	1,114	56	MUSIC	332
7	HONG Kong	1,086	57	LA	323
8	MELODRAMA	981	58	CHINESE	323
9	ORLANDO	901	59	PRESS	322
10	CULTURE	786	60	FICTIONAL	321
11	CINEMATIC	785	61	VOL	317
12	MASCULINITY	748	62	MEGAN'S	306
13	FILMMAKERS	740	63	GANGSTER	306
14	HISTORY	671	64	PASOLINI'S	303
15	HOLLYWOOD	644	65	FEMINIST	297
16	DOCUMENTARY	637	66	FILMMAKER	295
17	STUDIES	596	67	KLINGER	294
18	WOO'S	532	68	MELODRAMAS	293
19	MELODRAMATIC	531	69	AS	292
20	DEBATES	526	70	THIRD	288
21	SIRK	520	71	PATRIARCHAL	288
22	AUDIENCES	512	72	CIERTO	285
23	CAMERA	495	73	CHARACTERS	279
24	GENRE	486	74	CINEMAS	278
25	SIERCK	458	75	CINEMA'S	277
26	GENDER	451	76	ARGENTINE	276
27	MALE	447	77	MUSICAL	275
28	TELEVISION	439	78	TEXT	274
29	DANZON	433	79	CUBAN	274
30	PROTAGONIST	433	80	CRITICAL	273
31	RECEPTION	429	81	GENI	272
32	IDENTITY	421	82	MEXICAN	271
33	FEMALE	420	83	CHOW	270
34	ORLANDO'S	418	84	SABINO	266
35	MEDIA	402	85	DE	265
36	SOULS	399	86	BORDWELL	264
37	GETINO	396	87	PRODUCTION	263
38	SOLANAS	395	88	SUBJECTIVITY	262
39	GENRES	385	89	SPANISH	262
40	POPULAR	372	90	CIERTA	260
41	REICH	367	91	PUNTO	259
42	SCENE	362	92	HASTA	258
43	REPRESENTATION	361	93	MASCULINIST	258
44	IN	361	94	FILMIC	257
45	THE	360	95	AESTHETIC	256
46	DIEGETIC	356	96	AMIGA	255
47	LATIN	354	97	FOLKLORIC	254
48	TEXTUAL	350	98	PAKEHA	254
49	SCREEN	350	99	GRIEVESON	252
50	AUDIENCE	348	100	NARRATIVES	250

Appendix 12

N	Screen 1998 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 1998 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	7,803	51	BUNUEL'S	379
2	CINEMA	4,810	52	CRITIQUE	376
3	SURREALIST	1,822	53	SCENE	373
4	NARRATIVE	1,320	54	MATERNAL	370
5	KRACAUER	1,257	55	MEANINGS	369
6	CINEMATIC	1,065	56	IDENTIFICATION	364
7	HAPTIC	1,024	57	MALE	362
8	SURREALISM	1,003	58	LESBIAN	357
9	CULTURAL	998	59	AUDIENCE	346
10	SPECTATORSHIP	983	60	VISUALITY	345
11	IMAGE	977	61	CAMERA	345
12	GAY	963	62	UNCONSCIOUS	343
13	BLACULA	961	63	THE	342
14	NOIR	866	64	SEMIOTIC	339
15	MEDIA	857	65	CRASH	338
16	TELEVISION	789	66	BUNUEL	337
17	HISTORICAL	746	67	EDEN	334
18	CHIEN ANDALOU	715	68	STRAAYER	333
19	DESIRE	714	69	SOLLY'S	331
20	VIEWER	663	70	AZIZE	324
21	EUROPA	660	71	PRESS	320
22	HOLLYWOOD	602	72	REALITY	319
23	DEBATES	593	73	SEXUAL	317
24	IMAGES	590	74	AUSTEN'S	315
25	DIANA	584	75	ROUTLEDGE	315
26	VISUAL	567	76	JAZZ	312
27	SCREEN	560	77	MASCULINITY	307
28	SURREALISTS	534	78	VAMPIRE	303
29	CULTURE	530	79	GENDER	302
30	REPRESENTATION	524	80	QUEER	298
31	CASSAVETES'S	505	81	ART	296
32	SPECTATOR	453	82	KNSTEVA	296
33	HISTORY	453	83	STUDIES	292
34	IDENTITY	452	84	RELATION	291
35	VIDEO	450	85	TRANS	289
36	CRITICAL	448	86	KENAN	285
37	DISCOURSE	446	87	ARTAUD	284
38	CASSAVETES	434	88	AESTHETIC	278
39	GENRE	434	89	VOL	277
40	JULIE'S	427	90	DU	272
41	CAINE	411	91	FEMININE	272
42	KRACAUER'S	407	92	BLACK	268
43	SOLLY	402	93	PROTAGONIST	266
44	FEMINIST	397	94	CONTEMPORARY	262
45	THEORY	396	95	BLUE	260
46	ANGELOPOULOS'S	394	96	CLOSEUP	259
47	LA	389	97	JEW	253
48	FILMMAKERS	386	98	BETWEEN	251
49	SPACE	384	99	SEXUALITY	250
50	ESSAY	383	100	UN	248

