Teens' Screens:
The Places, Values, and Roles of Film Consumption and Cinema-Going for Young Audiences

Anna Blagrove

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
to the University of East Anglia,
School of Art, Media and American Studies

June 2020

Abstract

This thesis is an investigation into the practices, values, and roles of cinema-going and film-watching for contemporary British teenagers using qualitative research methods. My key concern is with how 13-18 year olds from different backgrounds define and discuss their film consumption, and visits to different cinemas, in the wider contexts of their leisure, cultural, and media practices. This focus stems from the scholarly appeal for a social contextualization of audiences and the structures that inform peoples' consumption practice.

Many groups experience barriers to participation with particular cinemas that are not simply a consequence of economic deprivation or a lack of media literacy. These are barriers that are felt at the level of what Bourdieu calls the habitus, the system of cultural tastes and dispositions that are lived at the physical or bodily level. To this end, I conducted focus groups, interviews, and participant observation encounters with 42 teenagers in different settings within Norwich and Norfolk. Data analysis is undertaken via the application of a coding system, formulated through a Bourdieusian conceptual lens. I consider participants' film and media consumption practices in relation to area of residence, sociocultural preferences and friendship formations, whilst also considering issues of identity, education, and parental practices. As part of the process I present the case of specialised film and cinema-going as a case-study in order to address a concern about the dearth of young audiences engaging with specialised cinema.

The rich, deep qualitative data collected has enabled me to argue that generally young people's socio-economic, geographic, familial, peer-grouping, and educational contexts remained a significant influence on film viewing practices, tastes, and gratifications, although some anomalies were present. My research therefore presents new findings on how different groups of young people attach diverse meanings and roles to film viewing practices, texts and locations in cinemas and beyond.

Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Acknowledgements

It has been a long and winding road to get to the point of submitting my PhD. There are a multitude of people that have helped me along the way, deserving acknowledgement here. Primarily there is my family: my supportive husband Jonathan, and my clever and beautiful daughters Daisy Annika (6), and Phoebe Juno (3). These three give me a constant and palpable sense of fulfillment and achievement that no PhD could ever live up to. Margaret Stubbings is a loving and supportive mum and grandma, what would I do without her? Michael Stubbings is an affectionate and generous dad. I am grateful for my brothers Jon-Erik Stubbings and Edward Stubbings, but my sister Clare Bradbury is outstanding - it's a twin thing. My parents-in-law Barbara and John Blagrove also have my gratitude for their unerring patience, support, and generosity.

Thanks are due to Dr. Mark Rimmer for being a consistent and thorough supervisor, and also to Prof. Keith Johnston for his encouraging secondary supervision. I am grateful to the UEA School of Art, Media, and American Studies (FTM) for the Postgraduate Research Studentship and to Prof. Mark Jancovich for suggesting the PhD and supporting me in the beginning. A nod to the staff in the AMA office, the PGR office, Matthew Sillence, and Beverley Youngman, for responding to my many queries. I am also indebted to the 42 teenage research participants who willingly gave their time and opinions to a pregnant, middle-aged university researcher. Nigel Youngman, Gary Seal, and Guy Parkinson, as well as the ENYP youth workers, I thank for being gatekeepers for the focus groups. My old Cinema City colleagues deserve a mention, especially Jack Thompson and Sam Leonard for agreeing to be interviewed at the start of this journey. The same goes to Holli Keeble and Johnny Tull at the Tyneside Cinema for their interview, I'm sorry they didn't make it to the final edit.

I am grateful to Prof. Martin Barker for supervising me (albeit briefly), for being a star in the field, and an absolute gentleman to boot. I thank Dr. Jennifer Oey for her ongoing friendship, support, proofreading, and being a great running-buddy. Guy Martin is a true advocate of cultural cinema, one of the most loyal friends ever, an exemplary boss, and now my business partner.

Although a busy film programmer, Deborah Allison kindly agreed to be interviewed, and proof a chapter. Dr. Sarah Ralph offered encouragement and proofreading skills, as did Dr. Emma Pett. I thank Dr. Ksenia Frolova for her positivity and the loan of her hard-bound thesis as inspiration. I give credit to Dr. Karina Aveyard for her fascinating research and to Dr. Lesley Dickson for guidance and motivation (especially with methodology and data analysis). Kudos to Dr. Victoria (Tori) Cann for providing me with methodological and research inspiration, and for her monograph. Em Kuntze was a proofreading trooper even when she was ill. Thanks to Briony Hannell for her interest in the project and willingness to participate.

Finally I get to my PGR friends: Dr. Akinyemi Oyawale for being my PhD desk buddy and providing me with a different insight, chuckles, hugs, and IT support. More recently Dr. Zahra Khosroshahi for her (twice daily) hugs, support, proofreading, care packages, and for being the most principled, positive, and inclusive woman I have ever met. Stewart Williams, my new desk buddy is also very supportive and teaches me more about Ken Russell every day. A last big thank you to all of the other PhD colleagues that have shared and cared along the way: Dr. Martin Tease, Duncan Breeze, Dr. Yuxin Liu, Ghandy Najla, Anais Auge, Maria Tsimpiri, Anna Wall, Sara Vilar Lluch, Nassar Alnassar, Margaret Sessa-Hawkins and more.

Preface

Years ago, as I was finishing my MA in Film Studies at UEA, Professor Mark Jancovich asked if I was planning to submit a PhD proposal. I told him that I wasn't, due to the belief that I was not clever enough and could not afford it. He assured me that I did have the intellectual capacity and that it was possible I could get funding. So I came up with some ideas for the proposal. Needless to say, my proposal was accepted and thankfully, I was also awarded funding.

This part-time PhD has taken me many years to complete, especially as I had two babies along the way. There have been shifts in relation to methodology, theory, supervision, and focus in this time. I have come a long way and learned so much. What I hope I am left with is a thesis that demonstrates this learning journey, and one that retains the commitment and passion that I felt at the beginning.

N.B This thesis was first submitted in December 2019, before the COVID-19 global pandemic and lockdown. Therefore I have not referred to the implications of this on cinema-going and film consumption at all except for in Footnote 68 and briefly in the Thesis Conclusion in relation to Future Research (added in June 2020 whilst undertaking the final edit before submission).

Thesis Introduction

This study aims to examine contemporary British teenagers' film consumption and cinema-going practices, via qualitative research methods. My main focus is on how 13-18 year olds from different social groups define and discuss their film consumption, and visits to different cinemas, in the wider contexts of their leisure, cultural, and media practices. This focus stems from the scholarly appeal for a 'social practice' approach to audience research that examines the social contextualization of film consumers, and the structures that inform people's consumption practices (Acland, 2003; Couldry, 2012; Aveyard, 2016). Additionally, my research has a focus on teenagers' engagement (or lack thereof) with specialised film and cinema.[1] As Jancovich et al (2003) have pointed out, particular groups experience barriers to participation with certain cinemas that are not simply a consequence of economic deprivation or a lack of media literacy. These are barriers that are felt at the level of what Bourdieu calls the habitus; the system of cultural tastes and dispositions that are experienced at the physical or bodily level (Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]). My thesis is an investigation into contemporary young peoples' cinema-going habitus. Much cinema-going research has a historical focus, with a relative dearth of research on present-day film consumption by young audiences. One pocket of exception is recent scholarship from Philippe Meers (2004), Daniel Biltereyst (2013), and Aleit Veenstra (2017) whose emphasis is on young film audiences in Belgium. My project aligns with this body of work, and addresses their call for further research on contemporary audiences in other countries in order to investigate further how young audiences consume film and media in an ever-changing media environment.

This introduction presents an overview of the thesis project, providing information on the need for the research, the research questions and chosen methodology. I present a brief summary of film consumption and exhibition,

[1] I present a definition of multiplex and specialised cinema later in his introduction (footnote 2), which is developed further in Chapter 4. I will interchange 'specialised' with terms such as 'art-house', 'cultural' and 'non-mainstream' throughout the thesis however.

and a foreword on the teenage film audience. Following this I discuss the research location, and my definition of audiences. The final sections address the theoretical framework of the study, and the structure of the thesis.

Need for the Research

This thesis makes a contribution to the study of film consumption and cinema-going, and seeks to develop scholarly understanding of what cinema and film consumption can mean for young people at the adolescent life stage. The main contribution of my work will be an intervention in timely and important debates around young people's film culture. Through my empirical study of young audiences and case-study of a specialised cinema, I address issues of youth engagement with specialised content in non-mainstream cinematic spaces. An objective for this research and its conclusions is for it to benefit other academic researchers concerned with contemporary film consumption and cinema audiences, as well as those with an interest in the 'meaningfulness and pleasures of cinema as well as the identity of today's [young] cinema-goer' (Dickson, 2014: 60).

Methodology and Research Questions

The decisions made around methodology stemmed from the research questions, which are as follows:

1. What are the cinema-going and film consumption practices of young people from different social groups? What are the values and roles of these activities for 13-18 year olds?
2. How do young people define and discuss their film consumption, and leisure and cultural practices in general?
3. To what extent are teenagers consuming or engaging with specialised film and cinemas? What are the social, cultural, and environmental factors and that limit young people's attendance at cinemas with a specialised programme?

A key consideration was hearing from young people themselves in order to give them voice. To this end, I selected a suite of empirical and qualitative methods for the data collection. Sonia Livingstone argues for the need for empirical research on new media forms:

> …empirical research on audiences is ever more important for new media research. As audiences become less predictable, more fragmented or more variable in their engagement with media, understanding the audience is even more important for theories of social shaping, design, markets and diffusion than, perhaps, was true for older media.
>
> (Livingstone, 1999: 63)

Livingstone's statement is even more pertinent today, considering the extent to which the digital revolution has established itself in the years since she argued this point. In order to undertake this audience research, I conducted focus groups, interviews, and participant observation encounters with 42 teenagers in different settings within Norwich and Norfolk. Data analysis is undertaken via the application of a coding system, formulated through a Bourdieusian conceptual lens. I consider participants' film and media consumption practices in relation to: social class, area of residence, sociocultural preferences and friendship formations, whilst also considering issues of identity, education, and parental practices.

Film Consumption and Exhibition

There is a public discourse about the decline of cinema that has persisted since the 1960s (Usai, 2001; Hanson, 2019 [2007]; Verhoeven, 2013), often attributed to the rising popularity of television and other home entertainments. However, the introduction of industry-led exhibition strategies from the mid-1980s onwards led to a resurgence of cinema-going via an extensive building programme of out-of-town multiplex cinemas around the country. In 1946 UK annual attendances were at a peak of 1,635 million, dropping to a nadir of 54 million in 1984, but the multiplexes have contributed to luring patrons back and annual attendances are up to the 160 million mark in recent years (Simpson, 2017).

The BFI reports that the number of cinema screens in the UK are increasing, and in 2018, there were 3,384 multiplex screens and 956 'traditional or mixed

use' screens.[2] This is double the number of screens that existed in the early 1990s; indeed film exhibition in the UK has plateaued in recent years and is in a period of relative stability (BFI, 2019: 16; Distribution and Exhibition). However, rhetoric about the decline of cinema continues; filmmaker David Cronenberg has said 'cinema is dissolving, the big screen is shattering into a million small screens. Like the human body, it is evolving and changing' (McNabb, 2018). Cronenberg goes on to clarify his distinction that it is not filmmaking and film consumption in general that is diminishing, but that the proliferation of platforms and devices for viewing means that film consumption is more dispersed than ever. He argues that watching a film on a handheld tablet is a practise closer to reading a novel than it is to the public and communal cinema-going experience (cited in McNabb, 2018). Nevertheless, Cronenberg touches on an irrefutable fact; that film is consumed in more locations and via more devices than ever before; and this digital revolution has been led by young audiences, as attested by Sonia Livingstone (Livingstone, 2002b; Livingstone, 2007) and other scholars (Buckingham, 2008; Buckingham and Willett, 2013; Davies and Eynon, 2013). For these reasons and more, non-theatrical film consumption (as well as cinema-going), is an area of analysis for this thesis, as is the focus on youth.

Teenage Film Audiences

The teenage audience was chosen for the research due to a recent trend in the general decline in cinema-going for 15-24 year olds. The BFI report that 'in the 1990s this group regularly made up over 40% of the audience whereas in 2017 they represented just 28%, the lowest audience share in the past 20 years' (BFI, 2018: 128). That is not to say that this age-group is not consuming films however, as the opportunities for home and mobile film consumption have exponentially increased. Furthermore, academics have argued that specialised

[2] The BFI defines a 'multiplex' as a purpose-built cinema with five or more screens. A 'traditional cinema' is defined as one generally with fewer than five screens and that shows more mainstream product - often an older building located in city centres or suburbs. A 'mixed-use venue' is usually an arts venue which screens films on a part-time basis alongside other activities such as concerts and plays (BFI Statistical Yearbook, 2018: 23-231).

film cinema audiences skew towards an older demographic (Cuadrado and Frasquet, 1999: 266; Evans, 2011: 332). Additionally, there is a concern within the specialised cinema sector that the average core audience member is significantly older than the average multiplex customer. Currently, despite the BFI's aims to focus on the exhibition of specialised content, young people are not engaging with it in any great numbers and this is viewed as a problem by industry professionals.[3] My objective is to strengthen scholarship on young film consumers and attempt to bridge a gap between academia and the film industry.

A body of academic work exists on youth studies. Most of these publications are at pains to point out that the concept of youth is socially constructed (Greenleaf, 1979; Ariès, 1979; Jones, 2009). Bourdieu states that 'youth is just a word' and then details why and how this is not the case (Bourdieu, 1993 [1978]). He argues that youth as a concept reflects constantly evolving social, political and moral attitudes. The discipline of sociology has long focused on young people as being subject to a process of socialisation, however since the 1980s the emphasis has broadened to include 'dynamic, social, structural, relational and interpretive dimensions of the state of [youth]' (Wyness, 2012: 1). Similarly, within film and media studies, research on the young has historically centred on media effects in relation to moral panics about 'video nasties' and violent video games and their influence on vulnerable young audiences (Greene and Krcmar, 2005; Sternheimer, 2007), although this focus has been contested by others (Hodge and Tripp, 1986; Barker and Petley, 2001 [1997]; Hargrave, 2003; Buckingham, 2011). I adhere to the notion that 'from a research perspective…adolescence needs to be considered both as a distinct experience in the lifespan and also as an integral element of it' (Hendry et al., 1993: 176). The teenage life stage is important in that it is when identities and

[3] Holli Keeble, Cinema Projects Manager at Tyneside Cinema (now Chief Executive), has said 'Statistics continue to show that 15-19 year olds form a tiny fraction of specialised cinema audiences nationally, and this is becoming a critical issue for the UK film industry' (Tyneside Cinema, 2013). https://www.tynesidecinema.co.uk/about-us/news/tyneside-cinema-share-findings-from-three-year-programme-to-develop-younger-audiences-for-specialised-film

cultural tastes are forming, and as Paul Willis states, this is also when 'symbolic moulds' are formed through which young people understand themselves and their possibilities for the rest of their lives (Willis, 1990: 7-8).

Research Location

All of the research was undertaken in the locale of the city of Norwich and its immediate suburbs, but also incorporates participants that lived in rural areas of the county of Norfolk. The decision to centre on this provincial city in the East of England was pragmatic, deliberate, and afforded the necessary focus that the project required. It also allowed the avoidance of an unwieldy and undefined sense of place and space. Norwich is a distinctive location in which to investigate film consumption and cinema-going, albeit it on a smaller scale to most English cities. Academic audience research of this exact type has not been undertaken at this level in this city (unlike in Nottingham (Jancovich et al., 2003) and Leicester (Hubbard, 2002) for example). There were four cinemas of different types in operation when the research was undertaken: two multiplexes (an Odeon on the outskirts of the city centre in a retail and leisure development and a Vue in a city centre shopping mall), the four screen Hollywood (Anglia Square) an independently owned cinema in an outdated retail area north of the city (since closed down), and Cinema City; a three-screen specialised cinema operated by Picturehouse Cinemas. This range of cinema offerings could arguably be viewed as a microcosm of the general provision in moderately-sized British cities.[4] I make no claims that Norwich and Norfolk represent all UK cities and counties however; they are characterised by relatively low ethnic diversity, a large student population in Norwich, rural remoteness in the county, and areas of economic deprivation. Although that is not to say that many of the places, values, and roles of film consumption and cinema-going in my findings may possibly be observed (albeit with nuances), in other young people's practices throughout the country.

[4] Although Norwich has no 20+ screen 'megaplex' cinema which are found only in the largest UK cities, or 'mixed-arts venue' that regularly screen films.

Defining Audiences

It is important, early in this thesis, to discuss my definition of the ambiguous concept of 'the audience'. I adopt the viewpoint that it is problematic to refer to 'the audience' as a singular easily definable entity, indeed it is prudent to consider the plurality and the ambiguity of 'audiences'. Denis McQuail discusses his issues with the term 'the audience':

> …beyond common-sense usage, there is much room for differences of meaning, misunderstandings, and theoretical conflicts. The problems surrounding the concept stem mainly from the fact that a single and simple word is being applied to an increasingly diverse and complex reality, open to alternative and competing theoretical formulations.
>
> (McQuail, 1997: 1)

Marie Gillespie reiterates this uncertainty in stating that 'audiences are complex, elusive, shifting social formations', clarifying her definition by saying that 'the term "audience" usually refers to an assembly of listeners or viewers who come together, if only virtually, through shared consumption of film, television, radio, the internet, music or advertising' (Gillespie, 2005: 1-2). She goes on to assert that audiences '…come into being around specific media technologies and texts (or genres) at particular social and historical moments and they need to be understood in relation to these dynamics' (Gillespie, 2005: 1); providing further justification for the wider sociocultural and media contextual 'social practice' approach that I have adopted for my audience study (more details follow in later chapters).

Broadly speaking, the two main audience types that I research are: teenage viewers of film and media in home and mobile settings, and those for cinema-going. Additionally, from the project's inception, I paid careful attention to the different social groups that these young people would come from. My sampling strategy was informed by the research questions to collect data from groups of individuals from a range of socio-economic and educational backgrounds. Other initial stratifying factors for my teenage audience members were: area of residence, class, gender, and education; as well as additional considerations and circumstances for grouping the cohort that emerged in the analysis, such as forms of sociality and cultural affiliations.

The increase in the use of home entertainment appliances and devices in recent decades has exploded film consumption possibilities for audiences, making cinemas just one option. Specifically, television sets proliferated from the 1950s, VCRs since the 1980s, and DVD/Blu Ray players since the 1990s and 2000s. Since 2000, there has been an ensuing exponential rise in the use of Wi-Fi Internet subscription video on demand (SVoD) and handheld portable devices such as laptops, tablets, and smart phones. The scope of my field of study incorporates film consumption in non-theatrical settings such as the home, at (boarding) school or college, in leisure settings, and on public transport. Although writing in the 1990s, before the advent of digital television technologies, John Ellis offers an argument in consideration of the differences to cinema and non-theatrical consumption practices:

> Cinema offers a large scale, highly detailed and photographic image to a spectator who is engaged in an activity of intense and relatively sustained attention to it. Broadcast TV offers a small image of low definition, to which sound is crucial in holding the spectator's attention. The spectator glances rather than gazes at the screen; attention is sporadic rather than sustained.
>
> (Ellis, 1992: 24)

These general distinctions of viewing practices are still partially valid; although contested by some (Ang, 2006; Enns, 2012). Technological advances in home entertainment have distorted spectator boundaries, as audiences can now take their mobile devices into cinema spaces, and domestic entertainment set-ups have flat-screen televisions and surround sound installed emulating the cinema-experience.

Theorising Film Consumption and Cinema-Going

Pierre Bourdieu's work on cultural consumption has seen widespread influence, in many different academic spheres, on an international scale. In this study, I specifically refer to Bourdieu's 'thinking tools' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1989: 50) of habitus, cultural capital, field, doxa, and illusio (expanded on in Chapter 2). Bourdieu's concept of habitus forms the 'structuring structure' for my research. Bourdieu defines habitus as:

> 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, 1990 [1980]: 53 my emphasis)

Using habitus and Bourdieu's other concepts (see above) I analyse the complex interactions I had with young people and determine the places, values and uses of film consumption and cinemas for young audiences.

Despite Bourdieu's extensive influence, his theories have not escaped criticism and updates. Some view habitus as too much of a rigid and inflexible concept (Lahire, 2004; Bennett et al., 2009), whereas others critique him for disregarding feminist perspectives (Adkins and Skeggs, 2004; Silva, 2005). Other scholars have argued that Bourdieu's findings about French culture are not entirely applicable in Anglo-American societies (Lamont, 1992). Furthermore, theories of 'cultural omnivores' emerged in relation to observations about the US and UK middle classes demonstrating a range of cultural tastes, decrying Bourdieu's more cultural univorous pattern according to social class (Peterson and Kern, 1996; Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009). My intention then is to attend to the core tenants of Bourdieu's methodology by structuring my analysis around field, habitus, capital, and practices; whilst also appreciating the numerous challenges to Bourdieusian theory.