Appendix 13

N	Screen 1999 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 1999 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	7,791	51	NIKITA	402
2	CINEMA	7,497	52	CLOSES	395
3	GODARD	3,816	53	CHARACTERS	390
4	TELEVISION	2,156	54	SPATIAL	381
5	NARRATIVE	1,569	55	MONTAGE	376
6	IMAGE	1,333	56	DESIRE	370
7	CINEMATIC	1,185	57	FEMALE	366
8	GODARD'S	1,064	58	FILM'S	361
9	HISTOIRE	970	59	ROUTLEDGE	361
10	DIGITAL	881	60	CAMERA	355
11	FICTION	850	61	PARIS	354
12	SPACE	796	62	JEAN	352
13	EFFECTS	785	63	FEMINIST	346
14	MUTUAL	747	64	PARISIENNE	345
15	AESTHETIC	730	65	DIEGETIC	336
16	IMAGES	720	66	NARRATIVES	328
17	TRANSGENDER	664	67	THEORY	326
18	AUDIENCE	630	68	NARCISSISTIC	326
19	REALISM	627	69	IS	324
20	MEDIA	606	70	SEXUALITY	320
21	POSTMODERN	587	71	CAHIERS	317
22	NAPLES	582	72	LA	315
23	RAPE	579	73	TEMPORAL	309
24	REPRESENTATION	559	74	PRESS	307
25	FASSBINDER	535	75	HITCHCOCK	305
26	RIPLEY	533	76	CGI	305
27	AUDIENCES	521	77	SPECTACLE	304
28	DAVIES'S	500	78	ROEG'S	302
29	SUBJECTIVITY	499	79	KRACAUER	302
30	PEREZ	495	80	DISCOURSES	302
31	MISE	494	81	HISTORICAL	300
32	ART	482	82	DISCOURSE	297
33	CULTURAL	480	83	AESTHETICS	293
34	SPECTATOR	469	84	GENRE	291
35	VIEWING	468	85	ELSAESSER	290
36	HOLLYWOOD	468	86	FEMININITY	283
37	CULTURE	468	87	RUNGES	278
38	SCENE	459	88	REEL	275
39	VISUAL	458	89	ARGUES	273
40	PEREZ'S	445	90	SCIENCE	272
41	SCREEN	445	91	SHOT	263
42	HISTORY	441	92	ITS	263
43	FEMININE	435	93	IDENTITY	263
44	MUTUALS	421	94	CRITICAL	262
45	VIE	412	95	BETWEEN	262
46	GENDER	410	96	WHITENESS	261
47	FILMIC	407	97	LE	261
48	DAVIES	407	98	DOCUMENTARY	260
49	CITY	405	99	TOMS	260
50	MEPHISTO	405	100	HUTCHEON	259