Thesis Structure

The thesis is divided up into two main parts: Part 1 covers the academic context for the study incorporating Chapters 1 to 3, Part 2 is the empirical section of the thesis where I examine the contexts and discourses of my teenage participants and includes Chapters 4-7.

To elaborate on the content and structure of the thesis: Chapter 1 is the review of relevant literature in the field of young audiences and film-watching and cinema-going. Chapter 2 is an explanation of the Bourdieusian theoretical framework that I have adopted. Chapter 3 is a discussion of the methodological choices that I made and why they are suitable for this project. Chapter 4

introduces my research cohort and explicitly states the sociocultural and media contexts that they come from, in line with the 'social practice theory' (Aveyard, 2016) adhered to. It is in Chapter 4 that I categorise my participants into six different groups: Estate Dwellers, Suburbanites, Rural Dwellers, Boarders and Urbanites, Cultural Alternatives, and Squad Members, in order to enable comprehensive analysis across my data set. These groups are established using a range of defining criteria, ranging from area and type of residence, sociocultural preferences and friendship formations. Chapter 5 develops the consideration of context and identities introduced in the previous chapter, and goes on to analyse broader sociocultural, lifestyle, and media practices and values for my groups. Chapter 6 explores young peoples' taste value systems in relation to their reported film consumption tastes and practices in the non-theatrical spaces of home and elsewhere. The final chapter (Chapter 7) provides the culmination of the research, with an investigation into the practices, roles, and limitations of cinema-going for my young participants.

In this introduction I have provided an overview of the thesis and explained what the project covers thematically, the methodology employed, and why there was a need for this research. I presented a brief summary of the current film consumption and exhibition landscape in the UK, explained the focus on teenage audiences, and the geographic specificity of the research. I presented definitions of audiences and non-theatrical film consumption as well as a brief typology of cinemas. Lastly I introduced the Bourdieusian theoretical framework and the structure of the thesis. The following chapter provides a thorough review of relevant literature and expands on the theoretical framework for the project.

PART 1: Academic Context and Theoretical Framework

Chapter 1. Conceptualising Audiences, Youth, Film Consumption, and Cinema-Going

Introduction

This chapter introduces the relevant fields of academic inquiry which provide a foundation to my research. These areas broadly include cinema audience studies, youth identity studies, media and cultural consumption, cultural geographies of space and place, and Bourdieu's theories of cultural capital and habitus (see Chapter 2). Incorporated within this scholarship is my key concern with how young people determine their film consumption and experience cinema spaces, within their media and sociocultural contexts. Each area of scholarship will be described, critiqued and related back to my own research and analysis.

1.1 Literature Review

This thesis relates to the wider disciplines of film, television and media studies, cultural studies, and sociology. Specifically, within these fields, the areas that concern me are (starting broadly and focusing down): audience studies, cinema-going and audience research in film studies, youth identity, youth media and cultural consumption, cultural geography and cinemas, young cinema audiences, specialised cinema studies, concluding with the most focused field of youth and specialised cinema. I commence with a summary of the key debates within the general area of media audience studies.

1.1.1 Audience Studies: An Overview

Audience studies, is defined as 'research into culturally significant aspects of the use of particular mass media or into relationships between media text or genres and their interpreters' (Chandler and Munday, 2011: 31). The scholarship has undergone a series of developments and advancements since its inception last century. A useful overview of these themes and developments is provided by Brooker and Jermyn:

1. *Paradigm shift*: from 'effects' to 'uses and gratifications'
2. *Moral Panic and censorship*: the vulnerable audience
3. *Reading as resistance*: the active audience
4. *The spectator and the audience*: shifts in screen theory
5. *The fan audience*: cult text and community
6. *Female audiences*: gender and reading
7. *Interpretive communities*: nation and ethnicity

(Brooker and Jermyn, 2003: emphases my own)

I adopt this list as a helpful and (almost chronological) overview, and now describe the trends in audience scholarship in more detail. Starting with the focus on the effects of media propaganda on populations in the wake of World War I and the rise of the Nazism in Europe in the first half of the twentieth century (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944; Katz et al., 2017 [1955]); this body of work charts the conceptual shift from media effects to 'uses and gratifications' (U&G) theory. US-based scholars (see Schramm et al., 1961; Katz and Foulkes, 1962; Katz et al., 1973; Blumler and Katz, 1974), researched why audiences accessed certain types of media, and the uses and gratifications experienced on consumption. It has since been developed by British scholars such as Denis McQuail who (with others) (1972) proposed four main categories of U&G: Diversion, Personal Relationships, Personal Identity, and Surveillance (more on this in Chapter 7). Another key sub-field of audience studies is on the media effects debate in relation to vulnerable (young) audiences, as previously referenced in my thesis introduction. This is linked with moral panics in society about violence and sexual content in comic books, film, and video games and the 'passive unresisting nature' of children and young people that consume them (Wertham, 1955). Academics such as Martin Barker have led the way in arguing against this rhetoric, towards a conception of more active and discerning young audiences (Barker, 1989; Barker, 2001 [1997]). This leads to the literature on media consumption as resistance, and speaks further to the concept of the active and creative audience member. This area of audience studies is often linked to the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) and includes Stuart Hall's seminal theories of decoding and encoding (Hall, 2001 [1980]), and efforts to test those theories (Morley and Brunsdon, 1980).

Another shift in screen theory took the shape of studies of the gaze of the spectator (Mulvey, 2003 [1975]) which takes a step towards empirical studies of viewers in their socio-historical contexts (Stacey, 1994). A further area of burgeoning audience scholarship is that of fan studies and has been dominated by discussions of cult texts, communities, 'prosumers' and media 'convergence culture' (Muggleton, 2000; Hills, 2002; Jenkins, 2006). The sub-group of audience studies related to gender often focuses on female audiences and takes a feminist perspective. Amongst these works are studies on the pleasures of soap operas (Ang, 1985; Livingstone, 1988) and romance novels (Radway, 2009 [1984]). The final area of scholarship relates to the concept of interpretive communities of audiences, and examines issues of meaning, belonging, and the groups that are formed through informal associations that build up around shared interpretations (Fish, 1980). This notion of interpretive communities can be helpful in establishing the tensions between structure (textual determinism) and individual agency ('the call of individuation') (Barker, 2006). Barker discusses a concept of 'figures of the audience', referring to 'presumptive accounts of what a film (or in my case, the act of cinema-going) might do or must do to its audience (or a particular segment of it)' (Barker, 2013a). Other scholars have written similarly on this subject adopting different terms, such as 'myths of the audience' (Schoenbach, 2001). These figures or myths of the audience can be positive or negative and can be proffered by academics. In Barker's words;

> [Figures of the audience] offer 'explanations of how culture works. They are at work in political culture, pointing the finger at people, praising or damning them. They can point on towards policy implications. And thus they surround and confront audiences as they participate in and enjoy forms and practices, which powerful others celebrate or distrust.
>
> (Barker, 2013a: 71)

This body of literature demonstrates the history and advances in the general field of screen studies and the study of the audiences that consume a range of media. My research relates to a number of these areas; for example U&G theory (in relation to the roles of cinema-going), fan studies (in relation to

tastes and practices), and interpretive communities (in relation to the sociocultural contexts of my participant groups). However, my emphasis is on audiences for film consumption and cinema-going, and I turn to this scholarship next.

1.1.2 Cinema Audiences and Film Consumption Studies

Film studies research has traditionally focused on film as text; an approach which aligns with art and literary theory. My project is more closely related to the relatively small but burgeoning branch of film studies that focuses on film consumption and sites of viewing, and is more related to sociology and cultural studies. Cinema audience studies literature is still a relatively narrow area compared to the wider film (as text) theory scholarship, although there are a number of notable published academics to note. Namely these are: Douglas Gomery who wrote the seminal text *Shared Pleasures* (1992) the first comprehensive examination of American cinema audiences, Richard Maltby who analyses historical film industry materials to interpret audiences and coins the term 'new cinema history' (1999; 2007; 2011), and Martin Barker who leads the way on large-scale ethnographic studies of the reception of *Judge Dredd* (1998), *The Lord of the Rings* films (2008), and *Alien* (2016). Additionally Mark Jancovich, lead author of *The Place of the Audience* (2003), has also published on cult movies and cultural distinction (2002a), regional film theatres (2002b), and, with Tim Snelson as co-author, has written on the class, gender and taste cultures of movie-going publics in 1940s New York (2010; 2011). Janna Jones writes about a preserved 'picture palace' and its audience in Florida (2001), Karina Aveyard has examined film consumption in Australia and the UK (2012; 2013; 2015; 2016), Julian Hanich theorises on the effect of collective viewing in cinemas (2014; 2017; 2019), and Philippe Meers and Daniel Biltereyst have focused on young audiences in Belgium (Meers, 2004; Meers and Biltereyst, 2012; Biltereyst et al., 2013).

The burgeoning area of scholarship known as new cinema history concisely encapsulates my intentions for this study; with the caveat that my study is not a history as such. A definition of new cinema history follows:

> It is a multifaceted concept encompassing the *films* themselves and the more abstract notion of *cinema as a form of art and entertainment*, but it also involves a specific *place* (the cinema as exhibition and physical venue); a *space* (an imaginary and socially embedded version of this site); an *industry* (of production, distribution, exhibition and circulation); an *experience* (cinemagoing as a sensory and imaginative practice); and even a *way of life* (in which people act, talk, play or think "cinematically"….in everyday life).
>
> (Biltereyst et al., 2019: 2 my emphases)

New cinema historians Richard Maltby et al appeal for a distinction between 'film history and cinema history: between an aesthetic history of textual relations between individuals or individual objects, and the social history of a cultural institution' (Maltby et al., 2007: 2). The authors of *The Place of the Audience* (Jancovich et al., 2003) are also advocates of this approach and, citing Douglas Gomery (1992) and David Morley (2000) as forerunners, again make the case for a shift of attention away from spectatorship to film consumption. In the foreword to *Watching Films: New Perspectives on Movie-Going, Exhibition and Reception*, Richard Maltby refers to the relevance of the *context* of cinema-going and makes the following observation:

> … that cinemas are sites of social and cultural significance will unproblematically have as much to do with patterns of employment, urban development, transport systems and leisure practices that shape cinema's global diffusion as it does with what happens in the brief encounter between an individual audience member and a film print.
>
> (Maltby, 2013: xi-xii)

This approach favours the 'importance of the institutional and geographic frameworks that direct and control the film viewing experience and the wider sociocultural situation of the audience' (Aveyard and Moran, 2013: 4), and leads the researcher to use ethnographic and empirical methods as opposed to reception studies. Jancovich et al also support the ethnographic approach to studying film consumption but posit that (up until 2003, when *The Place of the Audience* was published, at least) literature on the subject of cinema audiences 'largely concerns people's tastes, preferences and investments in the films they

watched' (2003: 8). Thus, they call for a broader perspective on the social and cultural contexts of film-watching and cinema-going from the audience member's point of view. This is an angle which film academics have been relatively slow to adopt, and is difficult to do unless ethnographic and/or empirical research is undertaken.

This consideration of the wider context of people's lives fits with Karina Aveyard's advocated framework of 'social practice theory' in her examination of non-theatrical film consumption in the 21st century (Aveyard, 2016: 146), a concept that she adapts from Nick Couldry's 'socially oriented media theory' (Couldry, 2012: 8). Couldry argues that taking a broader view of the social practices that enable and develop media use can allow researchers to determine 'how media are put to use in, and help shape, social life and how the meanings circulated through media have social consequences' (2012: 8). These ideas link with Bourdieu's work on fields of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993), and on the organisation of cultural hierachies and their effects, often relating to issues of power within these fields (see Hesmondhalgh, 2007: for more research using these concepts). Couldry and Aveyard therefore both argue for a turn towards sociology and social theory in relation to their film and media consumption research. Couldry states that:

> A sociological account of media must therefore balance two registers: accounts of how power is sustained across space, cutting through the complexities of the individual point of view; and accounts of how everyday encounters with, and through, media feel to each of us, informing our strategies within the world.
>
> (Couldry, 2012: 29-30)

Couldry's emphasis here is that in the adoption of the social practice theory it is important to consider the Boudieusian *power relations* at play, and audience members' *everyday experience* and how this combination affects practices and behaviour in a wider sense.

Research on contemporary and digital cinema audiences can be found by Sarah Atkinson who considers the proliferation of viewing platforms available in the

UK. Atkinson calls for 'the reconfiguration and revision of what is considered to be cinematic' (Atkinson, 2014: 225). As my research subjects are all young, and traditionally seen as early adopters to new technologies (Livingstone, 2002a), Atkinson's case studies of new forms of cinema engagement such as mobile cinema, online intertextuality, and games with filmed elements (including alterative reality games) are of interest. As is the proposal for a contemporary move towards an 'aesthetic of engagement where audience encounters are becoming seamlessly embedded into the fictional experience' (Atkinson, 2014: 220). Additionally there is a body of scholarship co-authored by Sarah Atkinson and Helen Kennedy (2015; 2016; 2017), with input from Martin Barker (2013b), in which the contemporary revival of experiential cinema (such as Secret Cinema) is investigated. This work investigates and reveals 'new cultures of reception and practice, new experiential aesthetics and emergent economies of engagement' (Atkinson and Kennedy, 2017: abstract).

This area of scholarship provides a framework for my concerns with sociological and cultural perspectives on film viewing and cinema-going. Considering the wider context of my research participants' lives, in line with social practice theory, I next examine the literature on youth identity, culture, and subculture.

1.1.3 Youth Studies: Identity, Culture, and Subculture

Naturally, there is a biological age to the human body and there is a temptation to defer to a person's age to define them. Indeed, in an attempt to focus my own research I have chosen teenagers as subjects, with an emphasis on 13-18 year olds. It is generally recognised that historically the very notion of youth did not exist until the medieval period. Prior to this, children and young people were viewed as small adults in the making; 'the infant who was too fragile as yet to take part in the life of adults simply 'did not count' (Ariès, 1979: 125). The first to classify the young as separate to adults were the upper classes, who could afford the improvements in education and life chances that necessitated a more defined age classification. The mention of social class reminds us of Bourdieu's thinking; on the subject of youth, he considers age divisions in

societies as markers of power relations between generations. He argues that ‘‘youth’ is just a word’ which socially constructs the biologically young in a conflict [*lutte*] with older people; ‘what is at stake is the transmission of power and privileges between the generations’ (Bourdieu, 1993 [1978]: 101). Gill Jones puts forward that ‘intergenerational power relations may therefore be the key to understanding youth’ (2009: 5); and it is for this reason that I am self-reflexive in my analysis – recognising that I am from the generation above my research participants - and assess how this may have impacted upon my fieldwork and its results (investigated further in Chapter 3).

Identity is generally regarded as the process by which individuals define themselves, and can be approached from a variety of different perspectives including: psychological, cultural, sociological, and historical. The psychological approach can be exemplified by Erik H. Erikson in *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (1994 [1968]), who argued that significant life stages are reached at particular ages. He presents the (now commonly held) view, that the adolescent life stage is one at which individuals become more self-aware, self-reflective and conscious of their strengths and weaknesses. According to Erikson, young people are more likely to question their own values, ideals, future career, and cultural tastes than at any other life stage or age. It is through this process of identity ‘crisis’ that teenagers establish an identity that can often remain relatively unchanged through life. The stance that I take on a definition of identity is similar to that proposed by Davis and Eynon which takes into account the existing developmental, psychological, sociocultural and historical perspectives on this issue. They view identity ‘as how we define ourselves, based on our characteristics and attributes (our self-concept) and the social context(s) of which we are part’ (Davies and Eynon, 2013: 60). Paul Willis also provides elucidation on the concept of identity by highlighting its central paradox as referring to both similarity and difference. He says that youth is ‘the stage where people begin to construct themselves through nuance and complexity, through difference as well as similarity’ (1990: 8). I see the concept of identity then referring to what is *unique* to each of my young people, and also about the *affiliations they have with other communities* or social groups (nationality, (sub)cultural groups, or gender for example).

Furthermore, identity is seen as an ever-changing and problematic concept in contemporary society. Buckingham lists the current issues affecting youth identity formation as 'globalization, the decline of the welfare state, increasing social mobility, greater flexibility in employment, [and] insecurity in personal relationships'(2008: 1), leading to a sense of social fragmentation and insecurity. Zygmunt Bauman labels this uncertain contemporary society as 'liquid modernity' and argues that this has led to an increased fluidity of identity which is in a state of perpetual negotiation (Bauman, 2013). Indeed, identity experimentation is generally viewed in the fields of media and communications studies, sociology, and psychology as a conventional and essential feature of the teen years (Valkenburg et al., 2005; Davies and Eynon, 2013). This strikes a chord with the post-modern approach to identity from theorists such as Andy Bennett (2000) and Steven Miles (2000) who contend that contemporary youth identities are increasingly adaptable, porous and temporary, and best described more as 'scenes' or 'lifestyles'. This approach works alongside the 'cultural omnivore' concepts argued by Peterson (2005; 1996), Gayo-Cal (2006) and Warde et al (2009) (more on omnivore theory in 1.2). Concepts of youth identity have been adopted and adapted more recently by Steven Threadgold (2018) who analyses individuals labelled as 'hipsters' and 'bogans' in Australian culture. Threadgold uses Bourdieu's theories as a framework, and argues that representations of these stereotypes form a symbolic and moral economy that disrupts class divides.

A shared view of a number of scholars is that social context is a vital component of identity presentation. Indeed it is Bauman's (2013) view that it is only when individuals' identity is questioned, challenged or threatened that it becomes an issue and they are required to express it. This leads to a requirement for a performance of identity, a concept initially argued by Erving Goffman (1990 [1959]) who utilised the metaphor of theatrical performance as a framework. He argues that everyone presents themselves and their activity to others in everyday social situations, attempting to guide and control the impressions that are formed of them through a performance that is similar to that of an actor on a stage or following the rules of a game (echoes of

Bourdieu's 'feel for the game' – see Chapter 2). The 'actor' has an awareness of the audience and the norms and expectations that they have and this shapes the performed identity. Goffman's concept is useful for my empirical research and the consideration of young people's discourse as identity performance.

Popular or mass culture is regarded by contemporary sociologists as instrumental in the creation of youth identity. Scholars such as Valerie Wee have argued that digital media is 'playing a greater role in determining not just [young people's] entertainment experience but also their sense of self and their place in and view of the world at large' (Wee, 2017: 137). Whereas, the development of theories around subculture owes a lot to the work of Sarah Thornton and her influential publication on the young audiences for the club and rave culture of the 1990s (Thornton, 1995). In reference to Bourdieu's concepts, Thornton creates the term 'subcultural capital' to analyse distinctions made by young people about the essence of 'cool' and 'hipness' versus 'mainstream' in an assessment of alternative cultural worth.

Engaging in Youth Studies scholarship has enabled me to consider key arguments relating to young people, including those about adolescence being a key life stage in which identity is formed for life. Other scholars, including Bourdieu, have identified the power struggles that can be observed between the young and the old and the significance of this in relation to researching youth. Difference and similarity are part of the paradox of youth identity, and fluidity and adaptability are other features of developing teenage personalities. Identity is performed and digital media developments have enabled this on a different platform. Subcultural capital is a concept established to evaluate young people's popular and subcultural affiliations. Therefore my research seeks to examine what is unique about my research participants as well as the commonalities and connections between them. In the next section, I examine the literature relating to media and cultural consumption for young people.

1.1.4 Youth Media and Cultural Consumption

There is a branch of scholarship that specifically focuses on young audiences,

featuring David Buckingham's studies of young people's use of media (Buckingham, 1993; 2008; 2013), and John Richardson's work on teenagers' use of mobile phones during theatre performances (Richardson, 2014; 2015). The literature on youth consumption of media and culture, as with a lot of other youth studies research, reverts to issues of identity and belonging (or conversely, not fitting in). Examples of this are Fleur Gabriel's report on young people's use of social media to project self-development (Gabriel, 2014), and danah boyd's work also on teens and social media, where she argues that regardless of contemporary moral panics about the negative impact of young people's overuse of screen and social media, teens find ways to positively engage online and to develop a sense of identity (boyd, 2014). Allison McCracken writes specifically on the micro-blogging social network site Tumblr (McCracken, 2017), highlighting that young people use social media not just for entertainment purposes but also as a tool for action, engagement with politics, and identity formation.

There are a number of academic studies into consumer behaviour and patterns of consumption, which have concluded a relationship with age. For example, Holbrook and Schindler (1994) investigate the correlation between popular culture consumption and age, concluding that 'consumers tend to form enduring preferences during a sensitive period in their lives' (late adolescence) (Holbrook and Schindler, 1994: 412). The concept of life-cycle or life stage as opposed to just 'age' is one that other researchers (Jain, 1975; Fritzsche, 1981; Jancovich, 2011) have found relevant to cultural consumption and can be used to interpret behaviour. I mention here also the work of Victoria Cann and her research on taste cultures and the reproduction of gender in Norfolk teenagers (2015; 2018; 2014; 2013). This scholarship is especially relevant to my project in terms of a similar methodology (see my Chapter 3 for more detail), the Norfolk setting, the Bourdieusian angle, and evidence of taste-making according to gender (see Chapter 5).

A section of the literature on youth and media consumption considers the relevance of space and place to the young. This includes Tracey Skelton and Gill Valentine's edited collection on geographies of youth cultures (1998),

Robert Hollands on the segmentation of the night time economy (Hollands, 2002; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003), and Cara Robinson's ethnographic research into young people's use of public space (2009).

Research on youth media and cultural consumption then has demonstrated that young people use media and culture to express and form their identities. Life stage is an important factor in the study of cultural consumption, and gender influences taste-making in the young. In the next section I turn to literature on film and television consumption in non-cinema settings for young people.

1.1.5 Youth (Non-Theatrical) Film and Television Consumption

In recent years, digital technologies (especially in relation to mobile devices and Wi-Fi) have enabled film, TV, and media to be consumed in innumerable non-theatrical contexts, such as the home, on public transport and in other public and private spaces and places. Moreover, it has been argued that it is the younger generation that have been early adopters and 'digital natives' of these changes (Prensky, 2001; Palfrey and Gasser, 2011). Karina Aveyard emphasises this seismic shift in mobile entertainment in her 2016 article, 'Film Consumption in the 21st Century: Engaging with Non-Theatrical Viewing', citing Barbara Klinger's (2006) publication of *Beyond the Multiplex* as a ground-breaking large-scale study that notes the distinction between public cinemas (film/movie theatres) and private cinemas (the home). However, Aveyard goes on to demand 'a refinement of Klinger's terminology' in an age when 'media mobility has now complicated these demarcations, with private media interaction now possible in public spaces and vice versa' (Aveyard, 2016: 141). Indeed there is a small but growing collection of mobile media scholars examining this phenomenon; Hjorth et al present a good example of this in their edited collection examining the culturally symbolic iPhone and how it 'marks a juncture in which notions about identity, individualism, lifestyle and sociality require re-articulation' (Hjorth et al., 2012: abstract). Other recent scholarship on trends in contemporary young people's TV and film viewing habits revolve around issues of participatory cultures (Chen et al., 2017; Crisp, 2015; Astigarraga-Agirre, 2016), digital piracy (Wu, 2013; Crisp,

2014; Marshall and da Rimini, 2014; Crisp, 2015; Lowry et al., 2017), and streaming and binge-watching (Matrix, 2014; Pittman and Sheehan, 2015; McDonald and Smith-Rowsey, 2016; Wee, 2017).

Literature within Television Studies includes work on the meanings of the act of viewing television in groups, of family and/or friends (Morley, 1986; Moores, 1993; Morley and Robins, 1995; Morley, 2000; Seiter et al., 2013 [1989]). As with the social practice theory approach for film consumption, this scholarship has not only focused on television programmes as texts, but the interpretations of television consumption as a social activity in a wider sociocultural context. It is worth commenting on the relatively recent trend of the 'cinematization of the televisual' (Atkinson, 2014: 226), whereby long-form TV drama series (such as AMC's *The Walking Dead*, and HBO's *Game of Thrones*) have complicated definitions of the cinematic. Additionally there is original film content produced by subscription video on demand (SVoD) platforms such as Netflix and Amazon Prime, further disrupting the traditional film exhibition and distribution industry (Matrix, 2014; McDonald and Smith-Rowsey, 2016).

Literature on the non-theatrical consumption of film and television studies for the young has argued that they are 'digital natives', being early adopters of new technologies and mobile devices. Further literature in this area can be broken down into sub-genres concerned with participatory cultures, digital piracy, streaming and binge-watching, and film and television viewing as a social activity in its wider context. Following on from the brief look to publications on space and place and the *young*, the next section examines the cultural significance of space and place in direct relation to *cinemas*.

1.1.6 Cultural Geography and Cinemas

Due to the fact that my research is concerned with cinemas as sites of film consumption, the area of cultural geography is useful. This discipline is a sub-field of human geography and examines the ways that spaces and places within cultural landscapes are conceptualised and analysed to make sense of society and human behaviour. Doreen Massey argues for the importance of

conceptualizing space and place in order to understand the social world and how to effect change:

> Thinking of places in this way implies that they are not so much bounded areas as open and porous networks of social relations…..and this in turn implies that what is to be the dominant image of any place will be a matter of contestation and will change over time.
>
> (Massey, 1994: 121)

Massey argues that social change and spatial change are integral to each other and while space is socially constructed, the social is spatially constructed (1994: 22). She disputes static notions of place as frozen in time, seeing them instead as processes, and arguing that places do not have single identities but multiple ones and are not enclosures with clear borders (cited in Dovey, 2009). Within Skelton and Valentine's collection, Massey contributes a chapter on the spatial construction of youth cultures. Here she talks about 'individuals and social groups [being] constantly engaged in efforts to territorialise, to claim spaces, to include some and exclude others from particular areas' (1998: 126). She goes on to discuss how young teenagers are not permitted into certain cinemas, due to the screening of films of a higher certification than their age, thus excluding them along the lines of territorialising space (Massey, 1998: 127).

This spatial construction of cinema culture can also relate issues of social class and some social groups' discomfort with certain venues. Devine et al (2005) analysed the connection between habitus and cultural capital (more in the following chapter) and space and place in relation to working class culture. Their observance is that 'where people feel comfortable in places, they tend to populate such places, either through permanent residence or through revisiting, but where they do not, they tend to avoid them' (Devine et al., 2005: 101). For Amin and Thrift (2002: 85), this discomfort with space and place mostly occurs in the 'cognitive unconscious' and so behaviour in leisure spaces is intuitive and improvised and either needs to be observed in practice, or elicited in focus group discussions.

Phil Hubbard is an academic concerned with the 'spatiality of social life' in order to draw conclusions about how 'the city reproduces social difference.'[5] Of particular relevance to my thesis are his articles and reports on the changing geographies of cinemas (2002; 2003b; 2004), a study on cinemas as sites of 'embodied leisure' (2003a), and a recent publication on the retail gentrification of British cities (2016). Hubbard has developed a particularly interesting idea relating to the question of why out-of-town multiplex cinemas attract audiences from particular socio-economic backgrounds. In *Fear and Loathing at the Multiplex* (2003b), he refers to a climate of fear and anxiety that 'pervades many cities at night' which has resulted in a re-structuring of urban life in the post-industrial era (see also Thomas and Bromley, 2000; Pain, 2001). Hubbard discusses the exclusion of certain 'Other' social groups from particular public and private spaces, including 'rowdy teenagers'. This concept is supported by David Sibley who puts forward that people who appear 'out of place' and alternative to the dominant 'white middle-class family ambience associated with [an] international consumption style', are ejected from a wide range of urban settings (Sibley, 1995: 11). These concepts are useful in framing the query I have with the social, cultural and environmental factors that limit young people's attendance at certain cinemas and indeed attract them to other types of cinemas instead. Furthermore, Hubbard argues that 'multiplex cinemas are not widening participation in cinema-going, but merely increasing the frequency of cinema-going among more affluent, white (and younger) consumer groups' (2003b: 73), implying that – according to his research in the city of Leicester at least - audiences from lower-income socio-economic or ethnic minority backgrounds are not attending out-of-town multiplexes in great numbers. My queries generated by this scholarship are then; are young people afraid and anxious about attending art cinemas or are the regular (older) audiences for these venues displaying fear and anxiety about young people infiltrating their territory?

Whilst not cultural geographers, both Laurence Levine (1988) and Paul DiMaggio (1982; 1992) make a case for the significance of the physical space

[5] Quoted from https://kcl.academia.edu/PhilHubbard accessed 24/05/17

in which a cultural form is performed. Although they focus on theatre, art, and opera – their claim is that the development of theatres exclusively for legitimate drama (as opposed to musical theatre), museums for painting and sculpture, and opera houses for opera – legitimised these cultural pursuits as high art. In the 1920s and 1930s, picture palaces were constructed in order to give audiences an experience of luxury in palatial and classical styles (Gray, 1996), and although this did not yet elevate film to the status of art, it did make cinema-going more respectable (Baumann, 2001: 89). In the 1950s, there was a general decline in cinema attendance plus a reduction in the number of Hollywood produced films, so US cinemas started importing films from Europe (from directors such as Ingmar Bergman, Federico Fellini and Jean-Luc Godard) and art cinemas started being established. According to Gomery, by the late 1960s the total number of art cinemas in the USA exceeded 1000 (including film societies exhibiting the best of European art cinema) (1992: 181). John Twomey commented on the legitimisation of film as art in 1956; 'the art theater is a commercially as well as artistically established institution. No longer is the art film a delicacy for the palates of a few connoisseurs' (Twomey, 1956: 247).

The field of cultural geography has produced work on the conceptualisation of spaces and places within cultural landscapes in order to analyse society and human behaviour. Academics have written on cinemas as sites of changing cultural significance and inter-generational tension (Massey), as well as the spatial construction of cinema culture relating to issues of social class (Devine et al). Phil Hubbard has contributed significant work on cinemas as site of embodied leisure and argues for the concept of fear limiting attendance at certain cinemas (within the cityscape). Cinemas were designed as 'picture palaces' in the early to mid-twentieth century, making cinema-going 'respectable' (Baumann), but the demise of these venues and the relatively recent trend of out-of-town multiplexes has changed this perception of mainstream cinemas to them being the territory of white affluent younger audiences (Hubbard). Moving from the cultural geography of cinemas back to audiences, the next transition is to a discussion of the body of work on young cinema audiences.

1.1.7 Young Cinema Audiences

I focus in again to review the scholarship specifically on young cinema audiences, and this is where the field becomes more limited. There are historical studies, such as Tim Snelson's research on the youth audiences for cinema in 1930s North America, with an emphasis on the exhibition and audience strategies used to attract young fans of swing music (Snelson, 2017). Turning to studies of more contemporary audiences, Manuel Cuadrado and Marta Frasquet have published on young Spanish film attendees (1999; 2000); coming from a marketing perspective to profile young cinema audiences according to socio-economic, demographic and behavioural characteristics. They use the variable 'benefits sought' to segment their sample (similar to a U&G approach), justifying this by stating that people may have different reasons for attending the cinema, such as entertainment or education. They identified three differentiated and consistent groups of attendees: the *social*, the *apathetic* and the *cinema-buff* (Cuadrado and Frasquet, 1999: 266). This audience segmentation approach chimes with audience development initiatives from UK organisations such as The Independent Cinema Office (ICO) and the Audience Agency.[6] This work on audience development and segmentation highlights some similarities that this thesis has with the work of industry marketers; modelling an audience categorising process that my own analysis resembles.

A key figure in the study of youth culture is Paul Willis, who in the 1970s used cultural form theory to describe how objects, such as clothes, motorbikes, or records are utilised as symbols within youth cultures (Willis, 1978). The idea about the consumption of signs or symbols was also developed by French post-structuralist scholar, Jean Baudrillard (1988; 1981), who argued that systems of

[6] The ICO suggests target marketing (amongst other audience development strategies) on its website http://www.independentcinemaoffice.org.uk/advice-support/audience-development/. The Audience Agency offers its own contemporary classifications for audience segments including 'metroculturals', 'commuterland culturebuffs' and 'Facebook families' via the link https://www.theaudienceagency.org/audience-spectrum. Both accessed 27/11/19.

signs working together form the foundation of identity and adherence to life-styles. This idea was extended to the activity of cinema-going by Willis in *Common Culture: Symbolic Work at Play in the Everyday Cultures of the Young* (1990), where he contrasts the exclusions of high art with the symbolic creativity evident in the everyday life of young people. As part of his fieldwork in Wolverhampton, Willis interviewed teenagers about their cinema-going activity and behaviour. He reports that young working-class people rarely go to the cinema but when they do there is a social aspect of their behaviour and experience, including audience participation (laughing, clapping and booing together). Willis concludes that '...film-watching is an interactive and active process involving its own kind of symbolic work and creativity', and provides a prescient call for greater attention to film consumption practices: 'those concerned to develop culture and cultural policy may need to watch audiences, not films' (Willis, 1990: 48). Kevin J. Corbett shares this view of the symbolic significance of movie-going in the USA: 'the cultural history of the motion picture theater shows us that this particular technology has a deeply rooted symbolic value' (Corbett, 2001: 32). The concept of symbolic creativity informs my examination of the ways that young people define and discuss their film consumption, be it consciously or subliminally, and will be developed further in my empirical chapters.

As previously mentioned, there is currently a small team of academics in Belgium, led by Philippe Meers and Daniel Biltereyst working on a research project on the preferences and practices of 16-18 year olds in Flanders. PhD candidate Aleit Veenstra has reported on their findings:

> ….regardless of the (promise of) possibilities in content and screens….the vast majority of young people would still prefer to watch a Hollywood film in the cinema. Or, second best, Hollywood or Flemish film on television….Thus, traditional film watching practices prevail over the contemporary possibilities in screen and content.
>
> (Veenstra, 2016: 3)

Veenstra puts forward that there is an 'urgent need for in-depth investigations of lived experiences of film consumption in a digitized media environment' (Veenstra, 2016: 1), a call that this research answers to. Lies Van de Vijver is another Belgian academic who has specialised in studies of historical and

contemporary cinema audiences (Van de Vijver and Biltereyst, 2013; Van de Vijver, 2017), and more recently has published on the young audience experience (2019). This latter study uses the results of a large-scale survey of contemporary youth audiences in Belgium, as well as an oral history study on historical cinema audiences; to chart shifting cinema-going motivations, emphasising the persistently *social* nature of the activity. Working on a different continent, North American scholar Janna Jones analyses the essays of 69 of her university students in which she asks them to recall their most significant movie consumption memories (Jones, 2011; Jones, 2013). Providing a counterpart to Van de Vijver's 2019 findings, Jones notes that it is not the films that are significant but the *sociability* and the emotional affect that is remembered.

Mark Jancovich (2011) has considered the significance of the teenage life stage to movie-going and film consumption. He relates practices to previously referenced ideas of subcultural capital (Thornton, 1995), and connects this idea to notions of adolescent identity formation:

> One of the reasons for [a] strong commitment to film consumption among the young is the importance of subcultural capital to teenagers... It is not just that teenage subcultures are highly competitive, but that the teenager is in a stage of life that is positioned between the identities of the child and the adult. This life stage therefore often involves an anxious use of cultural consumption in the pursuit of identity…
>
> (Jancovich, 2011: 90)

The query that I take from Jancovich's statement here is whether this 'subcultural capital' could relate to professed interest in specialised film for some teenagers (discussions on this topic are to be found in Chapters 6 and 7).

Scholarship on young cinema audiences can be summarised as having a historical focus (Snelson, 2017), or a more contemporary setting. There is research on the segmentation of the young audiences for cinema in Spain, reflecting some of the industry reports on UK audiences – both of which use an audience segmentation approach that I have used in this project. Willis and Corbett write (respectively) about the symbolic significance of cinema-going for the young, as does Jancovich (2011), whereas others have emphasised the social aspect of film-going (Meers, Van de Vijver, Jones). I now move to a

discussion of the narrow area of the study of specialised cinema and its audiences.

1.1.8 Specialised Cinema and its Audiences

Definitions of specialised, art-house, cultural, boutique, or independent cinemas as they are interchangeably known are discussed briefly in my thesis introduction, and further in Chapters 4 and 7. Areas of literature in this field are concerned with the study of independent cinemas (Berliner, 2018), and film culture and policy (Doyle et al., 2015). Specific studies on specialised cinema audiences are: Anderson (2009) on older audiences and memories of newsreel film shows at The Tyneside Cinema in Newcastle, Hollinshead (2011) writing about specialised cinema in Edinburgh and its absent working class audience members, and Vandevelde et al (2015) on the social experience of cinema-going in the Indian diaspora in Antwerp. Barbara Wilinsky (2001) examines the emergence of art-house cinema in North America, detailing the aspects that define cultural cinema and the issues of taste cultures and distinction that affect audiences. She refers to the tension between art cinema and the pressures of a commercial film exhibition industry that have shaped and define the cultural cinema offer. Other research on art film audiences has shown that members tend to 'have more education, are of higher socioeconomic status, *are older*, hold more prestigious occupations, and are heavier consumers of cultural activities' (Watson, 2006: 326). Once again, it is clear that there is a dearth of young people going to art-houses, and there is another link here with the social class and cultural contexts of audience members.

Research project *How Audiences Form* by Steven Corbett et al (2015), from the University of Sheffield[7] has objectives that overlap with my own. These are: to analyse existing audience engagement with independent and specialised films [and] identify developments in film and cinema engagement' (Corbett et al., 2015: 3). The project team adopt a framework of 'cinema as a cultural form', appropriated from David Chaney (1990; 1983) who developed a theory

[7] In collaboration with Film Hub North (part of the BFI's Film Audience Network).

of the department store and shopping centre as a cultural form. This theory can be deconstructed into three interdependent components, and applied to film exhibition; these elements are detailed below:

(1) **'The relations of production'** refers to the social relationships involved in exhibiting film. Specifically this relates to the structural and policy direction of UK specialised cinema exhibition.
(2) **'Narrative of the form'** denotes audience experiences and their interpretations of film consumption.
(3) **'Participative interaction'** refers to the relations between film producers, film distributors, cinema exhibitors and audiences. This term incorporates discussion of existing barriers to engagement, opportunities to develop audiences including the use of social media.

Key findings of the *How Audiences Form* project are that 'independent and specialised film audiences are diverse and have diverse interests', and 'diversity of types of film provision can also enable a variety of forms of engagement with independent and specialised film culture' (Corbett et al., 2015: 4). These findings relate to my key concern with the film consumption practices of young people from different social groups. It is noteworthy however, that of the 269 respondents to the survey, the youngest was aged eighteen – so the report findings do not directly represent any young people in the 13-18 age range. Therefore, my own work on teenage audiences can complement and add to the findings of this project.[8]

Publications on specialised cinema then are limited in scope but have covered such areas as the historical development of this form of cinema, and specific pockets of specialised cinema experience (e.g. lack of working class audiences in Edinburgh, parent and baby screenings, Indian diaspora film screenings in Belgium). A project team are working on a large-scale research project entitled *Beyond the Multiplex* that stemmed from another project on how specialised audiences form; my work on teenage audiences complements and enhances this work with a different demographic and geographic specificity.

[8] An outcome of the *How Audiences Form* report was the three year AHRC funded project *Beyond the Multiplex* which continues to date. See https://www.beyondthemultiplex.net/. Accessed 27/11/19.

The following section focuses down further then on the young audiences for specialised film and cinema.

1.1.9 Young Audiences for Specialised Film and Cinema

The narrow area of academic work on young audiences for specialised cinema represents the ultimate focus for my own research. There are a few publications and projects that refer to this area within a wider study: I return once more to Philippe Meers (and colleagues) who have investigated the role of film as a cultural product in young people's everyday lives in Flanders, the Dutch speaking area of Belgium. Meers reports an 'overwhelming preference for Hollywood films displayed by a young mainstream audience' and presents the discursive dichotomies at play in their interviews when discussing the 'form, style and narrative….. [of] American, European or Flemish film-making' (Meers, 2004: 160). He concludes that the young people he surveyed demonstrated discourses that were 'strikingly similar to those of the dominant media industries and mainstream press institutions' (171), proving that in his part of Belgium at least, Hollywood's hegemony framed young people's cinematic tastes. Meers' legacy of work on young film audiences in Belgium is continued through Aleit Veenstra's doctoral thesis on film genre and taste cultures for Flemish youth (for whom Meers and Biltereyst were promoters) (Veenstra, 2017). One finding, reminiscent of others (Watson, 2006; Gayo-Cal, 2006), is that the more educated the project participant, the more omnivorous they were in relation to film genre – indicating a correlation between education (cultural capital) and film taste (Veenstra, 2017).

Aside from the academic work, a significant publication is the research report of 'A Qualitative Study of Avid Cinema-goers' (Donovan and Garey, 2007), appointed by the then UK Film Council to 'build a detailed picture of what an avid…cinema-goer and consumer of film…is and the factors that helped create them' (2007: 3) in an attempt to develop new audiences for less mainstream films. They surveyed a number of young people and reported that from the age of 12 to 17, film facilitates identity formation and fulfils the following needs: 'the need for escape, belonging, bonding, independence, rebellion and (particularly for males) the collector mentality' (2007: 21). They go on to say

that this is the age when people start to actively look beyond mainstream choices, and a trusted opinion former (family member, teacher etc.) can often be a catalyst for this broadening of film taste. Donovan and Garey present a number of possible industry interventions in order to encourage young people to become engaged in specialised cinema.[9] Their report is somewhat dated now and does not adequately consider the effects of film consumption via digital media platforms and mobile devices.