Appendix 14

N	Screen 2000 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 2000 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	6,482	51	ROUTLEDGE	345
2	CINEMA	4,194	52	SPACE	338
3	TELEVISION	2,593	53	MODALITY	330
4	MEDIA	1,583	54	DINOSAURS	328
5	PRODUCTION	1,254	55	FENAL	327
6	NARRATIVE	1,020	56	DIEGETIC	325
7	EISENSTEIN	958	57	MEMORIA	324
8	JURASSIC	884	58	SCENE	312
9	BFI	875	59	MEMORY	310
10	STUDIES	842	60	FILMMAKING	309
11	CULTURE	777	61	LESBIAN	306
12	OUIMET	768	62	HISTORICAL	305
13	AUDIENCE	767	63	LATIN	304
14	SCREEN	695	64	EISENSTEIN	302
15	VIEWING	672	65	WHICH	293
16	WORLDS	659	66	DIGITAL	292
17	HOLLYWOOD	653	67	PARK	288
18	DISCOURSE	629	68	FILMIC	285
19	CINEMATIC	561	69	INDUSTRY	281
20	BRIDE	537	70	TEXTUAL	279
21	VIOLET'S	529	71	IMAGINICITY	277
22	DEBATES	523	72	MODAL	274
23	ROTE	517	73	CRITIQUE	272
24	PEDAGOGIC	505	74	PRESS	269
25	DISCOURSES	479	75	CHARACTERS	266
26	THEORY	474	76	FRANKENSTEIN	263
27	BBC	463	77	SPHERE	257
28	IMAGE	457	78	SONG	257
29	IMAGES	453	79	CONTEMPORARY	256
30	QUEBEC	445	80	BORDWELL	256
31	CORKY'S	441	81	THOME	254
32	CHORINES	440	82	PRASAD	254
33	THOME'S	428	83	REALISM	253
34	GENRE	428	84	LACASSE	252
35	SPECTATOR	420	85	MONTREAL	247
36	MAKEOVER	417	86	AUDIENCES	244
37	BUCKLAND	412	87	EDS	241
38	EISENSTEIN'S	408	88	FENAL'S	239
39	AS	404	89	LOYOLA	238
40	OUIMETOSCOPE	390	90	PLANTINGA	238
41	VIEWERS	390	91	GENRES	236
42	RHETORIC	390	92	CRITICAL	234
43	VIEWER	378	93	PUBLIC	233
44	PRODUCERS	372	94	COMPETITIVENESS	233
45	PRETORIUS	370	95	LACONIC	231
46	AESTHETIC	368	96	RESEARCH	231
47	MISE	363	97	FICTION	231
48	BRITISH	363	98	SPECTATORSHIP	231
49	VIOLET	354	99	GENDER	229
50	IBID	350	100	BROADCASTING	228

Appendix 15

N	Screen 2001 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 2001 Keyword	Keyness
1	CINEMA	6,764	51	YENTL	353
2	FILM	6,020	52	CAMERA	353
3	TRAUMA	2,831	53	ENTERTAINMENT	351
4	CROTCH	1,621	54	ROUTLEDGE	350
5	CULTURAL	1,272	55	FILMMAKERS	345
6	NARRATIVE	1,248	56	REPRESENTATION	345
7	BRANDON	1,246	57	JIANG	326
8	TELEVISION	1,212	58	HISTORY	325
9	GANGSTA	950	59	ASSIMILATION	325
10	JEWISH	825	60	CONTEMPORARY	324
11	MEMORY	808	61	WONG	322
12	GENDER	765	62	CLOSEUP	322
13	SHOT	757	63	MUSIC	318
14	HOLLYWOOD	707	64	FILMIC	317
15	IMAGE	679	65	MALE	317
16	VETS	629	66	VISUAL	315
17	TRAUMATIC	619	67	FLASHBACKS	309
18	FEMALE	616	68	CHARACTERS	307
19	KONG	612	69	SHANGHAI	301
20	DRAMAS	589	70	LANA'S	300
21	MUSICAL	588	71	TRANSGENDER	300
22	EDITING	536	72	MELODRAMA	293
23	NBC	534	73	AUDIENCES	292
24	CHINESE	529	74	JEW	291
25	CULTURE	523	75	DOCUMENTARY	289
26	FEMININITY	521	76	SOBCHACK	287
27	SPECTATORSHIP	500	77	MASCULINITIES	285
28	SPECTATOR	498	78	SCENE	284
29	VIEWER	491	79	MARIA	284
30	DEBATES	485	80	BOUZID	279
31	GAZE	457	81	BIOGRAPH	275
32	PRESS	454	82	CINEMAGOING	268
33	GENRE	453	83	CARUTH	266
34	SCREEN	446	84	STAR	265
35	CINEMAS	441	85	VIDEO	263
36	IMAGES	431	86	DIGITAL	262
37	AMERICAN	427	87	CAI	260
38	SHOTS	421	88	YORK	258
39	GUNNING	419	89	JEWISHNESS	254
40	AMENCAN	412	90	CINEMAGOERS	252
41	THEATRE	402	91	CULT	248
42	MASCULINITY	400	92	THEATRES	246
43	STAM	399	93	IN	246
44	XIAOJUN	399	94	PICTUREGOER	244
45	THEORY	397	95	TELEVISUAL	244
46	JEWS	397	96	IDENTITY	244
47	MEDIA	394	97	WIDE	241
48	AUDIENCE	373	98	EVENTS	239
49	STARS	359	99	CRAWFORD	238
50	HISTORICAL	356	100	MEMORIES	236

Appendix 16

N	Screen 2002 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 2002 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	9,655	51	WINSLET	378
2	CINEMA	6,061	52	ZIZEK	378
3	NARRATIVE	3,254	53	VOICEOVER	377
4	HOLLYWOOD	2,413	54	TEXTS	376
5	SPACE	1,189	55	NARRATIVES	370
6	CINEMATIC	904	56	ANIMATION	368
7	ADAPTATION	884	57	VOL	365
8	CULTURAL	841	58	NARRATION	358
9	TRAVAIL	824	59	HISTORICAL	358
10	BEAU	824	60	OL	358
11	IMAGE	819	61	PANS	354
12	DEBATES	789	62	PALTROW	354
13	CHARACTERS	723	63	ACTOR	353
14	BUDD	709	64	CGI	352
15	SCREEN	686	65	SCHAEFER	350
16	TELEVISION	671	66	CONTEMPORARY	349
17	DIGITAL	670	67	CYBERSPACE	347
18	ACTORS	589	68	INTERCULTURAL	344
19	BAISE	561	69	MOI	343
20	EMPIRE	557	70	IMAGINARY	343
21	SPECTATOR	553	71	IRONY	343
22	STORY	540	72	DEREN'S	342
23	BORDWELL	527	73	EMIGRE	341
24	PRESS	521	74	DUBBING	337
25	METZ	513	75	CINEMA'S	337
26	BRITISH	502	76	FILMMAKING	337
27	URL	488	77	CAMERA	334
28	VISUAL	483	78	VINCENDEAU	333
29	FILMMAKERS	476	79	PRESLE	329
30	PRODUCTION	464	80	OLIVIER'S	329
31	BOYER	458	81	BOYER'S	327
32	LITERARY	454	82	FEMALE	324
33	AUDIENCES	453	83	ITS	323
34	GLAMOUR	447	84	SPECTACLE	318
35	FEMININITY	440	85	MODERNITY	316
36	IDENTITY	432	86	APTED	315
37	FEMINIST	430	87	NOVELLA	311
38	TIMESPACE	427	88	AESTHETIC	309
39	ROUTLEDGE	424	89	FETISH	309
40	CULTURE	421	90	LANDSCAPE	307
41	GENRE	417	91	AUDIENCE	306
42	SPACES	414	92	SPECTATORSHIP	302
43	FILMIC	412	93	BILLY	301
44	MISE	407	94	FEMININE	299
45	PRODUCTIONS	407	95	SAHU	296
46	SCENE	389	96	TEEN	294
47	WITCH	387	97	XENA	293
48	ADAPTATIONS	381	98	IDENTITIES	285
49	FICTION	381	99	WITCHCRAFT	281
50	INTERNET	380	100	MELVILLE'S	281

Appendix 17

N	Screen 2003 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 2003 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	4,137	51	SPRING	332
2	CINEMA	3,441	52	LAURA	331
3	PANORAMA	2,883	53	PERROS	325
4	BENNETT	1,392	54	FILMMAKERS	317
5	PANORAMAS	1,278	55	KIAROSTAMI	312
6	HERITAGE	1,081	56	AUDIENCES	307
7	RIPLEY	1,057	57	AESTHETICS	306
8	BENNETT'S	977	58	CINEMAGOING	306
9	DOCUMENTARY	909	59	MONSTROUS	304
10	CINEMATIC	838	60	HETEROSEXUAL	301
11	CULTURAL	792	61	DABASHI	299
12	IMAGE	770	62	NONKO	299
13	COMEDY	752	63	GOODE	298
14	TELEVISION	744	64	CINEMAS	294
15	ALIEN	738	65	MELODRAMATIC	294
16	GENRE	665	66	PRESS	294
17	NARRATIVE	646	67	SCENE	289
18	MELODRAMA	641	68	MEMORY	286
19	IMAGES	599	69	FRIENDSHIP	285
20	AESTHETIC	582	70	VISUAL	284
21	ROMANTIC	552	71	VIEWER	274
22	CULTURE	544	72	HIROSHIMA	273
23	RIPLEY'S	526	73	FEMALE	269
24	SPECTATOR	490	74	MODERNITY	268
25	RESURRECTION	445	75	VIEWING	267
26	INHERITANCES	439	76	IDENTITY	267
27	IRANIAN	424	77	MARKER'S	263
28	HENTAGE	416	78	ARGUES	263
29	PAST	413	79	CLONE	261
30	HISTORICAL	397	80	MAKHMALBAF	260
31	HIGSON	395	81	RAJAGOPAL	260
32	ROUTLEDGE	393	82	BETWEEN	253
33	AUTUMN	390	83	SPECTATORS	252
34	HISTORY	390	84	REPRESENTATION	251
35	REENACTMENT	382	85	MUSICAL	250
36	CONTEMPORARY	379	86	NATIONAL	248
37	BUFVC	377	87	SAMENESS	243
38	DELEUZE	371	88	ABJECT	242
39	VESNA	370	89	CHANEY	239
40	FILM'S	367	90	AUDIENCE	238
41	CLOSEUP	362	91	DOCUMENTARIES	236
42	AMORES	355	92	DELEYTO	234
43	NEOREALISM	355	93	ELSAESSER	234
44	OZU	351	94	ITS	229
45	EDS	345	95	CAMERA	229
46	SPACE	342	96	VOICEOVER	229
47	BANVARD	338	97	NORIKO	226
48	CHARACTERS	336	98	DISCOURSES	224
49	INHERITANCE	334	99	CHAUDHUN	221
50	NY	333	100	LONDON	221