Other industry researchers such as the consultancy firm Dodona, have published results indicating that there is a distinct dearth of young people attending specialised cinemas. They report that 'although UK multiplexes were full of young people watching mainstream film [in 2009], they made up a small percentage of arthouse cinema audiences'.[10] This particular industry finding motivated the Tyneside Cinema, a specialised cinema in Newcastle, to launch an ambitious project named Young Tyneside. This initiative aimed to address the national trend as reported by Dodona and increase attendance by 15-19 year olds at their cinema. The project report, published in 2014 outlines a number of successful outcomes and strategic recommendations for the wider industry (McIntyre, 2014). More recently, the British Independent Film Awards (BIFA), in partnership with The Audience Agency (funded by the BFI and National Lottery), conducted audience research on young audiences, resulting in their report, *Under 30s and Film: Insights* (BIFA, 2019). The objective for the project was to discover what the under 30s are watching, where, why, and with who, in order for BIFA to maintain youth engagement with independent film. The report demonstrates that young audiences still love watching feature-length film in cinemas and at home. Cinema-going *is* a much-valued activity but ticket prices and teenagers' low income means that risks are less likely to be taken on film content at theatres. On digital platforms

[9] One such intervention is the unorthodox foregrounding of 'themes of sex, violence and horror into subtitled films'. Donovan M and Garey E (2007) A Qualitative Study of Avid Cinema-Goers. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|. p.21.

[10] As reported at: https://www.tynesidecinema.co.uk/about-us/news/tyneside-cinema-share-findings-from-three-year-programme-to-develop-younger-audiences-for-specialised-film

however, where cost is less of a barrier, film choice diversifies and discovery flourishes, presenting a distinct opportunity for non-mainstream films to expand their audiences (BIFA, 2019: 4).

Within the limited field of scholarship concerned with young audiences for specialised film, there is the stimulating body of work from Belgium, led by Meers and Biltereyst and developed by Veenstra. Whilst other work takes more of an industry angle, it provides relevant context and issues to consider in relation to my project. I now highlight the limitations of the entire scholarship discussed in this chapter and state where my research intervenes.

1.2 Limitations of, and Interventions into the Scholarship

As I have detailed in this literature review, the academic literature on the activity of going to the pictures is still relatively limited (compared with film as text studies), and the body of work on the adolescent cinema-goer attending specialised cinema is even narrower. This thesis will go some way to build on the work that Meers, Biltereyst, and Veenstra are undertaking in Belgium and present a picture from the east of England. Indeed, even though there is work on taste cultures (Bennett et al., 1999) and on the preferences of UK cinema audiences (Evans, 2011; Hollinshead, 2011) - each of which use a Bourdieusian approach - my work is the first to explicitly examine the preferences and practices of adolescent cinema audiences in the UK through the lens of Bourdieu's concepts.

There have been significant developments in the classification of social class in recent years, particularly in the field of Sociology. The method of stratifying people according to their occupation has long been deemed as insufficient due to its lack of consideration of economic, social and cultural capital; with Bourdieu's work being a catalyst for this focus (see Crompton, 2008; Bennett et al., 2009). Hence, the consideration of my participants' social class (via their parents) in Chapter 4 is brief and only a small part of the wider context. Usefully, Chan and Goldthorpe (2005) examine the social stratification of

cinema-going (as well as theatre and dance) and use the cultural omnivore/univore theory as a framework for analysis.

Conclusion

Film and media audience research is a broad area that has undergone significant shifts in emphasis over the decades. From studies of media effects (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944) to uses and gratifications (U&G) (Katz et al., 1973), through to moral panics and censorship (Barker and Petley, 2001 [1997]); the paradigms have developed from the concept of passive to active audiences. We have seen the rise of spectatorship theories (Mulvey, 2003 [1975]), the study of fandom and cult films (Hills, 2002; Jenkins, 2006), a focus on feminist interpretations (Radway, 2009 [1984]), and studies of interpretive communities (Fish, 1980). This project is related to U&G theory as regards the roles and uses of film consumption and cinema-going, fan studies have helped inform my work on tastes and practices, and the concept of interpretive community links with the sociocultural context and participant grouping of my cohort. Furthermore, the area of literature that homes in on the social history of film cultures, known as new cinema history (Maltby et al., 2011), is closely related. Within this field is a small number of academics (Couldry, 2012; Aveyard, 2016) advocating a social practice approach to film research, using empirical and qualitative methods; inspiring my own approach. These academics move away from the key concern of film as text, and gravitate towards the social and cultural contexts of film-watching and cinema-going from audience members' perspectives. Furthermore, the area of youth studies has informed my thinking around fluid and adaptable youth identities (Bauman, 2013; Buckingham, 2008), inter-generational power struggles (Bourdieu, 1993 [1978]; Jones, 2009), the performance of identity (Erikson, 1994 [1968]) and subcultural affiliations (Thornton, 1995). Academic work in the field of youth media and cultural consumption has demonstrated that teenagers use media and culture to express and form their identities (Buckingham, 2008), and gender influences taste-making in the young (Cann, 2018). Studies on non-theatrical film and television consumption has posited that the young are 'digital natives' (Prensky, 2001; Palfrey and Gasser, 2011) and key practices are participatory

cultures (Astigarraga-Agirre, 2016), digital piracy (Crisp, 2015), streaming and binge-watching (Wee, 2017), as well as the value of film and television viewing as a social activity (Morley, 2000).

The field of cultural geography has enabled the conceptualisation of cinemas as sites of changing cultural consumption, inter-generational conflict, and racial tension (Massey, 1998; Hubbard, 2003b).[11] Every cinema has its own cultural geography, both in terms of its position in the urban landscape and its interior spaces. Some attempts have been made to segment film audiences in relation to age (Cuadrado and Frasquet, 1999), in attempts to develop particular audiences, whereas others have written on the symbolic significance of cinema-going for teenagers (Willis, 1990; Corbett, 2001). Publications on specialised cinema then are limited but have covered such areas as the historical development of this form of cinema (Wilinsky, 2001), and specific pockets of specialised cinema experience, the most relevant for me being those that have examined issues of social class or age (Hollinshead, 2011; Watson, 2006). The small area of scholarship that focuses on young audiences for specialised film features valid and inspiring work from academics working in Belgium (Meers, 2004). and whereas other relevant studies come from more of an industry angle (BIFA, 2019), they both provide context and key considerations for my study.

The limitations of the audience studies literature relate to the specifics of studying teenage film consumers and the contexts of their consumption. My work redresses this dearth of scholarship in a contemporary context using empirical research methods. Reference to the work of Pierre Bourdieu had been conspicuously slight within this literature review. I redress this balance

[11] This can be linked with a recent moral panic concerning *Blue Story* (2019, Rapman), a low-budget UK film about gang culture. The Vue and Showcase cinema chains withdrew the film from their cinemas due to a reported spate of violent outbreaks within cinemas throughout the UK, especially Star City in Birmingham. It sparked a new debate about film violence and its effects as well as highlighting tensions relating to race, age, and censorship; centred on the cinema sites.

by providing full details on the Bourdieusian theoretical framework that I have employed in the following chapter.

Chapter 2. A Bourdieusian Theoretical Framework

Introduction

One theorist's concepts recur across the relevant literature for this project; those of the French sociologist and philosopher, Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002). Over the course of a career that spanned over fifty years, Bourdieu theorised within a broad range of subject areas including: art, culture, economics, education, law, literature, philosophy, and politics. In the process, he developed a catalogue of concepts that he referred to as his 'thinking tools' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1989: 50), which were used to deconstruct and interpret aspects of society. Particularly relevant to my work are Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital, field, doxa, illusio, and habitus, which are developed in his publication, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (2010 [1984]). Broadly, these concepts refer to the cultural tastes and aesthetic choices of social groups and individuals, and how they operate both symbolically, within a system of power to become the source of social judgement and practice.

2.1 Cultural Capital

Distinction is Bourdieu's analysis of empirical research on French culture undertaken in the 1960s (first published in France in 1979, with the first English translation issued in 1984). Bourdieu argues that people's aesthetic tastes are established at a young age by their socio-economic background, education, and upbringing and are enabled via cultural capital within social space, or fields. The term 'capital' usually has economic associations; particularly in relation to the exchange of money with products or services. However Bourdieu appropriated the term, and converted it into the economic metaphor of *cultural* capital; referring to the non-monetary *caché* of cultural knowledge and skills that individuals possess and express. Cultural capital is used to develop social relations, education, or employment prospects; or as

Rob Moore expresses it, 'cultural capital is to all intents and purposes a synonym for "status"..' (cited in Grenfell, 2012 [2008]: 99).

Bourdieu uses cultural capital to describe a 'competence in 'legitimate' cultural codes…which is unequally distributed among the social classes, although it has the appearance of an innate talent, a 'natural gift'' (cited in Bennett et al., 1999: 10). According to Bourdieu, there is a power struggle between the ruling class and its subordinate classes (he was influenced by Marxist theory) and this is indicated in people's cultural tastes. Cultural capital has three subtypes according to Bourdieu: embodied, objectified and institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1986a). Embodied cultural capital is knowledge or behaviour that is inherited and acquired over time through socialisation – this can be manifest in the accent, dress, general appearance and behaviour of an individual. Objectified cultural capital refers to physical objects that are owned, which signify judgements of taste (e.g. cars, jewellery, works of art). Institutionalised cultural capital is that which takes the form of academic qualifications and credentials. In one of his latter publications, Bourdieu also introduced the concept of 'technical capital' in line with the other subtypes (Bourdieu, 2005 [2000]: 29); this refers to vocational skills that male working class members of society pass on to family members through socialisation in the home. Feminist academics (Reay, 2000; Silva, 2000) have taken this a step further to suggest that a further subtype of cultural capital, usually conveyed by mothers to children in the home is that of 'emotional capital'. This constitutes 'soft skills' such as empathy, communication, and team-working that can be also be transferable to professional success. Another sub-type of cultural capital; 'subcultural capital' was introduced in the 1990s by Sarah Thornton to interpret the distinctions made by 'hip' young people involved in club culture situating themselves in opposition to the 'mainstream' (Thornton, 1995) (see also Skelton and Valentine, 1998). These sub-types of cultural capital are relevant concepts to consider during my analysis of teen audiences, and in the case of subcultural capital, enable me to be alert to claims about subcultural group membership and discourse relating to non-mainstream practices, knowledge and tastes.

Bourdieu identifies a number of other forms of capital of which cultural capital is just one: economic (financial), social (group membership) and symbolic capital (prestige, honour or recognition). Although these other forms of capital have varying different levels of societal influence (economic being the most powerful), he argues that those with the most cultural capital – usually in the upper classes in society – influence or even *dictate* what is culturally tasteful and therefore of most value in the field of art, culture, and entertainment. For Bourdieu, the lower classes accept this state of play as natural and normal and, and through processes of distinction by the elite, are denied access to the upper echelons of society due to their lack of cultural capital. This could be manifest in a working-class person not possessing the vocabulary to describe a work of art, due to features of their habitus. Bourdieu states on this issue; 'working–class people expect every image to explicitly perform a function', whereas the bourgeoisie can afford to apply a 'pure gaze' (2010 [1984]: xxviii). This relates to the concept of film as art, an idea that was applied to cinema in the 1950s and championed by French film theorists and filmmakers such as François Truffaut and André Bazin, but also adopted by a section of the middle and upper classes in the USA and the UK (Wilinsky, 2001; Tudor, 2006).

Sociologist Tony Bennett is a scholar who has utilised Bourdieu's concepts in multiple research projects on cultural taste and class. Here he concisely synthesises the concept of cultural capital:

> For Bourdieu the culture/power nexus consisted chiefly in a conception of culture as a possession – an asset that some social agents have at the expense of others – that is mobilised to competitive advantage in a series of power-games played in different fields whose relations are structured by the dominance of the economic and political fields over the cultural field.
>
> (Bennett et al., 2009: 20)

Although, as Bennett argues, the economic and political fields dominate over the cultural field, a hierarchy also exists *within* the cultural field. At the top are the 'fully consecrated' high arts of theatre, art, classical music, and literature and at the bottom are 'vulgar' cultural practices such as sport and cookery (Bourdieu, 1990 [1965]: 95). Cinema is categorised by Bourdieu as inhabiting the same 'middle-brow' rung in the cultural hierarchy as jazz and photography:

it is an 'expressive form with the potential to be become recognised as 'art' (cited in Hill, 2004: 30). Film buffs or 'avids' (Donovan and Garey, 2007), film studies academics, film reviewers, and film industry professionals are the chief proponents of specialist knowledge on films. The skillsets that these types of people possess can be viewed as cultural capital in the cinema field. Certainly in the past at least, art-house cinemas would have depended on this specific cultural capital to be present with their audiences in order for their programmes of specialised films and supporting marketing material to be understood and appreciated. However, current advice for cinema marketing from the Independent Cinema Office (ICO) is to use plain English to encourage maximum accessibility for those that have had 'minimal formal education'.[12]

2.2 Field, Doxa, and Illusio

Key terms to introduce at this point are that of field, doxa, and illusio. Broadly speaking, Bourdieu uses the term 'field' as a metaphor for a social space within which struggles or manoeuvres occur over resources or benefits and access to them. Doxa refers to individuals' intuitive knowledge and inherited physical and relational pre-dispositions, developed over time, through experience. In other words, the doxa is what is taken for granted in any particular society. Illusio is Bourdieu's synonym for interest (Grenfell, 2012 [2008]: 151-159), and is a term used to explain why 'individuals invest their time, effort, and emotions – their practice, *themselves* – in specific fields' (Threadgold, 2018: 35). All of these concepts are also bound up with the notion of habitus. I next deconstruct these concepts in the context of my research.

Field

Bourdieu used the word 'field' to describe the domain in which agents and their social positions are located. He argued that 'it is necessary to examine the

[12] As quoted on the ICO's website *Tips for Producing Accessible Marketing and Publicity* http://www.independentcinemaoffice.org.uk/resources/accessibility/marketing accessed 13/11/17.

social space in which interactions, transactions and events occur' (Bourdieu, 2005 [2000]: 148 ; cited in Thomson, 2012 : 67 emphasis in original). The boundaries of fields are indistinct and fluctuating, but can have numerous institutionally established points of entry. The position of individuals in each field is determined by the rules of the field (similar to the rules of a game), the individual's habitus, and their social, economic, and cultural capital.

Although the field of cinema is mostly only alluded to in Bourdieu's works, cinema-going is expressly mentioned within *Distinction.* The cultural value that the intellectual classes perceive from attending art-house cinemas is described as a 'pursuit of maximum 'cultural profit' for minimum economic cost', if attended with a 'frequency and regularity which take away any 'extra-ordinary' quality' (2010 [1984]: 267). In addition Bourdieu offers his commentary on the internal cultural hierarchies within the cinema industry:

> ...we may glance at the oppositions found in the field of the cinema..., where the taste for 'ambitious' works that demand a large cultural investment is opposed to the taste for the most spectacular feature films, overtly designed to entertain (differences which are often accompanied by differences in admission prices and in the geographic location of the cinemas).
>
> (Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]: 267)

In line with Bourdieu's comment above, throughout fieldwork and analysis, I have been sensitive to the importance of differences in admission prices and the geographic location of cinemas within the cityscape, in relation to the stratification of young audiences. Referring to the field of multiplex cinemas, Bourdieu's own views about the spread of these (relatively) modern, often out-of-town, chain exhibition complexes were further revealed in a collection of his speeches and essays published in 2001 on the subject of the 'evils of globalisation' (Bourdieu, 2001a). Significantly, Bourdieu argues here that film culture (amongst other art forms such as literature, theatre, and music), is threatened by economic imperatives and the pressures of the global free market, being subjected to criteria of commodification and short-term profit. Vincent Leitch notes that; 'Bourdieu lists the…increasing….proliferation of multiplex theaters and the disappearance of art cinemas and independent

houses…as instances of eroded autonomy via commercialization' (Leitch, 2001: 162). It is evident then, that not only did Bourdieu regard mainstream cinema and multiplexes as low in the cultural hierarchy, he named them as symptomatic of the global/North American homogenisation and commodification of European art and culture. This strong viewpoint is not necessarily shared by other scholars researching multiplex cinema culture. Discourse can often otherwise be on the technological superiority of surround sound and larger screens (including IMAX) in multiplexes (Kerins, 2010), the ensuing immersive nature of the experience (Van de Vijver, 2017), as well as the 'embodied pleasures' of comfortable and familiar out-of-town venues with ample (and often free) parking (Hubbard, 2003a). Since the 1980s and the rise of the multiplex, these venues and the mainstream films they exhibit can be viewed in opposition with specialised cinemas and their programmes. However there is a caveat, in that there are overlaps, especially in recent years with the 'hybridisation' of cinemas and their programmes. Whereby art-house cinemas programme 'quality mainstream films' and multiplexes screen opera or theatre productions for example.

Turning now to the field of art-house cinemas: these are venues that have traditionally been associated with a sense of exclusivity, intellectualism and prestige: 'high-income, well-educated Americans attended these art theatres, embracing film as more than "mere entertainment"' (Gomery, 1992: 180). Wilinsky offers a description of American 'art film theatres' from a historical perspective: '[they] were most often small theaters in urban areas or university towns that screened "offbeat" films such as independent Hollywood, foreign language, and documentary films' (2000:1). This description of art-house location and programming is still representative for the average specialised cinema as it operates in the UK today and tallies with the present BFI definition of specialised film. Wilinsky goes on to describe art-houses as historically having art galleries and serving coffee in the lobbies and adjoining cafes – also quite common in contemporary specialised cinemas which are often within mixed arts venues incorporating café bars. She summarises the experience as offering 'specialized' and 'intelligent' films to a discriminating audience that paid high admission prices for such distinctions' (Wilinsky,

2001: 1-2). The key words here are 'discriminating' and 'distinctions'; central terms to a Bourdieusian discussion around cultural capital and hierarchy. Bourdieu himself discussed the 'social distinction' ascribed to audiences for art-house cinemas (Bourdieu, 1973).

We have seen then that Bourdieu theorises the social classifications and hierarchies that are bound up with taste. Through the practice of accepting or rejecting different leisure activities and cultural pursuits on the basis of taste, the 'distinguished [are sorted] from the vulgar, and the socially 'high' from the socially 'low', across a potentially infinite number of scales' (Bennett et al., 1999: 9). As Bourdieu has stipulated, distinctions are perceived between different types of cinema (2010 [1984]: 267).

Doxa and Illusio

Bourdieu explains doxa or the 'doxic experience' as:

> …the coincidence of the objective structures and the internalized structures which provides the illusion of immediate understanding, characteristic of practical experience of the familiar universe, and which at the same time excludes from that experience any enquiry as to its own conditions of possibility.
>
> (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980]: 20)

He refers here to the innate knowledge and systems of self-identity in a social space that individuals take for granted. Most people do not overtly question or recognise their doxic experience, because they do not have to. However, people subscribe to a particular field by their practical acknowledgement of what is at stake, implicit in the 'rules of the game'. This recognition, and the acquisition of interests and investments prescribed by the field is termed by Bourdieu as illusio.

In order to relate the concepts of field, doxa, and illusio to my research; I examine issues about the doxa of the field of film consumption and how young people prescribed to these and communicated them (or not). For example, some individuals or groups may express knowledge and tastes for certain

cinemas, film directors, film awards, critic's values, and discourses about film as art, as a marker of their cultural capital. In the next section, I turn to an examination of the key concept of habitus.

2.3 Habitus

Bourdieu's concept of habitus works alongside those of capital, field, doxa, and illusio; and is used to interpret a number of oppositions that determine how we determine the social world. Habitus refers to embedded tendencies, attitudes, and values about society and culture that all people inherit and receive through a process of socialisation. As people live within a culture and develop, they subconsciously develop a habitus that is appropriately modified for their circumstances and in turn passed on to their young dependents, at which point the process repeats itself, albeit in a constant state of gradual flux. This relates to the concept of 'reproduction' being applied to social status through the systems of education, and is developed by Bourdieu and Passeron in *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (1990 [1970]).