Appendix 18

N	Screen 2004 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 2004 Keyword	Keyness
1	CINEMA	7,749	51	WINTER	436
2	FILM	7,560	52	VIEWERS	436
3	TELEVISION	2,478	53	ROUTLEDGE	429
4	NARRATIVE	2,260	54	BEHOLDER	422
5	SPECTATOR	1,828	55	GENRES	418
6	DOCUMENTARY	1,540	56	SEQUENCE	413
7	CULTURAL	1,222	57	LOLA	410
8	AUDIENCE	1,062	58	FEMINIST	410
9	CINEMATIC	1,053	59	SOLEIL	407
10	CAMERA	1,009	60	TARANTINO'S	403
11	SCREEN	989	61	ANEMPATHY	400
12	SITCOM	883	62	CINEMA'S	389
13	NBC	875	63	STUDIO	388
14	NY	864	64	AHTILA	388
15	HISTORY	782	65	CEYLAN	388
16	IMAGE	770	66	SELF	381
17	FASSBINDER'S	753	67	NEGATIVITY	380
18	LOGOS	712	68	COMEDY	377
19	HISTORICAL	681	69	ROSEMARIE	374
20	HOLLYWOOD	676	70	TARANTINO	374
21	AESTHETIC	675	71	SUBJECTIVITY	373
22	FASSBINDER	668	72	KLEIN	367
23	TRAUMA	664	73	LECTER'S	367
24	DELEUZE	655	74	GENRE	366
25	CBS	599	75	MORRIS'S	358
26	SPECTATORSHIP	554	76	ABSORPTION	358
27	DIEGETIC	553	77	SERIES	355
28	THEATRICALITY	538	78	ELSAESSER	351
29	ORDELL	533	79	RELATION	350
30	VIEWER	532	80	DESTRUCTIVENESS	350
31	SPACE	532	81	SANS	347
32	FILMIC	524	82	DOANE	345
33	CULTURE	513	83	RATINGS	345
34	AUDIENCES	510	84	FRIED	344
35	MUSICAL	507	85	MULVEY	343
36	POPULAR	500	86	HISTORIOGRAPHY	341
37	THEATRICAL	496	87	VOL	341
38	IMAGES	484	88	VERITE	339
39	ART	482	89	NBC'S	339
40	LOGO	477	90	GERMAN	336
41	MEDIA	466	91	FILMMAKING	334
42	PRESS	460	92	SENSE	333
43	NARRATIVES	460	93	PROGRAMMING	332
44	CONTEMPORARY	458	94	BETWEEN	332
45	MUSIC	458	95	GALLERY	331
46	SCENE	456	96	IS	330
47	NETWORK	454	97	CHARACTERS	324
48	DEREN	451	98	TEXTUAL	320
49	AFFECTIVE	446	99	ERA	316
50	EDS	438	100	WARNER	313