Habitus relates to the conundrum of individual autonomy versus sociological determinism. In today's western societies, people like to consider themselves as free agents in a 'free world'. Bourdieu asked how individuals can be free agents when we constantly base our decisions on other people's predictable behaviour, character and opinions – albeit unconsciously. By way of illustration; it is a fair assumption to make that educated middle-class people are not the usual customers in betting shops and working-class people (especially women) have not traditionally joined golf clubs in any great numbers. These are within the doxa of the respective social groups and are not written rules - more unspoken and accepted embedded dispositions - that could limit individuals' motivation to enter a betting shop or a golf club (respectively). Their habitus is likely to be at odds with such establishments and entering them would make them feel uncomfortable and ill at ease. Through the use of the concept of habitus, Bourdieu's intention was to see how individual agency can be reconciled with sociological determinism. Bourdieu

states that the habitus is ‘necessity internalized and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions’; it is a ‘structured and structuring structure’ (2010 [1984]: 166-167). As an another example of habitus in action one young, working-class respondent to a study on access to higher education is quoted as saying, ‘university's not for me - I'm a Nike person’ (Archer et al., 2007: 219). Their habitus is reflected in this statement, in that they make a matter-of-fact assumption about their own life choices. This directly links to Bourdieu’s oft-quoted observation about members of social groups referring to exclusions to their tastes as ‘not for the likes of us’ (Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]: 480).

As detailed in the previous chapter, there is a small range of scholars who have written on the spaces and places of cinemas and the varying significances of their locations to the distinctive experiences that they offer. These studies often refer to Bourdieu’s habitus as a structure for examining embodied film-going tastes. Amongst these scholars are Phil Hubbard (2002; 2003b; 2003a; 2004; 2011; 2016), Jancovich et al (2003) and Maltby et al (2007). Other scholars in this field are: Fiona Devine et al who investigate the link between habitus and capital, and space and place in relation to working class culture (2005), Mark Rimmer and his work on young people and their musical habitus (2006; 2012), and Ailsa (Hollinshead, 2011) on ‘art-house cinema and the absent audience’. Hollinshead’s research involved interviews with adult residents in areas of deprivation; people that did not attend Edinburgh’s two art-house cinemas. Similarly to my own research design, she analysed talk on film viewing choices and practices to ‘gain insights into ways in which these choices and practices could be seen as related to Bourdieu’s concepts of cultural and symbolic capital’ (2011: 392). Hollinshead argues that there is a link between symbolic and cultural capital, and educational and economic deprivation. Her conclusions point to a number of practical proposals that she believes could increase awareness of art-house cinemas’ appeal to people from deprived areas. She concedes however that people from disadvantaged communities’ ‘lack of knowledge kept returning to issues of cultural capital and habitus’, and points to ‘the continuing significance and [detrimental] consequences of classed cultural activities, particularly for those who live in

areas of multiple deprivation' (2011: 409).

Another scholar to use Bourdieusian concepts in relation to cinema is Elizabeth Evans (2011) () (), who conducted a study into the audiences of three independent cinemas in the East Midlands; The Phoenix in Leicester, The Broadway in Nottingham and The Quad in Derby (PBQ consortium). In Bourdieusian terms, this in an investigation into the rules of the specialised cinema field. Evans asserts that the average age of the independent cinema customer is skewed towards older age groups and similarly to Hollinshead, she is concerned with assessing participants' taste patterns. Evans recognises that Bourdieu's conclusions on social hierarchy and taste apply to her sample; 'audiences share a number of attitudes towards films and commercialism in rhetoric strongly reminiscent of Bourdieu's theories of taste' (Evans, 2011: 332). A concept of 'indirect communities' is introduced by Evans (drawing on Benedict Anderson's theory of 'imagined communities' (2004 [1983]), and relating to Stanley Fish's interpretive communities (Fish, 1980). She discusses Anderson's ()()theory of 'imagined communities' as being distinct from her concept mainly in that his members do not usually share a physical space and have limited interaction with each other. Evans refers to her observations of groups of people regularly sharing the cinema space and not conforming to the usual definitions of a community - where members communicate directly with each other.[13] Evans elaborates that her respondents are 'dismissive of audiences that do not fit into a specific set of criteria defined by class, age and etiquette' and instead seek out places and spaces shared with 'indirect communities' that exhibit similar cultural tastes, values and behaviours (2011: 332). As well as the similar class, age and behaviour in evidence, Evans' 'indirect communities' have more factors in common with attendees at music concerts or supporters at sports matches; they are essentially strangers except for their common cultural (or sporting) interest and a fleeting sharing of physical space. In a similar vein, Wilinsky discusses the 'tight community' that

[13] For more on the concept of Community see Day G (2006) *Community and Everyday Life.* Taylor and Francis., Boyle K (2010) Watch with Baby: Cinema, Parenting and Community. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 13(3): 275-290., and Delanty G (2010) *Community.* London ; New York: Routledge.

she experienced when undertaking research for *Sure Seaters*: 'the small size of the art film industry and the warmth with which the interviewees spoke of the art film culture suggests the bond formed by their participation in this unconventional and marginalized community' (2001:9). These discussions of community coalesce with Bourdieu's idea of 'group habitus', in which he puts forward that a collective habitus is possible after an extended period of time, where a shared social experience results in drawing up of boundaries and an exclusivity of practice (Bourdieu, 1984).

Janna Jones coined the specific term 'movie habitus' (2011) in relation to her research on the place of film consumption in the lives of her American undergraduates as they were growing up. She explains here why the term movie-going (or cinema-going) is inadequate and not comprehensive enough in the era of increased domestic and mobile film consumption:

> …'movie-going' implies that audiences must 'go out' to experience its rituals, structures and pleasures, we might do well to replace it with a different term that intimates a situated set of practices that take place in a multiplicity of temporal and spatial zones.
>
> (Jones, 2011: 102)

Jones justifies the use of the term 'movie habitus' by emphasising that it encompasses both geographical factors and place-based practices. For Jones the term also 'accommodates cinema's persistent role in daily life and implies (and reminds us) that movie-going practices exist in multiple temporalities and are situated in shifting geographies' (2011: 102). She cites John Fiske as a forerunner of this idea who states that the concept of habitus:

> …contains the meanings of habitat, habitant, the processes of habitation and habit; particularly habits of thought. A habitat is a social environment in which we live; it is a product of both its position in the social space and of the practices of the social beings who inhabit it.
>
> (Fiske, 1992: 155)

My empirical chapters adopt this idea of the 'film habitus' as a 'structuring structure' for analysis, as well as the other elements of Bourdieu's thinking tools of cultural capital, and field, in order to conclude on practices. Additionally, in later chapters, I adopt and adapt Jones' term to discuss the 'domestic and mobile film habitus' of my young cohort.

2.4 Challenges and Updates to Bourdieu's Concepts

As previously outlined, although the influence of Bourdieu's thinking has spread across the globe and into many different disciplines, his concepts and methodology have not gone unchallenged. His concept of habitus has been criticised by numerous theorists (Crossley, 2001; Lahire, 2003; Bennett, 2007). Tony Bennett et al (2009) consider habitus to be too rigid in its representation of the internal unity of tastes (Bennett et al., 2009: 25-26). French Sociologist Bernard Lahire's (2004) 'sociology of individuals' also contests his inflexible conception of habitus, and others decry Bourdieu's disregard for the feminist literature of the 1970s and 1980s (Skeggs, 2004; Silva and Wright, 2005).

In the early 1990s, a sphere of academics introduced an alternative to what they saw as a cultural capital determinism presented by Bourdieu. This contingent of post-*Distinction* theorists was led by Michèle Lamont (1992), who conducted research into comparing the cultural tastes of the French and American upper-middle classes. Lamont concluded that socio-economic criteria was much more important in American respondents than the cultural hierarchy on display with French participants, therefore demonstrating that Bourdieu's concepts may apply in his home country, but less so in other societies (such as Anglo-American ones). Richard Peterson followed Lamont's study with a report, also from the US, on the 'patterning of culture', in which he concluded that the middle classes were evolving into 'cultural omnivores' (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996). This term refers to his high status respondents' behaviour of demonstrating tastes for different cultural forms from high-brow to popular. His findings have been put to the test in other societies and since Bourdieu published *Distinction* in the 1970s, it has come to be accepted that the educated middle-classes display a wider-range of tastes and practices than other social groups that demonstrate a more univorous type of cultural taste. One such example of a more contemporary corroboration with Peterson is that of Warde and Gayo-Cal's 2009 report on cultural omnivorousness in the UK. They concluded that 'the most omnivorous portion of the population, and also the highest social class, disproportionately embrace legitimate items, suggesting that an omnivorous orientation is a mark of

cultural capital' (Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009: 119). Furthermore, they argue that there is a 'greater polarisation of taste within the younger generation' (Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009: 143) which they attribute to an increase in higher education attainment in this demographic. However, they put forward that socio-economic resources are more influential than tastes when it comes to cultural participation and therefore inequality is more evident in this respect – an aspect that I will develop and explore in relation to film consumption and cinema-going later in the thesis. Another criticism against Bourdieu's work is that the institutions of cultural production, otherwise known as the Cultural Industry (of which film distribution and exhibition are a part), are all but ignored in *Distinction* (Garnham, 1986; Jenkins, 1992).

Will Atkinson challenges Bourdieu's three step model of [(habitus) x (capital)] + field = practice (Bourdieu, 1986b: 101) (see next Section 2.5 for more on this). He argues that Bourdieu omits to address a further three key areas that can significantly affect the lived experience of the 'lifeworld' (as he terms it), the formation of the habitus, and ensuing practices. These three areas are: *multiplicity*, *time-space*, and *social networks* (Atkinson, 2016: 14-19). With multiplicity, Atkinson refers to our practices and experiences being influenced by a 'combination of forces – sometimes harmonizing, sometimes clashing – emanating from multiple fields' (2016: 14). Time-space refers to Bourdieu's lack of attention to the 'physical location and movement not just of the individual but the object and entities, including specific other people….and social milieu' (2016: 16). The concept of time-space connects the people in fields of cultural production with their audiences in a variety of locations and temporalities. Lastly, with social networks, Atkinson is not just referencing digital social networks (which have only become prominent since Bourdieu's death in 2002), but to the wider meanings of the term, including face to face social contact. He puts forward that our tastes and desires, and knowledge are affected by who we associate with as much as our possession of specific capitals. In a statement that encompasses all three of his critiques of Bourdieu, Atkinson says; '[social] networks [are] fundamental to conveying the effects of [multiple] fields differentially across time and space' (2016: 18). My intention then is to attend to the core tenants of Bourdieu's methodology by structuring

my analysis around field, habitus, capital, and practices; whilst also appreciating Atkinson's challenge to consider issues of multiplicity, time-space, and social networks. I elaborate further on my theoretical approach next.

2.5 Theoretical Approach

The application of Bourdieu's 'thinking tools' of cultural capital, field, doxa, illusio, and habitus enable my examination of the social and cultural factors that might limit young people engaging with cultural film and visiting specialised cinemas. In this respect, the concept of habitus is useful in establishing a structure for examining the social and cultural practices connected with cinema-going. Practices result from the relationship between a habitus and a field, and Bourdieu summarises this relationship in the form of the following equation:

$$[(\text{habitus}) \times (\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$$

(Bourdieu, 1986b: 101)

To deconstruct the formula: an individual's practice results from connections between their dispositions (habitus) and their position in a field (capital), within the current circumstances of that social arena (field). To apply this to my research; I examine how capital of various sorts (economic, cultural and social) connect with practices and discourses. Specifically I investigate whether young people's film consumption and cinema-going practices are a result of their assumptions and awareness (or lack of) about the cinemas and films available, within a given time and place (in practice this was between 2014 and 2016 in the city of Norwich, UK). In my thesis I link accounts of cultural capital in use, with an awareness of the field and an analysis of the formation of social groups – a practice that Bennett et al (2009: 11) claim is Bourdieu's major achievement. Specifically, I will use Bourdieu's concepts to inform my analysis of the complex interactions I had with young people and attempt to determine the actual and potential uses of specialised cinemas for young audiences.

Conclusion

In summary, the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu, in particular his concepts of distinction, habitus, cultural capital, field, and hierarchies of taste are argued to be reproduced in society to dictate cultural and media consumption and ultimately affect life chances. These concepts are 'thinking tools' for this study and assist me in making sense of my cohort's discourse on film-watching and cinema-going, in relation to issues of sociocultural difference. The next chapter will detail the quasi-ethnographic methodology I have adopted to address my research questions on the places, values and roles of teenagers' film consumption.

Chapter 3. Researching Teenager's Film Consumption: A Qualitative Methodological Approach

Introduction

I adopted a suite of qualitative methods for my audience research; including focus groups, one-to-one interviews, identity pages, and participant observation. This constitutes a quasi-ethnographic approach, which gives recognition to the sociocultural constructs we live in and the practice of studying people in 'their natural settings….seeking to document that world in terms of the meaning and behaviour of the people in it' (Seale, 2012:248). This suite of qualitative methods was attractive due to the possibility of utilising a number of different techniques to observe and listen to people, and because it is open-ended and adaptable by nature (McCall and Simmons, 1969). Additionally, as Bridget Byrne establishes, qualitative interviewing allows participants to 'speak in their own voices and with their own language', and explores values, meanings and experiences which may have been 'ignored misrepresented, or suppressed in the past' (Byrne, 2012: 209-210). The latter point being particularly applicable to teenage audience groups; whose voices are underrepresented in wider audience studies scholarship, and arguably in wider society and the public sphere.

Philippe Meers and Daniel Biltereyst, argue the following in relation to appropriate methodology for researching the social practices of cinema-going:

> In order to engage the lived experiences of ordinary audiences in their social, historical and cultural context and to investigate the role of cinema within everyday life and within leisure culture, scholars often turn to qualitative methodologies, small research designs and micro-level ethnographic approaches.
>
> (Meers and Biltereyst, 2012: 91)

When using ethnographic methods, it is a process of collecting and analysing data that has been produced on the basis of research questions and a chosen theoretical framework. The ensuing theories that are developed then guide subsequent data collection. This method is part of the tradition of *grounded theory* as introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Strauss argues that the

coding process favoured by grounded theory allows for the 'breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing of data' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 61). This coding approach appealed to me as tool to organise and analyse my data in pursuit of answers to my research questions.

All research needs to consider its ethical implications, but especially if there are potentially vulnerable groups involved – including participants aged under 18. In this chapter I detail these considerations, and discuss the notion of reflexivity in relation to ethics. I needed to research young individuals and groups of teens from different social backgrounds and in different locations, so I established a sampling strategy to achieve this, elaborated on in Section 3.1. Following that (in Section 3.2), I examine the groups of research participants in relation to the interview settings I established at the sampling stage, such as youth clubs and schools/colleges, and consider the significance of these locations. I had to determine the different practices, tastes, and values regarding film consumption and cinema-going and decided that the best way to do this was to talk directly with teenagers, ideally in focus groups but also in one-to-one interviews. This was in order to have primary engagement with research participants, for as Nightingale argues, ''exchange' between the researcher and the research subjects is the medium that assists the transformation of ideas and thoughts into the words and activities recorded' (Nightingale, 2008: 105). Although I was interested in what young people *say* in relation to their leisure and film consumption practices, I was also concerned with what they *do*; the behaviours and attitudes that they demonstrate in-situ. Therefore I also met small groups or individuals (if aged 18) in cinemas in order to observe practices first-hand (detailed in 3.3.4). In Section 3.3 I explain each method employed and discuss them in more detail. I now turn to the subject of designing the fieldwork, with a focus on the sampling strategy.

3.1 Fieldwork Design: The Sample

As Bourdieu's *Distinction* is concerned with the 'detailed explication of the lifestyle of differences of differing class fractions' (cited in Jenkins, 1992:

138), so my research is concerned with young people from different social groups. The intention was always to research a range of participants from a variety of socio-economic, educational, and cultural contexts. The total sample population for my research was the population of Norwich in the 13-18 age group. From census figures this equates to more than 9000 young people.[14] As my research is a relatively small-scale qualitative investigation, for logistical reasons my sample required a practicable cross-section of this wider population. I planned to interview a maximum of 40 young people, some in groups; this was in order to have as illustrative and diverse a sample as I could physically undertake within the economic and time restraints of the project.

I selected my initial participants through maximum variation sampling whereby I sought out young people that have 'varying experiences and characteristics', in the hope that 'a complete range of possible experiences will be included' (Seale, 2012:145). To elaborate, I needed to ensure that I recruited from a range of different areas of the city of Norwich and the wider county of Norfolk; including areas of relative prosperity and those of social deprivation. However, in order for me to still be able to identify patterns and commonalities within and across certain groups, I realised that this variation had to be within reason. In order to achieve this, I recruited via a careful selection process. First by identifying the range of geographic areas that I needed to cover, and then by contacting teachers and youth leaders in those areas who acted as gatekeepers and suggested particular groups or individuals with varying educational or domestic experiences and backgrounds.[15]

In order to select a representative sample of the whole 13-18 age group, I considered stratifying factors relevant to my study. This included looking at life stage, a factor that meant they were in the age category for compulsory

[14] This figure is calculated as 6.7% (the proportion of 15-19 year olds) of the total Norwich population of 141,000 (ONS Census 2011 data).
[15] There is more detail on the settings of interviews in 3.2, and information on Norwich and Norfolk, participants' residential areas, and educational background in the following chapter.

education or vocational training (until the age of 18), implying that schools and colleges were prime grounds for initial recruitment.

I also considered ethnicity, gender, and disability as factors. Just 9.2% of the Norwich population is Black, Asian or from a Minority Ethnic group (BAME).[16] I managed to engage four BAME individuals, representing 9.3% of my total cohort – tallying neatly with the overall picture for the area. There is a slight skew towards females in the young population of Norwich, with 52% female.[17] My cohort was again relatively representative in this respect, as I engineered to interview 48% female, 48% male and the remaining 4% reporting as neither (two participants were 'gender fluid' and 'agender' respectively). Although 18.39% of the Norwich population state that their day-to-day activities are limited by their health and 7.4% claim incapacity benefits,[18] I did not actively seek out disabled participants and I did not expressly ask about this issue, as I did not consider it a defining stratifying factor in terms of film tastes and cinema-going. During the course of the fieldwork, only two disabilities / health issues were spoken about during discussions however, representing just 5% of my total cohort. Specifically, within one group both participants' leisure time and lifestyle appeared to be curtailed by learning difficulties or physical ailments (respectively).[19] In retrospect, I believe it would have been of value to have proactively sought out

---

[16] Census 2011, ONS.

[17] Number of 15-19 year olds in Norwich 8,838 making up 6.7% of total Norwich pop. (4,305 male, 4,533 female). From 2011 Census c/o Norfolk Insight a Norfolk County Council Community Data resource. Accessed 19/01/15. *http://www.norfolkinsight.org.uk/profiles/profile?profileId=214&geoTypeId=#iasProfileSection1*

[18] Disability: day to day activities limited Norwich 18.39% England & Wales 17.92%. % general health is good/ very good Norwich 80.29% England and Wales 81.19% Source: Census 2011, ONS. c/o Norwich City Council Key Statistics November 2013 http://www.norwich.gov.uk/YourCouncil/pages/KeyStatistics.aspx accessed 19/01/15.

[19] One participant had 'global development mental delay' and is on the autistic spectrum and so was not as independent as other 17 year olds. The other member of that group was anaemic and had a low immune system, meaning that she often experienced chronic fatigue.

a greater proportion of young people affected by physical disabilities or learning difficulties in order to have had more representation of the diverse experiences of teenagers. Saying this, I learned of at least five participants' parents that were unemployed due to disability or illness (representing 6% of parents); a factor that could have been a contributory factor to the young people's socio-economic status, and subsequent leisure practices.

With my Bourdieusian framework in mind, I considered the elements that might determine a lower-status socio-economic background and would need to be investigated during the interviews. These were the factors that I identified, all of which could only really be related to their parents or guardians due to their status as minors:

- Social class – measured via parental occupation measures in the census or multiple indices of deprivation by postcode.
- Level of education – 51.7% of Norwich students achieved 5 or more A*-C grades at GCSE or equivalent including English and Maths. 22.6% leave school with no qualifications and 27.7% are qualified to degree level or above.[20]
- Employment (or claiming benefits) – 39% of the Norwich population are employed in higher level occupations such as managers, professional and technical jobs.[21]
- Benefits claimants – 15.9% of the total Norwich population is of working age and claiming benefits.[22]
- Family structure and household – nuclear, single-parent family, step-family etc.

In order to find respondents representing specific stratifying elements - such as lower socio-economic status - I contacted youth workers that facilitated youth

[20] Qualifications/school attainment sources: Pupil performance tables 2012 (Norfolk Insight; comparator = England) and (d,e) Census 2011. c/o Norwich City Council Key Statistics November 2013 http://www.norwich.gov.uk/YourCouncil/pages/KeyStatistics.aspx accessed 19/01/15.
[21] Working age population sources: 2011 Census, ONS; and ASHE 2012. c/o Norwich City Council Key Statistics, November 2013. http://www.norwich.gov.uk/YourCouncil/pages/KeyStatistics.aspx accessed 19/01/15.
[22] Benefits/claimants sources: ONS, 2013 c/o Norwich City Council Key Statistics, November 2013 http://www.norwich.gov.uk/YourCouncil/pages/KeyStatistics.aspx accessed 19/01/15.

clubs in areas of social deprivation. This had the additional benefit of being able to hear from young people in a more relaxed environment than formal education, where they spoke more freely and reported candidly about their leisure activities.