Appendix 19

N	Screen 2005 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 2005 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	12,950	51	STRAUSS	399
2	CINEMA	7,035	52	NINO	394
3	TELETUBBIES	1,528	53	DOI	387
4	SCREEN	1,415	54	CONTEMPORARY	386
5	POWELL	1,363	55	SPACES	385
6	CINEMATIC	1,345	56	HERITAGE	381
7	CHILDHOOD	1,223	57	GENDER	373
8	NARRATIVE	1,200	58	GENRE	369
9	TELEVISION	1,092	59	STRAUSS'S	367
10	PRESSBURGER	1,085	60	AUTOBIOGRAPHY	365
11	HOLLYWOOD	1,020	61	IS	361
12	CULTURAL	851	62	SPECTATOR	348
13	NY	805	63	BAZIN	347
14	SPACE	779	64	LYOTARD	347
15	BRITISH	750	65	FIGURAL	344
16	DELEUZE	748	66	MIGRANTS	340
17	POWELL'S	677	67	ADULT	337
18	IMAGE	653	68	ED	337
19	RECEPTION	647	69	JIAN	337
20	LEPAGE'S	645	70	IN	334
21	AMOLAD	644	71	QUEER	328
22	DVD	644	72	SCOTTISH	328
23	APARTHEID	628	73	VOL	326
24	MILLIONAIRE	618	74	MATHIJS	322
25	CAMERA	600	75	PRODUCTION	320
26	CRAZYSPEACE	597	76	AUDIENCES	317
27	HITCHCOCK	564	77	BETWEEN	315
28	FILMMAKING	556	78	VISUAL	315
29	CULTURE	544	79	COLPEPER	314
30	PRESS	539	80	RAMALLAH	313
31	FILMMAKERS	537	81	DISCOURSE	312
32	SCENE	530	82	DONGZI	310
33	PRESSBURGER'S	521	83	CRITICAL	310
34	AUDIENCE	519	84	PROTAGONIST	307
35	LILYA	505	85	PROTAGONISTS	305
36	LEPAGE	488	86	DIABLES	302
37	DAUGHTERS	483	87	ADULTHOOD	299
38	NOIR	483	88	LES	297
39	TRAUMA	476	89	CINEMA'S	296
40	DISCOURSES	475	90	RUAN	296
41	ROUTLEDGE	457	91	DISCURSIVE	296
42	IBID	456	92	OFFSCREEN	294
43	CHILD	454	93	IDENTITY	291
44	COMIC	450	94	ITS	290
45	AESTHETIC	442	95	DCMS	290
46	IMAGES	429	96	KUMEL	286
47	LUMIERE	426	97	HISTORICAL	285
48	DARKNESS	413	98	SPECTATORSHIP	283
49	LEVRES	406	99	CHILDREN'S	282
50	DELEUZE'S	402	100	SHOTS	282

Appendix 20

N	Screen 2006 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 2006 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	9,609	51	FILMMAKING	445
2	CINEMA	6,334	52	REPRESENTATION	444
3	TELEVISION	1,615	53	AVANT	430
4	CINEMATIC	1,585	54	WONG	426
5	IMAGES	1,144	55	VIDAL'S	426
6	BFI	1,126	56	PRINCE'S	420
7	NARRATIVE	1,120	57	FOOTAGE	417
8	CULTURAL	1,042	58	FILMIC	417
9	HOLLYWOOD	829	59	GARDE	415
10	OFCOM	794	60	TRANSNATIONAL	414
11	VISUAL	739	61	BFI'S	410
12	MEMORY	739	62	IN	410
13	CULTURE	725	63	ED	409
14	AUDIENCES	678	64	DAVID'S	399
15	SPACE	678	65	IDENTITY	397
16	CAMERA	675	66	VOICEOVER	395
17	GENRE	626	67	VIEWERS	393
18	FORSYTE	625	68	BIOGRAPH	391
19	HONG Kong	625	69	NARRATIVES	389
20	IMAGE	623	70	SERIAL	387
21	DOCUMENTARY	616	71	BAUDRILLARD'S	383
22	NY	612	72	DRAMA	380
23	FILMMAKERS	572	73	LENA	373
24	LVA	549	74	IMAGINARY	368
25	HISTORICAL	546	75	YANG	365
26	SCREEN	541	76	CONTEMPORARY	364
27	CINEMAS	539	77	MEMORIES	362
28	EDS	537	78	ITV	359
29	BBC	530	79	MECHA	358
30	HISTORY	529	80	MUSIC	349
31	AUDIENCE	528	81	DIANYING	349
32	AESTHETIC	526	82	WALDEKRANZ	349
33	VIEWER	517	83	ADAPTATION	348
34	PRINCE	504	84	VIEWING	345
35	VAMPIRES	503	85	ARRESTING	331
36	LMS	503	86	FILMMAKER	329
37	UNDERGROUND	498	87	KWAKWAKA'WAKW	325
38	MATRIX	497	88	MUSIDORA	325
39	PRESS	496	89	TRILOGY	324
40	VAUGHN	495	90	BROADCASTING	323
41	JAPANESE	489	91	SOUND	323
42	SCENE	484	92	DAVID	323
43	RUSSO	476	93	LONDON	323
44	CURTIS'S	475	94	EDISON	318
45	MOL'S	469	95	MOL	317
46	ITS	468	96	ZHANG	316
47	POPULAR	459	97	SHANGHAI	316
48	FVU	457	98	SIMULACRA	313
49	HYPERREAL	454	99	ATANARJUAT	313
50	CHEUNG	454	100	MAZAMETTE	313

Appendix 21

N	Screen 2007 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 2007 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	11,632	51	SCENE	505
2	CINEMA	5,775	52	GENRE	502
3	DOCUMENTARY	2,021	53	MAJID'S	501
4	NARRATIVE	1,498	54	BROOMFIELD	498
5	WUORNOS	1,463	55	FEMME	496
6	DEREN	1,344	56	D'UN	480
7	EISENSTEIN	1,177	57	VIE	478
8	BUÑUEL	1,130	58	VOL	476
9	AFRICAN	970	59	BALÁZS	476
10	CINEMATIC	965	60	SOKOLO	476
11	IMAGES	954	61	AUDIENCES	476
12	ARTEMISIA	947	62	VISUAL	472
13	FILMMAKING	942	63	BROOMFIELD'S	471
14	SPACE	919	64	FILMIC	468
15	CULTURAL	900	65	PASTICHE	467
16	CULTURE	861	66	TERRE	453
17	CACHÉ	856	67	BARDEM	452
18	TELEVISION	830	68	SERIAL	449
19	CAMERA	816	69	AILEEN	447
20	NY	812	70	FATA	441
21	EISENSTEIN'S	812	71	PRESTIGE	440
22	CATALAN	794	72	NOTES	433
23	GEORGES'S	786	73	IN	426
24	IMAGE	780	74	FATALE	423
25	TRAUMA	759	75	CÉSAIRE	416
26	FILMMAKERS	729	76	KILLER	411
27	GDR	729	77	CINEMAS	407
28	MORIN	719	78	SPANISH	405
29	GEORGES	687	79	HANEKE'S	404
30	CREATIVE	675	80	HISTORY	396
31	LA	669	81	MISE	395
32	HURDES	630	82	FILMMAKER	391
33	WAQT	630	83	PRESS	386
34	HOLLYWOOD	621	84	DRAMANE	383
35	URL	595	85	POSTCOLONIAL	383
36	AESTHETIC	591	86	ITS	381
37	IDENTITY	584	87	BUÑUEL'S	381
38	SISSAKO	583	88	MONTAGE	378
39	CRITICAL	577	89	VAMPIRE	377
40	CINÉMA	571	90	CONTEMPORARY	377
41	CHRONIQUE	560	91	EDS	374
42	BARCELONA	555	92	MARÍA	369
43	DEREN'S	547	93	CRITICS	368
44	HISTORICAL	540	94	ESSAY	366
45	ROUCH	535	95	NARRATIVES	364
46	ART	521	96	MIDDLEBROW	364
47	SUR	509	97	CREATIVITY	363
48	CLOSEUP	508	98	THERON	358
49	NOSTALGIA	505	99	CAHIERS	357
50	DELEUZE	505	100	VIEWER	354

Appendix 22

N	Screen 2008 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 2008 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	8,691	51	SCARLETT	430
2	CINEMA	5,071	52	EDS	429
3	TELEVISION	2,262	53	ACCESSED	424
4	HOLLYWOOD	1,240	54	CONTEMPORARY	419
5	CHANNEL	1,230	55	DELEUZE	417
6	DOCUMENTARY	1,158	56	BAZIN	414
7	QUEER	1,090	57	NARRATIVES	414
8	CINEMATIC	1,056	58	GAY	412
9	NARRATIVE	954	59	IGLESIA	391
10	VIDEO	915	60	NOTES	377
11	CINENOVA	874	61	CRAIG'S	372
12	AUDIENCE	864	62	FOOTAGE	370
13	FORREST	860	63	MUSIC	370
14	NY	860	64	TREADWELL'S	370
15	CULTURAL	848	65	THEATRICAL	355
16	DAVIS	846	66	VOL	353
17	FILMMAKERS	827	67	CLOSEUP	352
18	SPECTACLE	808	68	ONSCREEN	351
19	VIEWER	795	69	UNIVERSITY	348
20	AUDIENCES	778	70	COIXET	347
21	ALLOWAY	774	71	TITCHMARSH'S	347
22	IMAGE	772	72	HERZOG	344
23	CAMERA	765	73	AMERICAN	341
24	SCREEN	758	74	STUDIES	340
25	MEDIA	756	75	AKERMAN'S	339
26	URL	742	76	PERFORMANCE	335
27	FILMMAKING	730	77	REALITY	335
28	CULTURE	655	78	SITCOM	335
29	GENRE	636	79	TREADWELL	334
30	DIGITAL	633	80	AESTHETIC	332
31	DAVIS'S	633	81	VOYAGER	331
32	HISTORICAL	628	82	DOCUMENTARIES	331
33	HISTORY	625	83	REPRESENTATION	331
34	MOVIES	623	84	VERTIGO	330
35	PRESS	584	85	MOVIE	325
36	TITCHMARSH	580	86	FICTION	321
37	CLUBCULTURA	574	87	FACTUAL	321
38	DVD	574	88	GENDER	320
39	VIEWERS	568	89	GRIZZLY	318
40	FILMMAKER	563	90	SCENE	318
41	TELEVISUAL	557	91	GAZE	317
42	JOEL'S	556	92	ETERNAL	314
43	LESBIAN	502	93	TEXTS	312
44	ROUTLEDGE	468	94	CINEPHILIC	311
45	TRANS	456	95	CHARACTERS	305
46	DIASPORIC	455	96	ARZNER'S	303
47	ESSAY	447	97	VOICEOVER	300
48	AUTEUR	445	98	FUNG	300
49	IMAGES	438	99	CINEPHILIA	299
50	ARZNER	434	100	VISUAL	299