Regarding the participant observations that I undertook, the sample developed from my initial interviews and focus groups. I selected individuals and groups to invite for a cinema trip based upon their age (i.e. the older end of the teenage spectrum), their engagement with the topics discussed, their availability, and with the consideration of ensuring an even spread of different types of young people.

Part of the initial process was establishing a viable question schedule for the focus groups and interviews. I formulated my first question schedule using my research questions as a starting point. The questions in my first drafted schedule were somewhat stark and limited. In response, I adapted the list of questions to include a few more that could inspire a more fluent and revealing discussion about cinema-going practices. For example, I formulated a question outlining a hypothetical situation where each young person is given £50 for a night out. The question asked where they would go (i.e. which cinema), what film they would screen, who they would invite to join them, and which drinks and snacks they would purchase. A full question schedule template can be found in Appendix A. It should be noted however, that this schedule was customised for each focus group or interview. The next stage was implementing the successful engagement of an appropriate and achievable number of teenagers from diverse backgrounds for my focus groups. The next section presents information on this task and details the specific settings of my fieldwork.

3.2 Interview Settings

The sites of my interviews and focus groups were all in the city of Norwich (although this does not mean to say that all interviewees lived in the city).[23]

[23] More information on the significance of the specific areas of Norwich and Norfolk where my participants resided is provided in the next chapter.

Throughout the course of conducting my data collection, I held a total of 26 sessions with 42 different young participants (mostly in groups). I spoke with some participants on two or three different occasions, and one on four occasions. The locations of the sessions can be grouped into five general types; suburban youth club, city youth club, estate youth club, school or college, and leisure setting.

The different interview settings impacted upon the differing levels of participants' self-disclosure. The sessions that took place in schools and colleges were generally less fluent and revealing than those in leisure settings. By way of example, there were more expressions of subcultural scenes and LGBTQ+ identifications in the city youth club than in City College (alternatively this trend could also have been evident because there was a higher concentration of LGBTQ+ and subcultural youth in the city youth club). I next provide further details about each of the five setting categories, in order to provide full context of the geographic, demographic, economic, and sociocultural character of the spaces and places in which I undertook the fieldwork.

3.2.1 Suburban Youth Club

The suburban youth club is actually called a 'Teen Café' and takes place in Sprowston, a suburban town north of Norwich City Centre.[24] It is run by a community supported youth organisation called the Sprowston Youth Engagement Project (SYEP), with whose youth workers I liaised in order to gain access. This is a weekly drop-in youth club for 13 to 18 year olds which takes places most Tuesday evenings in an annexe behind St Cuthbert's Church (see Figure 3.2.1). The SYEP website advertises that attendees can 'socialise with friends, meet new friends, learn new skills and get advice and support or be referred onto services, with a particular emphasis on drug and alcohol issues, sexual health, mental health and emotional well-being.'[25] Out of the six

[24] Further details on Sprowston and the other geographic areas mentioned in this chapter are provided in Chapter 4.
[25] Sprowston Youth Engagement Project (2018), About SYEP. Available at: https://syepcafe.wordpress.com/about/ accessed: 13/04/18.

teenagers that I interviewed at this venue, four of them lived in Sprowston itself and two lived in the village of Spixworth (four miles away). All of the Teen Café respondents attended Sprowston Community High Academy which has 1200 students aged 11-18 of which 10% are registered for free school meals (lower than the national average of 13.4%).[26] It was given a 'Requires Improvement' rating from OFSTED in March 2015.

Figure 3.2.1 St Cuthbert's Church exterior and interior of the Annexe[27]

3.2.2 City Youth Club

The city youth club is the OPEN Drop In Youth Hub; a service for young people aged 11-19 based within a large youth venue in Norwich city centre. The central position and large size of the building, as well as the remodelling of the indoor spaces into leisure areas (complete with a climbing wall, easy chairs and sofa, café style tables, pool tables, a gaming area, and audio-visual facilities) ensures that this is both a functional and comfortable venue for the teens to regularly meet and mingle. See Figure 3.2.2 for exterior and interior photographs of OPEN.

---

[26] Tutor Hunt https://www.tutorhunt.com/schools/sprowston-community-high-school/ accessed 13/04/18.

[27] St Cuthbert's Church exterior. Picture credit: Steve Adams. https://www.edp24.co.uk/news/sprowston-youth-support-group-seeking-volunteers-for-dementia-fundraiser-1-5112263.
Interior of the St Cuthbert's Church Annexe where Sprowston Teen Café takes place. Picture credit: http://www.syep.co.uk accessed 13/04/18.

Figure 3.2.2 OPEN exterior and interior of Drop-In Youth Hub (2015).[28]

Attendees of the drop-in centre are from Norwich and its suburbs mainly, but young people also travel in from outlying rural parts of the county. The drop-in attendees themselves are often alternative in their appearance with lots of different vivid hair colours, piercings and tattoos on display. There was evidence of attendees being much more into scenes (e.g. YouTubers, or Straight Edge) than in the suburban and estate youth clubs, with a (previously mentioned) relatively high proportion of LGBTQ+ attendees (in my cohort at least). OPEN is promoted and maintained as a safe space for anyone in the age group to 'have somewhere to go and something to do! Feel safe, try new things and be themselves',[29] which could explain the potential skew of alternative and LGBTQ+ respondents from this setting.

3.2.3 Estate Youth Club

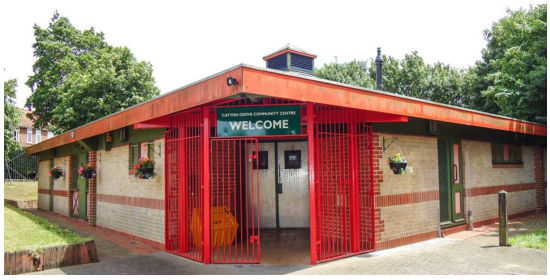
I was able to interview four young people in three sessions at the Catton Grove Youth Club. Catton Grove itself is situated less than two miles north of Norwich City centre. It incorporates a large social housing estate built by Norwich City Council in the 1930s as part of a city centre slum clearance initiative. Although the estate is relatively well served in relation to shops, parks, schools, churches, a library, health facilities and a community centre, it is known as an area of high social deprivation. Catton Grove is placed within the top 5% in the country for educational deprivation. The local secondary

[28] OPEN Youth Venue. Picture credits https://opennorwich.org.uk/about-us/what-we-do/ accessed 13/04/18.
[29] OPEN website (2018), available at https://opennorwich.org.uk/youth-activities/whats-on/drop-in/ accessed 13/04/18.

school, Sewell Park Academy in 2016 was 'Inadequate' according to OFSTED and a third of the students (30%) were eligible for free school meals.[30]

The Youth Club is held in the Catton Grove Community Centre, situated in the middle of the estate. It is a functional brick building with imposing permanent security gates to protect the centre from out-of-hours break-ins. The interior's centre is a moderately-sized hall with its own kitchen. There is space for up to 30 young people to do activities such as crafting, playing pool, and pizza-making (See Figure 3.2.3).

Figure 3.2.3 Estate Youth Club Exterior and Interior[31]



3.2.4 Schools and Colleges

Schools and colleges were productive locations as a recruitment base for teen participants. I contacted students via their teachers at Open Academy (not connected with OPEN Youth Venue), City College Norwich, Wymondham College, and City of Norwich School (CNS). I interviewed young people on site at City College, Wymondham College, and CNS.

---

[30] Free school meal information found via https://get-information-schools.service.gov.uk/Establishments/Establishment/Details/142058 accessed 08/10/19.

[31] Catton Grove Community Centre exterior. Picture Credit https://www.facebook.com/cattongrovecentre/
Catton Grove Youth Club interior. Picture credit: https://www.networknorwich.co.uk/Articles/438948/Network_Norwich_and_Norfolk/Regional_News/Norwich/Christian_youth_project_extends_work_in_Norwich.aspx accessed 08/10/19.

The Open Academy is a relatively new secondary school, which was formerly Heartsease High. It changed to academy status in 2008 and moved into its new-build site in 2010. It is sponsored by the Bishop of Norwich and run by the Diocese of Norwich Educational and Academies Trust. The total intake is 900 and the quantity of pupils that qualify for free school meals is higher than the national average at 23.2%.[32] The OFSTED inspection from April 2015 (valid at the time of my data collection) rated the school as 'Good'. Circumstances transpired to enable my focus group with Open Academy students to take place on a train journey as part of a school trip to Cambridge.

City College is a college of further and higher education based just to the south of Norwich city centre. It is one of the largest colleges of its kind in the UK, with over 11,000 students. Its intake of students includes those aged 16+ from all over Norfolk. The college offers traditional academic A Level subjects as well as a wide range of vocational courses, including apprenticeships.

Wymondham College is unique in that it is a state boarding school (although not all pupils board and are instead termed 'day pupils'). On its website, it is noted that the college is in the top 20 state schools in the Country, the highest performing state school in the East of England and having an 'Outstanding' OFSTED rating (from November 2007). It also cites competitive boarding fees at just over £10,000 a year as a reason for parents to send their children to the School (significantly lower than most other boarding school fees).[33] The percentage of students that qualify for free school meals at Wymondham College is much lower than both the other schools and the national average at 3.5%.[34]

---

[32] Information on Open Academy's free school meals found at https://get-information-schools.service.gov.uk/Establishments/Establishment/Details/135650 accessed 08/10/19.
[33] Information from Wymondham College website (2018), available at https://www.wymondhamcollege.org/ accessed 18/04/18.
[34] Information about Wymondham College's free school meals found at https://get-information-schools.service.gov.uk/Establishments/Establishment/Details/136481 accessed 08/10/19.

City of Norwich School is a long-established state comprehensive which is now deemed an 'academy converter school' and run by the Ormiston Academies Trust. It was rated 'Good' by OFSTED in October 2016. It is two miles south of the city centre and its catchment area is the NR2 Golden Triangle and NR4 Eaton village areas; populated mostly with middle-class families and professionals. However, it also takes students from Earlham, Tuckswood, and Lakenham; known city suburbs of deprivation, resulting in 13.7% of pupils qualifying for free school meals.[35]

3.2.5 Public Leisure Settings: Cafés and Cinemas

On two occasions I met with individual young people in café environments. This was due to the fact that for these encounters I did not make contact via a gatekeeper (they were 18) so there was no formal setting to use for the session. Meeting in a café had its advantages in that it is a relatively relaxed setting not usually associated with formal education, so my expectation was that it would encourage free and frank responses. Additionally, (as discussed later in 3.3.4) I met a number of participants in cinemas on seven different occasions.

3.3 Methods Employed

In this section I detail the processes and the particular methods I used to realise my data collection and analysis strategy. I provide information on the ethical considerations for the delivery of each method, including participant observations. The final subsection concerns the post-interview stages of transcription and analysis.

3.3.1 Ethical Considerations

The main ethical consideration in relation to my research was that I needed to

[35] Info about CNS free school meals found at https://get-information-schools.service.gov.uk/Establishments/Establishment/Details/141269 accessed 29/11/19.

gain informed consent and ensure confidentiality. There was an added complication in that most of my participants, although not all, were under the age of eighteen. Therefore, there was the understanding from the outset that I would need to obtain informed consent for the interviews from parents or teachers if they were indeed aged 13-17, or from participants themselves if they were 18 and therefore legally responsible for themselves. As such I had two versions of my informed consent form; one for those under the age of 18 and one for those that were aged 18 (an example of the under 18 form can be found in Appendix B). In terms of confidentiality, I was systematic in fully anonymising all contributions. This meant that participants' names were changed, pseudonyms were applied, and that all identifying information in the data was anonymised and de-identified. I broached the subject of the informed consent forms, first with gatekeepers, providing them with a copy. I made it clear that the session would be recorded by a digital voice recorder and that I would be transcribing the talk and using anonymised results only in my written work. Some of the gatekeepers were able to provide group consent (as they had procedures in place to allow this), participants aged 18 signed their own forms, and I sought parental consent for the remainder.

Another issue that I consider to be bound up with ethical considerations, is that of positionality. The nature of qualitative research is that it sets the researcher as the data collection instrument. Positionality relates my stance to that of my research participants'; in terms of gender, class, ethnicity, age, nationality, sociocultural background etc. It is reasonable to expect that the researcher's beliefs, tastes, cultural background, etc., are important variables that may affect the research process. Just as research participants' experiences are framed in sociocultural contexts, so too are those of the researcher. The researcher inevitably moulds and shapes the project throughout, and complete neutrality is impossible to obtain: 'there is no position from which sociological research can be done that is not biased in one or another way' (Becker, 1967: 245). The importance of reflexive research is also an intrinsically Bourdieusian concern with the focus on the imbalance of power relations. For Bourdieu, the academic should conduct their research by continually reflecting back upon

their own habitus; their dispositions learned through long social and institutional training (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). An attempt to rectify this imbalance entails the researcher to be reflexive about their positionality and its effect on the process and outcomes of research.

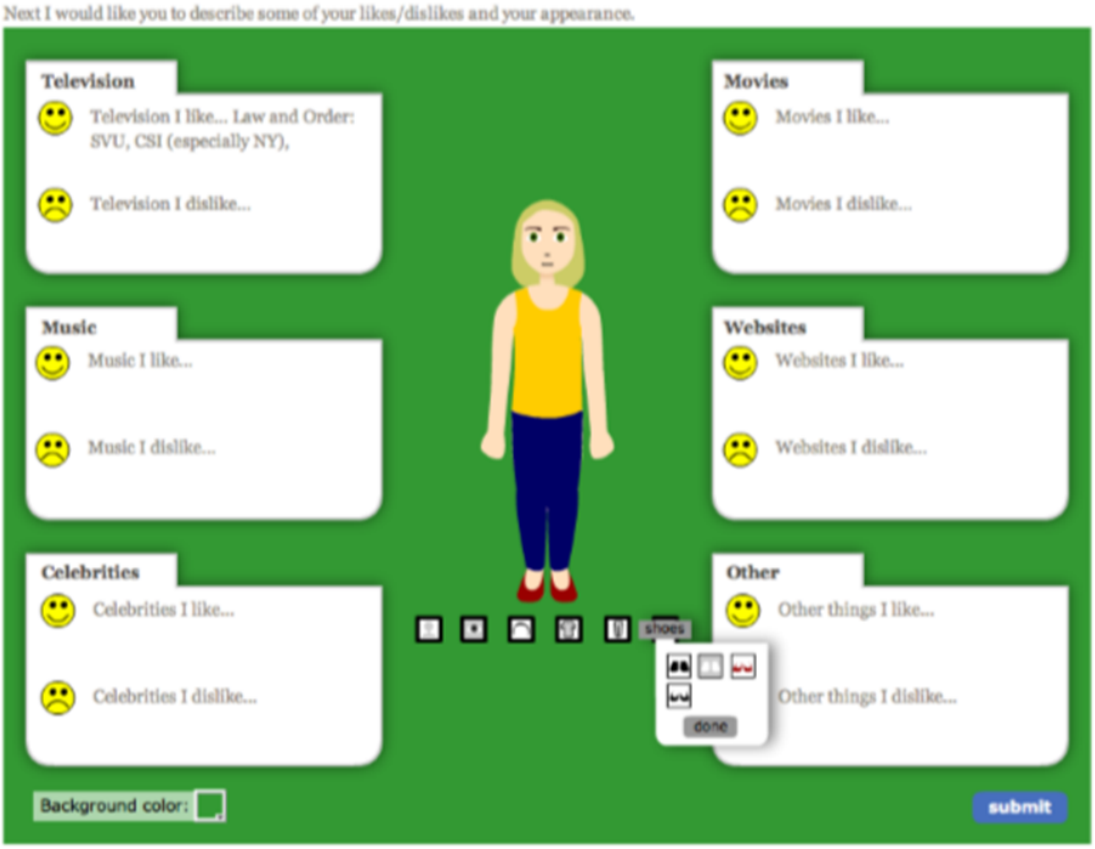
I am a White British, female, able-bodied, post-graduate researcher. I mostly grew up in the Norwich suburbs, attended a suburban state comprehensive school, and my parents were public sector employees (health visitor and social worker), placing me in the C1 (ABC1) social grade category (more on this in Chapter 4). I was aged between 38 and 40 when I conducted my interviews. As such I was significantly older than my teen participants and I concede that at times this was a significant factor in the interview dynamics. On entering the youth clubs and schools, I initially felt out of place, sensing my own habitus as being at odds with the venues. I attribute this to the fact that I was neither a young person, or a youth worker, or a teacher, and was unfamiliar with most venues (at least on the first occasion of visiting). However, every time, I was then aligned with the youth workers, teachers, or staff who introduced me to their charges as a university researcher there to ask them about their film and media consumption. This was a necessity as I could not just arrive unannounced, and start interviewing. I understand that this then meant the participants then associated me with the adults leading the youth club, or teaching them. I believe this mostly achieved a positive effect, as there appeared to be trust and respect between the young people and their youth leaders and teachers. Additionally, the subject of our discussions seemed to put young people at ease; most participants seemed to enjoy sharing their film and media habits and preferences, and movie-going experiences, with me. It helped sometimes that I took popcorn with me – a literal 'sweetener'. However, I do concede that the data thereby collected was influenced by my positionality as an adult in an authoritative position, and possible issues of reliability within their personal testimonies may be present. I took other measures to counteract this disparity in power relations; I made every effort to be patient and inclusive with my interviewing, which was challenging at times especially with relatively large groups of (four or five) excitable younger teens in youth venues.

This consideration about my positionality leads me to reflect on the question of whether I am one of Bourdieu's 'established *petit bourgeoisie'* (see Jenkins, 1992: 144-145), with a 'dream of social flying, a desperate effort to defy the gravity of the social field' (Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]: 371). If I am, then perhaps Bourdieu is too. He himself came from a modest background in Southern France (his father was a postal worker), and worked his way up in intellectual, educational, and cultural fields. *Distinction* (2010 [1984]), Bourdieu's seminal study of cultural taste in France lacks any self-reflexivity. Critics have argued that Bourdieu 'betrays his membership of French bourgeois cultural networks. Despite his good intentions, this elevated point of view taints the entire discussion with the sub-text of the author's own distinction (and that of his intended audience)' (Jenkins, 1992: 149). My intention with this section, and throughout this project, was to provide and consider self-reflexivity to counteract any unchecked biases and predispositions.

3.3.2 Identity Pages

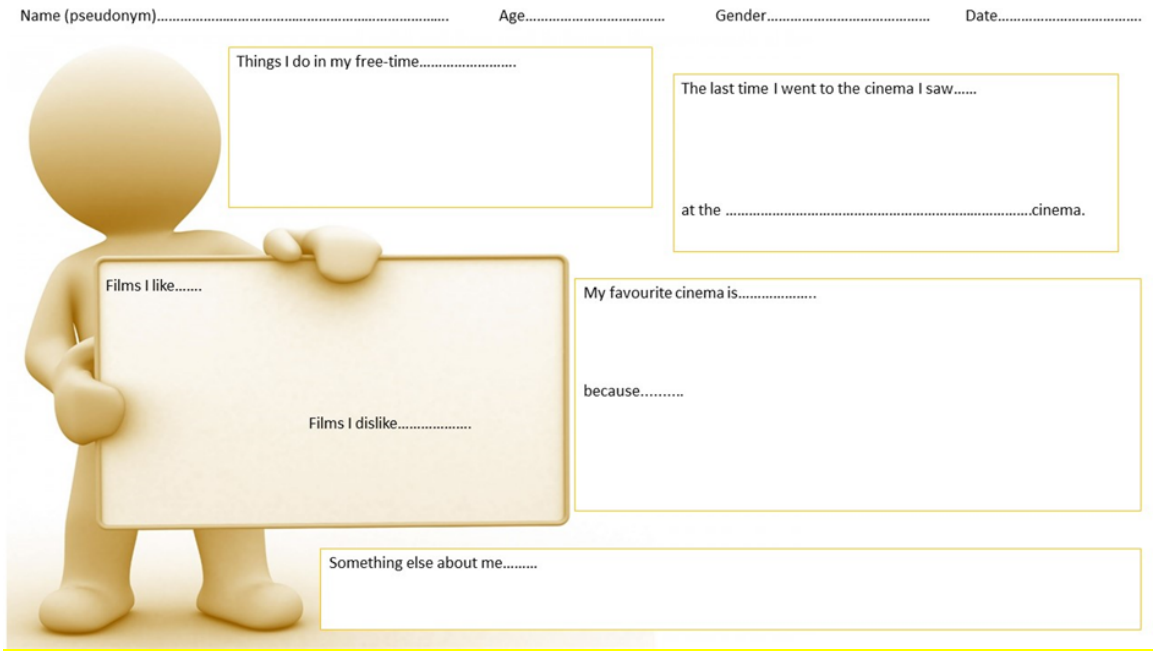
Early in the data collection process I encountered Victoria Cann's research on the (re)production of gender in contemporary taste cultures; which she investigated via focus groups with high school students in Norfolk schools (Cann, 2013). This project is relevant to my own in terms of subject but also in the suite of qualitative methods adopted. Of particular interest were some creative methods Cann had implemented; including the use of an identity (ID) page that the students were asked to fill out electronically via a secure website, in advance of discussions with her. These pages asked her participants about their likes and dislikes in the fields of television, music, movies, celebrities, and online culture (see Figure 3.3.2a for a template of Cann's ID page). Cann negotiated with teachers in four different schools for them to undertake the completion of the ID page via the website within lessons. The exercise was used by Cann as a means to 'empower participants so that they were able to use their own words as much as possible' (Cann, 2013: 107), the data also provided contextual information in advance of focus groups and were used as elicitation within discussions.