Appendix 23

N	Screen 2009 Keyword	Keyness	N	Screen 2009 Keyword	Keyness
1	FILM	8,285	51	FILMMAKING	398
2	CINEMA	8,092	52	TECHNOLOGIES	395
3	SCREEN	2,624	53	DOCUMENTARY	394
4	TELEVISION	2,154	54	WINNICOTT	393
5	MEDIA	1,833	55	COLOR	388
6	IMAGES	1,606	56	DVD	377
7	DELEUZE	1,251	57	KALMUS	377
8	SPECTATOR	1,142	58	AUDIENCES	366
9	CINEPHILIA	1,034	59	KRAUSS'S	362
10	NARRATIVE	892	60	URUGUAYAN	361
11	CULTURAL	775	61	EXPERIENCE	353
12	AUDIOVISUAL	772	62	VISUAL	342
13	SPECTATORSHIP	732	63	TENNISON	341
14	HOLLYWOOD	718	64	CHARACTERS	336
15	VIEWERS	712	65	CAMERA	331
16	COLOUR	702	66	CINEMA'S	325
17	PSYCHOANALYSIS	695	67	LONDON	320
18	ART	649	68	ZIDANE	316
19	VIEWER	631	69	CHRONICLE	316
20	STUDIES	621	70	PSYCHOANALYTIC	313
21	PRIMO	600	71	HISTORICAL	309
22	ESSAY	586	72	CIRCUS	306
23	FILM'S	571	73	LA	302
36	CULTURE	563	74	MODERNIST	298
24	FILMMAKERS	552	75	GALLERY	297
25	CONTEMPORARY	543	76	FICTION	292
26	TEXTUAL	530	77	HANEKE'S	292
27	THEORIZING	529	78	PRODUCTION	291
28	DIGITAL	528	79	GILLES	284
29	TRANS	520	80	JOSÉ	280
30	MRI	520	81	TEXT	272
31	DELEUZE'S	519	82	CINEMAS	269
32	VIEWING	504	83	BENJAMIN	268
33	HISTORY	504	84	SCREENS	267
34	ANIMATION	495	85	OTTINGER	259
35	ROUTLEDGE	480	86	VIAJE	257
37	SPECIFICITY	477	87	SCHOLARS	257
38	ALMODÓVAR	462	88	SEQUENCE	256
39	DRAMA	459	89	ELSAESSER	255
40	UNIVERSITY	457	90	FOUCAULT	255
41	FALANGE	454	91	SPACE	253
42	AUDIENCE	448	92	TEXTS	252
43	AESTHETIC	448	93	APPARATUS	252
44	FREUD	445	94	MOVING	251
45	RIVERA	444	95	BRANDING	249
46	HANEKE	438	96	MULTIPLE	248
47	MONTAGE	432	97	BRITTON	247
48	THEORY	428	98	AVANT	244
49	AESTHETICS	418	99	EMPATHY	243
50	ALMODÓVAR'S	414	100	NOTION	243

Appendix 24

Biber's Model for the Classification of Academic Language

1. Animate: humans or animals
2. Cognitive: mental/cognitive processes or perceptions
3. Concrete: inanimate objects that can be touched
4. Technical/Concrete: tangible objects that are not normally perceived and/or cannot normally be touched
5. Place: places, areas or objects in a fixed location
6. Quantity: nouns specifying a quantity, amount or duration
7. a. group b. institution: nouns that denote a group or institution
8. Abstract/process: intangible, abstract concepts or processes

(Biber, 2006:248)