Figure 3.3.2a Victoria Cann's Identity Page (www.sothisisme.net)



I adopted Cann's ID page as part of my methodology because of the benefits of having an activity to start a focus group with, where all participants could think about, and express, their broad tastes. I adapted the ID page by changing the area of focus to correspond with my own research questions; enquiring about leisure-time activities, film tastes, cinema-going behaviour and a general 'Something else about me…' section. I decided not to make this a digital exercise or ask teachers to encourage their students to complete this in lesson-time, instead my ID page was a hand-out that I used an ice-breaker exercise at the start of focus groups. It also acted as a creative prompt or as 'stimulus material' (Barbour, 2013), and a self-written record of my participants' main demographic information (name, age, gender etc.) and general tastes in terms of film consumption (see Figure 3.3.2b for my ID page design).

Figure 3.3.2b My ID page template.



3.3.3 Focus Groups and Interviews

The bulk of my data collection was achieved via focus groups. This method has a 'synergistic effect' (Stewart and Shamdasani, 2014), enabling discussion and debate between participants and the researcher. This was useful for my project in that it was effective in being able to put the teenagers at ease as they were with peers, and it enabled me to spontaneously dig deeper into issues (unlike with survey responses for example). I conducted 15 specific focus groups with between two and four participants in each, totalling encounters with 39 different participants.[36] I endeavoured not to conduct my focus groups in overly formal or contrived settings and instead attempted to find more informal environments or leisure settings to meet my teen participants in (as discussed in 3.2).

Being a part-time researcher, I undertook my focus groups over an extended period of nineteen months commencing in December 2014. This was also

[36] This does not include the pre and post film discussions I had with young people at cinemas, or the one to one interviews conducted.

partly due to recruitment being a drawn-out process due to logistical and practical implications and problems that arose from the focus of working with teenagers. One such issue was the reliance on responses (in terms of communications about arrangements) from busy gatekeepers and sometimes with the young people themselves, which were not always timely or reliable. Additionally, on some occasions on arrival at a venue, teenagers were not willing to speak to me, and on other occasions they simply did not attend a rendezvous. I therefore had to be receptive and adaptable in my fieldwork, according to responsiveness and availability. These issues meant the data collection period was quite a long timeframe, ending in the summer of 2016 during school and college exam season; a factor preventing a big turnout at the last youth club I attended.

A focus group early in the process with a group of four AS Level students in a city FE college was key to honing how I communicated and facilitated discussions with participants. The two boys (17 years old) seemed friendly with each other, as did the two girls (16 years old) with each other, but all together one of the girls was awkward and reluctant to answer much detail and the other nervously over-shared, about their home lives in particular. This latter participant inexplicably revealed excessively personal information about her family and on reflection rescinded her participation the following day (whereupon I completely redacted her responses from transcription). This particular focus group did not reveal enough relevant data from half of the group (the girls). Lessons I learned from this were:

- To establish friendship patterns (via gatekeeper) and formulate focus group accordingly.
- Make it clear that opinions should be respected and that anything that is said in the group should be treated as confidential by all.
- Do not have four together in a group as it took so long to ask every participant the same question in turn, or alternatively have more of an organic conversation (i.e. do not systematically ask the same question of every participant).
- Do not spend too long asking about family and leisure habits.
- Add more questions about cinema-going behaviours for future interviews (e.g. on in-cinema behaviour, cinema-going companions etc.).

I next describe the general pattern that I established for the main bulk of my focus group activity. When teachers or youth workers responded to an initial approach, I asked them to identify small groups of friends in the right age group (also bearing in mind the intention to achieve an even split across the whole sample), and presented the informed consent form. At the venue, the gatekeeper would then usually approach the young people and invite them to speak to me, in a group. We would then be directed to a relatively quiet, but not too secluded space (e.g. a table in the drop-in area at a youth venue, a reading room, or a lounge). I learned early on that a little incentive for young people's willing participation was free food, so I usually had the cinema-themed snack of popcorn in bowls on the table for them to help themselves to.

I started with an introduction, telling them broadly about my research without stating too much about my intentions – in order to avoid leading responses. I would reiterate most points in the informed consent form; for example telling them that I would be recording the conversation and that they could stop it at any time, as well as the anonymization of their names. After this introduction I would give them a blank ID page, allowing them a few minutes to fill it out on their own (sometimes there was conferring between friends). The session itself would then usually take between 40 minutes and not much more than 60 minutes, depending on the responses and signs of any flagging attentions. I would have a question schedule and select from this according to the direction of the discussion. The questions were open-ended and flexible. As such the focus groups were semi-structured allowing for an organic fluency of discussion whilst also ensuring I covered the main points of my enquiry. At the end of a focus group I would always thank them, and sometimes suggest a follow-up session and/or a cinema trip.

I undertook a total of four one-to-one interviews which enabled me to get in-depth responses and thicker description than for the focus groups. This happened with two individuals at one of the youth clubs I attended. In both cases I was in a public area where youth workers were in sight. I held two other one-to-one interviews, with participants (aged 18) in café spaces.

3.3.4 Participant Observation

My research has a focus on the places and spaces of film consumption. As such I believed it important to directly experience attending cinemas with a number of teenagers. For Amin and Thrift (2002), a discomfort with space and place mostly occurs in the 'cognitive unconscious' and so behaviour in leisure spaces is intuitive, improvised and needs to be elicited in focus group discussions, and/or observed in practice. There are numerous other studies that use participant observation to investigate audiences and the hierarchy of taste cultures: including Dobson and Pitts' empirical study of new attendees at classical concerts (2011), and Claudio Benzecry's work on opera audiences (2011). As previously stated, Phil Hubbard investigated multiplex cinemas as sites of embodied leisure and argues on the corporeal significance of being physically present in a venue:

> Rejecting the traditional conception of a centred cognitive being, such corporeal understandings interpret leisure settings as more than contextual: they are instead regarded as material spaces that the body works and negotiates. This embodied perspective stresses that individuals are only able to express themselves in leisure spaces through their body – corporeal physicality representing the basis of 'being in the world'.
>
> (Hubbard, 2003a: 257)

Hubbard's views relate closely to Bourdieu's concept of habitus as the system of cultural tastes and dispositions that are lived at the physical or bodily level. Indeed, Jancovich et al claim that many groups experience barriers to participation with particular cinemas that are not simply an effect of economic deprivation or a lack of media literacy but are connected to their habitus (Jancovich et al., 2003).

The basic empirical objectives for the participant observation encounters were to observe for behavioural markers of participants' sociability and community, relaxation, or alienation, territorial stress, and discomfort. However, I also interviewed participants after (and sometimes before) I attended a film screening with them, so had the opportunity to ask them direct questions to further explore their cinema-going experience.

On seven occasions I met with couples or groups of participants in three different cinemas; including Vue, Cinema City and Hollywood (Anglia Square). A full list of the participant observation encounters (in chronological order) follows:

1. Jamie (Cultural Alternative) - *Avengers: Age of Ultron* (2015, Joss Whedon) at Cinema City on 24/04/15.
2. Erika (Cultural Alternative) and James (Suburbanite) – *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay Part 2* (2015, Francis Lawrence) at Vue on 04/12/15.
3. Camilla, Grace, Lila, Dominic, and Peter (Boarders and Urbanites) - *Lady in the Van* (2015, Nicholas Hytner) at Cinema City on 28/11/15.
4. Michael and Mandy (Suburbanites) - *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (2015, J.J. Abrams) at Hollywood Anglia Square on 25/01/16.
5. Erika and James - *A Bigger Splash* (2015, Luca Guadagnino) at Cinema City on 24/02/16.
6. Emma and Harry (Cultural Alternatives) - *Our Kind of Traitor* (2016, Susanna White) at Cinema City on 21/05/16.
7. Josh and Mitch (Estate Dwellers) – *Tale of Tales* (2015, Matteo Garrone) at Cinema City on 18/06/16.

The purpose of these visits to cinemas with participants, was to observe behaviours and practices, and stimulate conversation about the actual films and venues in-situ. I invited approximately half of my cohort to visits at cinemas (in groups) following our focus groups. The informed consent form included a section on this activity so ethical clearance was covered. Some I did not invite as they were too young (at age 13 or 14), and some agreed to meet up but stopped communicating with me in the period after our first meeting for reasons unknown. At first I invited the young people to choose a cinema themselves, and each time they selected the film from the programme of their chosen cinema on the agreed day. This was part of the observation in order to assess their cinema and film tastes and be able to enquire about their decision-making processes. On the day of the encounter, I generally met them in the box office, we bought tickets, on a few occasions had a pre-film chat and bought snacks, watched the film, and always followed this up with a more in-depth (recorded) conversation afterwards. These interviews were transcribed separately to the main body of focus groups and interviews, and detailed notes of the encounters were incorporated. However, analysis of the findings have been integrated into my main empirical chapters (Chapters 6 and 7).

Specific problems of researching young people have been identified by other scholars: Fine and Sandstrom argue that as 'grown-ups' we are limited by our tendency to process young people's talk through our own worldview (Fine and Sandstrom, 1988: 9). As previously discussed, researcher reflexivity is important to recognise and address any dissonance in positionality. It is quite likely that the teenagers were 'performing' their identities and undertaking some 'impression management' for my benefit (Goffman, 1990 [1959]); perhaps just telling me what they thought I wanted to hear at times. Connected with this is the notion that my young participants' responses were influenced by the circumstances of the interview; the setting we were in, the others in the focus group, my presence as a middle-aged female university researcher, the introduction I gave them, and the type of questions I asked them.

3.3.5 Transcription and Analysis

Following each focus group, interview or participant observation encounter; I downloaded the audio file/s and carefully and fully transcribed all of the dialogue. This was in order to 'to correct the natural limitations of [my] memory by double-checking what interviewees said', which in the process brought me 'closer to the research data' (Bryman, 2016: 482). The transcription process also gave me the opportunity to listen closely and start to sort through the data, looking for themes and meanings. An example transcript can be viewed in Appendix C. I chose to use the qualitative data analysis software NVivo at this stage and imported the full set of 26 transcripts into the programme.

I looked for findings in my data whilst taking into account the particular context in the cultural and sociological landscape in which my interviews were conducted. Instead of looking for universal truths, as in the positivist or post positivist paradigm of research, I took a more interpretivist stance and considered the social constructs inherent in understanding young people's behaviour and communication. Grounded theory provides the researcher with a systematic strategy for developing codes, concepts, categories and theories. All the meaning is garnered from the data, and in my case, in also bringing in

the interpretivist approach; the meanings garnered from the sociocultural contexts of participants' lifeworlds.

The first stage of analysis began in the actual interviews, a process that informed the questions I asked, and the order in which I asked them. However, it was during the thorough readings of my interview transcripts that I started to code the main issues that were discussed; although these were also informed to some degree by my research questions and the Bourdieusian conceptual framework. For Heidegger, interpretation is not an act of speculation or fabrication but an act of articulation, by which meaning and understandings are already implicit within the data (Heidegger, 1992 [1985]). The aim was to develop a limited, and therefore more manageable, set of themes that represented the broad experiences and actions conveyed by the interviewees. In Appendix D, a list of themes that built up in the analysis stage and coded via NVivo 'nodes' and 'child nodes' can be viewed.

The next stage of the process was interpretation, which took the research a step closer to the theoretical structure. I looked for 'natural vocabularies' and self-positioning of participants in relation to others and their perspectives (Barker and Brooks, 1998: 24), the results of which can be seen in Chapters 5-7. Regarding analysis; David Morley argues that:

> Ethnography is a fine thing, but it always runs the danger of descending into anecdotalism and we should not mistake the vividness of the examples it offers us for their general applicability. Indeed the process of extrapolation from ethnographic examples is one that always needs to be handled with particular care.
>
> (Morley, 2006: 106)

One solution to this problem of the extrapolation of ethnographic data is suggested by Morley himself elsewhere where he argues that findings should be patterned into 'cultural structures and clustered' (Morley, 2007 [1974]: 399). In response to this I provide detailed mapping of the sociocultural contexts for my participants and categorise them into cohesive groups, looking for any shared 'cultural codes' for analysis (in Chapters 4 and 5).

Conclusion

I have discussed the particular quasi-ethnographic methodology that I employed for my research project: focus groups, interviews, and participant observations. The reasons that these qualitative methods were chosen were the consideration given to the sociocultural contexts of research participants and the deep, rich data that can be gathered for analysis.

I detailed the fieldwork design stages and the sampling process, and introduced the settings for my interviews, presenting information about the demographics and sociocultural specifics of these venues and their locations. I have outlined the ethical considerations particular to working with minors and stated that researcher-reflexivity is key to assuaging issues of bias. I explained the processes developed to undertake the data collection, including transcription and analysis.

In the next chapter I establish the specifics of the wider geographic setting of Norwich and Norfolk, and introduce the cohort. I provide detail on participants' areas of residence, their social grade, and their education in order to set the context. This then leads to the formation of participant groups in response to Morley's plea for 'cultural structures' in analysis.

PART 2: Young Audience Contexts and Discourses

Chapter 4. The Cohort: An Introduction

Introduction

> …what is needed is the development of a 'cultural map' of the audience so that we can begin to see which classes, sections of classes and subgroups share which cultural codes and meaning systems…
>
> (Morley, 2007 [1974]: 411)

This chapter is an introduction to the 'cultural map' (to use Morley's term) of the young people that were my research participants. In later chapters I will address the 'cultural codes' and 'meaning systems' inherent in teenagers' discourse and reported practices. In line with Morley and others (Maltby et al., 2011; Aveyard and Moran, 2013), I argue that the taste cultures and behaviours of young people are influenced by their social positions, and my audience research uses this foundation to locate 'cultural structures and clusters' of meaning (Morley, 2007 [1974]: 399). I build on the information on interview settings presented in the previous chapter and detail the specific socio-economic and geographic contexts for my young participants. This is important to address as it has been argued, not least by Bourdieu (2010 [1984]) (see also Lamont, 1992; Bennett et al., 1999; Bennett et al., 2009), that socio-economic context is key criteria for a study on people's cultural tastes.

I provide a first look at some of the individuals and the commonalities between them, laying the foundation for later chapters when I focus on their sociocultural backgrounds, their (non-cinema) film and television consumption, and ultimately their film consumption and cinema-going practices and values. I introduce my respondents firstly via a list with key factors providing a 'quick check' list for ease of reference (which can be found in Appendix E). I then provide an introduction to the county of Norfolk and the city of Norwich in terms of population demographics and socio-economic position, before focussing down to the specific areas that the young people resided in. I have grouped their areas of residence into four broad types and examine the significance of the distinctions between types. Following this, I discuss participants' social class according to the employment of their parents

and detail participants' education or training status. In the final section, I argue the merit of six categories that I have devised to group my participants.

Namely the groups are: Estate Dwellers, Boarders and Urbanites, Cultural Alternatives, Squad Members, Suburbanites, and Rural Dwellers. These have been established using a range of defining criteria including: area and type of residence, sociocultural preferences, and friendship formations. These six categories are used throughout the thesis as a convenient tool to identify participants via significant shared traits, although I do not assume an absence of important variations (between individuals) within these categories. I therefore employ these categories as 'place-holders' in order to provide an organised sense of the prevailing trends evident across my data. Within Section 4.5, I explicate the reasoning and processes behind the establishment of these participant groups. I examine the participant groups one by one, detailing the parameters and make-up of the categories. I pay particular attention to group members' area of residence, their educational status', any socialising patterns to note (investigated in detail in the next chapter), any notable (sub)cultural affiliations, and the employment status' and social grades of their parents.

For clarification and ease of reference, I have produced a Participant List complete with five key identifying factors. The table found in Appendix E shows all of my participants grouped into the participant categories that I have sorted them into. The list shows the participant's pseudonym, their age, and the identifying descriptions that are used throughout the thesis as consistent references to participant's place and level of education and the setting where I met them (if relevant and different to their school/college). Also included are their social class according to their parent's occupation (more on this in Section 4.3).

4.1 Norfolk and Norwich

4.1.1 Demographics and Socio-Economic Position

Norfolk is the fifth largest county (of 48) in England, with an area of 2,074 square miles of mostly rural land. The total population is not quite 900,000,[37] and the population density is just 400 people per square mile, in stark contrast with 15,400 people per square mile in Greater London. 40% of Norfolk's population live in the four built-up areas of Norwich, Great Yarmouth, King's Lynn, and Thetford.[38] Norfolk's county capital and urban centre is the city of Norwich, with a population of 141,000 residents. There is a relatively high concentration of young people in the 16-29 age bracket (census age category) constituting 27% of the total population of the city. This compares with just 16% in the same age bracket for Norfolk, and 18% for the whole of England. The high proportion of young adults residing in Norwich can be attributed to the two universities based in the city (UEA and Norwich University of the Arts). More specifically for my study, bearing in mind my focus on teenagers, the 15-19 (census) age bracket constitutes 6.7% of the total population of Norwich. This is marginally higher than 5.8% for Norfolk and 6.3% for England. The mean average age for a resident of Norwich is 37.4, compared to 42.7 for Norfolk, and 39.3 for England; so the population of Norwich is skewed marginally younger than the county and country.[39]

The city of Norwich and its immediate surrounding suburbs, villages, and towns has 56 primary schools (including 16 academies and free schools) and 13 secondary schools, 11 of which are now academies. This reflects the national picture of the school system undergoing a fundamental transformation since 2010, with the rapid expansion of independent academies run by private

---

[37] Statistics OfN (2016) Norfolk Insight: People and Place. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
[38] ONS figures from the 2011 Census – Built-up areas. Archived from the original on 21 September 2013. Retrieved 7 August 2013.
[39] ONS, Census 2011 figures via https://www.ilivehere.co.uk/statistics-norwich-norfolk-28498.html

companies known as 'academy trusts' and funded directly by central government.

The largest employment sectors in Norwich are retail (17%), health and social care (14%), education (12%), accommodation and food (8%), manufacturing (7%), financial and insurance (6%), construction (6%), and professional, science, and technical (6%) (Census 2011 statistics cited by Norwich City Council, 2017). Unemployment in the Norwich City Council area was 3.7% in January 2014, compared to 3% across Great Britain.[40] The city of Norwich has some affluence in that some areas have large and high-value residences and there are eight fee-paying independent schools, including Norwich (Cathedral) School and the Norwich High School for Girls. There are also a number of areas of significant deprivation however, with council estates in several outlying areas of the city which have levels of unemployment that are three times higher than in other parts of the city. Levels of health are significantly poorer in these more deprived areas, so much so that men die ten years before those in the most affluent areas of Norwich.[41] A range of data reveals the different levels of need across the city, with the wards of Mile Cross, Mancroft, and Catton Grove having the greatest deprivation but with significant issues also present in Sewell, Thorpe Hamlet, Crome, Wensum, and Bowthorpe (Norwich City Council, 2012a). Three of these wards: Catton Grove, Sewell, Crome, and Bowthorpe, are amongst those where I recruited research participants.

Norwich is relatively high on the Index of Deprivation for the UK in general. It is placed at 70 out of 325 towns and cities with 1 being the most deprived. Also noteworthy is that the city has a relatively high number of children

---

[40] Norwich City Council (February 2014). 'Norwich Economic Barometer' (PDF). Archived from the original (PDF) on 7 March 2014. Accessed 7 March 2014. (Council NC (2014) Norwich Economic Barometer. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.

[41] Norwich City Council Scrutiny Committee Report for meeting to be held on 8 November 2012. *An Overview Picture of the Deprivation, Inequality and Welfare Issues that Norwich Residents Experience* https://bit.ly/2Q85ATh. Accessed 7 March 2014.

affected by income deprivation (20th highest on a national scale) (Government, 2015). Reports show that Norwich has high levels of children in poverty (a child is defined by HMRC as a dependent individual under the age of twenty). In 2008, this was recorded as 29.6% of all children, significantly worse than the East of England at 16.1% and England at 20.9%. From an educational perspective, GCSE attainment levels in Norwich are also worse than both Norfolk and England with 43.4% achieved in Norwich compared with a 50% average for Norfolk and a 50.9% average for England (Lomas, 2011: 25).

In summary; Norfolk is a large, rural county with relatively low population density. The county capital, Norwich, has a young population compared to the wider Norfolk and English populace, and slightly more than the national average of unemployed residents. The socio-economic make-up of the city is mixed, with some wealth, but also significant areas of deprivation, with a relatively high proportion of young people living in poverty (compared to the regional and national picture). The educational achievements, in terms of GCSE results, are also worse than the Norfolk and English average.

4.1.2 Cultural, Leisure and Cinema Amenities

In terms of cultural, arts, and leisure amenities, for a small city Norwich has a diverse range of offers for its young population to access. The city itself has a medieval history with a prominent Norman castle and two cathedrals. The centre has two modern shopping malls, the art nouveau Royal Arcade, and the cobbled Norwich Lanes which are full of independent shops, cafés, restaurants, and galleries. There are three theatres, numerous museums, a number of live music venues (Norwich Arts Centre and the UEA LCR being the main ones), a thriving annual arts festival (Norfolk and Norwich Festival), and a burgeoning annual film festival (Norwich Film Festival). There are numerous city parks and nature reserves on the outskirts, as well as several leisure centres with a range of sporting facilities. I next provide further information on the city's cinemas and the types of film theatre that they represent.

There are a number of different types of cinema in Norwich. From the outset, I want to be clear about my typology of these cinemas: there are two chain multiplexes (Odeon and Vue), the 4-screen local cinema (Hollywood),[42] and the specialised cinema (Cinema City). I defer to Phil Hubbard's definition of multiplexes as 'purpose-built cinemas offering a wide choice of viewing across at least five screens…. most feature Surround-Sound systems (360º digital sound experience), wide screens, a range of food and confectionery, more leg space, air conditioning, and free/easy parking' (Hubbard, 2004: 1). The definition of specialised film programming that I adopt for my thesis derives from the British Film Institute's as: 'generally, non-mainstream films. This category includes foreign language and subtitled films, feature documentaries, 'arthouse' productions and films aimed at niche audiences'(BFI, 2018: 231). The definition of the traditional term of 'art films' is very similar to the BFI's definition of specialised film, and can often be attributed to John S. Twomey's 1956 statement that '[art films are] from other countries, reissues of old-time Hollywood 'classics', documentaries, and independently made films on off-beat themes-in short films that lie outside of the mainstream Hollywood product' (Twomey, 1956: 240).[43] I next examine the areas that my research participants resided in.

4.2 Areas of Residence of Participants

In order to provide a clear picture of the different types of residential areas that my young respondents lived in with their families, I have devised four categories to subdivide the types of area. I asked as many participants as possible to provide me with the first three digits of their postcodes, and to describe their specific residential area and accommodation type to me. This enabled me to determine and sort them into the following four categories: Council Estate, Rural (villages or market towns), Suburb, and Urban. Table 4.2 below shows the breakdown of my cohort according to the residential categories and clearly demonstrates that the biggest group of my participants of

[42] The Hollywood in Anglia Square has since closed down (in early 2019).
[43] For the purposes of clarity, as a category 'independent films', does not include classics or for the most part foreign language films.

33%, live on Council Estates within the city and its suburbs, closely followed by 32% living outside of the city of Norwich in rural villages and market towns, with 20% living in Suburban areas, and the known remainder of 7% living in the City Centre or its immediate urban area.

Table 4.2 Type of Residential Areas and Number and Percentage of Participants by Area.

Type of Residential Area	**No. Participants**	**Percentage**
Council Estate	14	33%
Rural (Village or Market Town)	13	32%
Suburban	11	20%
Urban	4	10%
Unknown	2	5%
Totals	**42**	**100%**

I next address each of the categories in turn, detailing their character, the geography of their locations on a county and city-scale, transport routes, and travelling times to Norwich city centre.

4.2.1 Council Estates

The Council Estates are all in the greater Norwich area and so are connected by bus to the city centre with journeys of thirty minutes or less, although respondents did not necessarily make this journey very frequently. Two areas with large sections of social housing are NR3 and NR5, each represented by four of my respondents. The NR3 postcode includes a large council estate known as Catton Grove (profiled in Chapter 3); where a regular youth club is held at a community centre that I visited twice, enabling me to hear from four young people from this area. NR5 refers to Earlham and Bowthorpe; a large residential area west of the city, comprised of a fair amount of council housing; as well as privately owned properties. There are some shops (including Aldi and a branch of the local budget supermarket, Roys), a couple of pubs, and two libraries. I encountered two residents of this area via the OPEN youth club, and two others via strategic sampling (also detailed in Chapter 3).

My first focus group was with three students from a Heartsease Academy, and so three of my respondents lived on this estate. Heartsease is a newer residential area having only become a housing estate in the post-WWII era. Hence it has council estates and tower blocks and experiences more social deprivation than the Sprowston and Thorpe St Andrew areas, which are within the same postcode of NR7. In close proximity to these parts of Norwich is the electoral ward of Crome, where two participants lived. This area is relatively close to the city centre; indeed the postcode is NR1. It is close to Norwich Train Station and the Norwich City Football stadium and is fairly gentrified in parts with new-build flats and characterful residences occupied by professionals and middle-class families. However, it also has some social-housing and signs of urban decay, including drug use and crime and is one of the wards highlighted as experiencing deprivation (Norwich City Council, 2017).

4.2.2 Rural Villages or Market Towns

The Rural category includes thirteen young people who were scattered around the county. With bus journeys of up to an hour to get to Norwich city centre, commuting for education or leisure was more of an economic and time commitment for these participants, albeit a commitment that they were willing and able to take on. Some of them were nearer other sixth form colleges and cinemas (for example) in market towns, but all of the young people that I interviewed were motivated and had been economically enabled to regularly travel to Norwich city centre. Figure 4.2.2 is a map of the county of Norfolk and the positions of the rural towns and villages where the thirteen rural residents lived. The market town of Wymondham was home to two respondents, and a further two were boarders at Wymondham College which is actually situated a further five miles from Wymondham town centre, and 16 miles from Norwich city centre. This journey is 25 minutes by car, but due to its remote location can take up to an hour longer if public transport is the only option, as is the case for the two boarders. Three participants lived in Diss, another market town, which is 24 miles south of Norwich and a 45-minute drive or 25-minute train journey. The village of Spixworth, where two

respondents resided, is 6 miles from the city centre and a 45-minute journey by bus. Rockland St Mary, although a small village, and ten miles from Norwich, is a slighter more direct route, with a 26-minute bus ride for the two that lived there. Lastly, the villages of Scarning and Shipdham, past Dereham to the east (one resident in each village), are approximately 25 miles from the city and take 1 to 1.5 hours by bus.

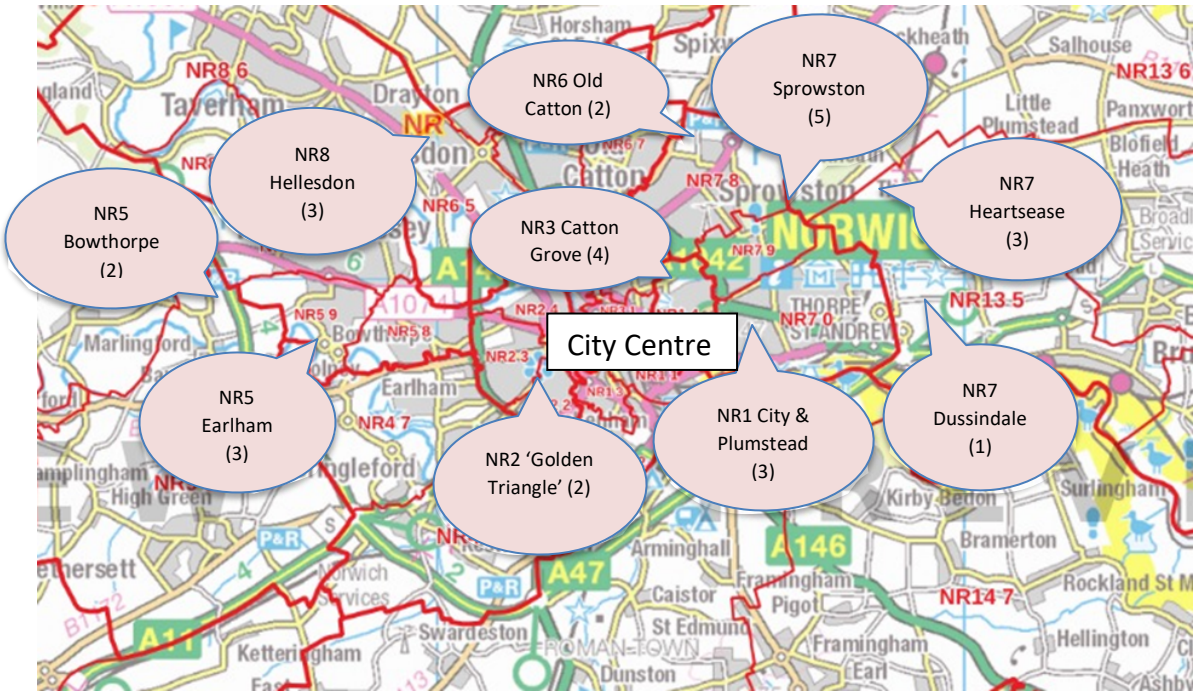
Figure 4.2.2 Map of County of Norfolk with rural residents and cinemas marked (red pointers). Numbers in brackets indicate number of research participants residing in this area.

4.2.3 Suburban

The Suburban category includes residential zones within the Greater Norwich area that are mostly constituted of privately owned or rented properties, as opposed to the social housing of the Council Estate category. The suburbs are a little further out of the city and require the young people to either catch a bus (with journeys of approximately thirty minutes) or have a long walk (of up to an hour) to the city centre. The most popular area for my cohort as a whole

was the NR7 postcode, with a total of eight participants living here. NR7 is a large suburban area to the north-east of the city of Norwich made up of the areas of Sprowston, Dussindale, and Heartsease, which are quite different in character (see Figure 4.2.3 for a map showing the location of the different Norwich postcodes). Sprowston is a small suburban town 2-3 miles north of Norwich which is mainly residential and has a long history as a large parish. It hosts a weekly 'Teen Café' in a church hall - a location I visited to conduct a number of focus groups – hence the relatively high proportion of Sprowston residents in my cohort (five). The suburb of Thorpe St Andrew incorporates the relatively new housing development known as Dussindale, where one respondent lived.

Figure 4.2.3: Greater Norwich map showing suburbs in relation to Norwich city centre (numbers in brackets refer to number of participants residing in that area).



The NR8 and NR6 postcodes incorporate the adjoining suburban areas of Hellesdon and Old Catton, two miles north of the city. Five of my respondents lived in these two areas, both of which are long established villages that have converged with other suburban areas to become part of greater Norwich. These areas are mostly residential with a few shops including a large ASDA,

but also encompass the busy outer ring road, and some industrial areas (in Hellesdon especially). They are in close proximity to the Norwich International Airport which is situated on the northern fringes of this part of Norwich.

4.2.4 Urban

The final category of Urban mainly refers to the previously mentioned area known as the Golden Triangle, just south of the city centre, only a fifteen-minute walk from the main facilities (including cinemas). This is NR2, where five young people lived. It incorporates some of the city centre but is mostly a densely populated area to the south of the city with Victorian terraced housing but also some larger, higher-value residences. The Golden Triangle has a cosmopolitan mix of students, professionals and families, alongside an abundance of pubs, cafes, shops, and parks. I conducted a focus group with sixth-form students at the City of Norwich School (CNS), which is in the NR2 catchment area.

4.3 Social Class of Participants

Social class is an important factor in addressing how and why different young people demonstrate different practices and attitudes regarding cinema-going. The Bourdieusian emphasis on social position informing judgments of taste (Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]), reinforces the importance of social class as a key factor in my data analysis. Indeed Bourdieu stratified the individuals in his empirical studies via class using data about their occupations (Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990 [1970]).

The formal system for assessing social class (officially known as social grade) in the UK is the National Statistics Socio-economic classification (NS-SEC), unofficially called the 'ABC1' system.[44] This originated as the Nuffield Class

[44] Social grade: a socio-economic classification used by market research industries to analyse spending habits and consumer attitudes. The classification is approximated from information collected in the 2011 Census using a method defined by the Market Research Society. The main categories of social grade:

Schema and was developed by John Goldthorpe et al (from Nuffield College, Oxford University) in the 1970s. This system categorises people according to their occupation and employment status and is still widely used by the advertising and market research industries as well as the UK Census producers and the Office for National Statistics (ONS).

The 2011 Census reported on the class breakdown for residents of Norwich, Norfolk, and England as a whole. The slim majority of 'Chief Income Earners' in Norwich are in the C1 category of supervisory, clerical and junior managerial / administrative / professional occupations, which corresponds with the county and nation as a whole. The DE category of semi-skilled and unskilled manual occupations, unemployed, and lowest grade occupations is higher in Norwich at 30% than the 27% for Norfolk and 25% for England. This implies that there is higher proportion of 'working class' than 'middle class' residents in the city. Notably however, the traditional social class system can only be applied via my participants' parents as all of them were living in the family home, still in education or training, with none of them being employed full time.

See Table 4.3 for the census figures for Norwich, Norfolk, and England, alongside those for my own cohort. The social class here is calculated according to the parent with the highest grade of employment. For example, where one parent is unemployed and the other runs their own business, the social grade is recorded for the business-owning parent.

AB: higher and intermediate managerial/administrative/professional occupations. C1: supervisory, clerical and junior managerial/administrative/professional occupations. C2: skilled manual occupations. DE: semi-skilled and unskilled manual, unemployed and lowest grade occupations. http://www.norfolkinsight.org.uk/metadata/view/indicatorinstance?pid=11247&id=659741&norefer=true accessed 11/12/18.

Table 4.3: 2011 Census and My Cohort's Social Class[45]

GRADE	NORWICH	NORFOLK	ENGLAND	MY COHORT [46]
AB	21%	18%	23%	25%
C1	31%	30%	31%	34%
C2	18%	25%	21%	22%
DE	30%	27%	25%	19%

Table 4.3 shows that my sample's social grades roughly correlate with the city, county and national pattern; meaning that the C1 category is the most common, followed by AB, then C2, and DE. However, my cohort is marginally more represented in each of the upper three grades of AB, C1, and C2, compared to the city, country, and national figures. This has resulted in the DE category for my cohort being 11% less than the Norwich figure, 8% less than the Norfolk one, and 6% less than the English DE figure. Due to the fact that the social class of participants is based on their parent's employment, it is important also to consider the status of the young people themselves in terms of whether they are in education or training; an analysis of this aspect follows.

4.4 Education, Training, or Employment Status

David Morley stresses the irrefutable role that education performs in the socialisation of young people:

> We can usefully begin an analysis of the situation of the media audience… by looking at the role of the education system, since the education system is a key determinant of the levels and kinds of cultural codes and competencies acquired by the audience.
>
> (Morley, 2007 [1974]: 400)

[45] Source: Norwich, Norfolk and England figures from 2011 Census ONS.

[46] The percentages in the My Cohort column represent 32 members of my cohort. My figures do not include the 10 participants (24% of total) for whom I could not establish a social class.

Indeed, the significance of education is also emphasised by Bourdieu, who argues for 'an extremely pronounced relationship' (1973: 76) between levels of education and participation in prestigious cultural activities. Bourdieu states that the type and level of education people receive dictates the acquisition of cultural capital, however this in turn is dependent on the primary socialisation received within the family. He says, 'linguistic and cultural competency and that relationship of familiarity with culture… can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture' (1973: 80). I further examine the context of the family in the next chapter.

It is current English law that individuals are required to be in some form of education, employment or training until their 18th birthday. Participants' status as pupils or students in full-time education or training has implications for their leisure and film consumption practices. The institution they attend, the courses they study, and their fellow students may also affect their taste patterns.

My cohort can be sub-divided into two main groups: the older teens, and the younger to mid-teens. This age distinction is relevant in that it dictated what level of education they were at when I conducted my data collection. Of the 42 participants, 28 of them (67% of my total cohort) were between 16 and 18 years old and studying either at a sixth form attached to a school or academy, or at college. Of these, most of them (19) were studying traditional academic subjects at AS or A level, and one was re-taking his GCSEs. Eight of them of them were undertaking vocational training courses. Most of the remaining young people were between 13 and 16 years old and were GCSE students. This was 12 of them, representing 29% of the total cohort. Of the only two remaining participants, one was not currently in any education or training (NEET),[47] and the other was undertaking an apprenticeship as a childcare assistant. Eight young people had part-time jobs that they mainly undertook at weekends and some evenings, alongside their studies or training. There is

[47] The proportion of young people who were NEET for Norwich in November 2013 was 9.2% - this equates to 318 young people. Norwich's rate is worse (higher) than the Norfolk average of 5.3%, and is the highest of all local authority areas in the county. https://www.norfolkinsight.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Norwich_0to19Profile_July2015.pdf (p.18) accessed 02/12/19.

more information about this in relation to the impact this had on their free-time and resources in Chapter 5. In the next section I explain the participant categories that I formed.

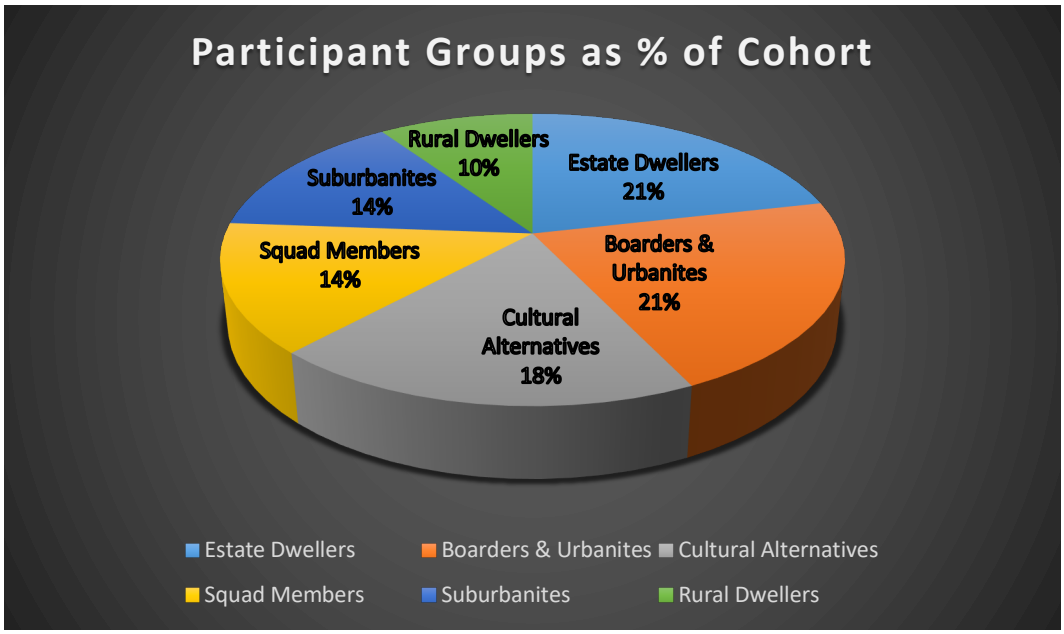
4.5 Participant Categories

> ...age is a biological datum, socially manipulated and manipulable; and that merely talking about 'the young' as a social unit, a constituted group, with common interests, relating these interests to a biologically defined age, is in itself an obvious manipulation. At the very least one ought to analyse the differences between different categories of 'youth'.
>
> (Bourdieu, 1993 [1978]: 95)

Adhering to Bourdieu's call to consider different categories of young people, I have devised six categories for my research participants by grouping them according to criteria that I determine as significant, enabling comprehensive analysis. Not all individuals are entirely defined by the group I have sorted them into and, indeed there are salient variations that are detailed throughout my empirical chapters. The formation of these groups is a method to encapsulate my participants and begin analysis.

The categories are Estate Dwellers, Boarders and Urbanites, Cultural Alternatives, Squad Members, Suburbanites, and Rural Dwellers. Although I use a single criteria for the group name as a shorthand term, there are other relevant reasons and significant criteria implicated in formulating the groups in this manner. The group names refer to socio-geographic criteria (Estate Dwellers, Urbanites, Suburbanites, and Rural Dwellers), performances of identity, (sub)cultural affiliations (Cultural Alternatives), and friendship groups (Squad Members). However, each group is described and examined here in this chapter according to a set of other criteria in order to gain some comparisons across my sample. I further elaborate on these groupings in Chapter 5. See Table 4.5 below for a pictorial on the participant groups as segments of my whole cohort.

Table 4.5 Participant Groups as Segments of Total Cohort.



The categories of participants fairly equally divide up the whole cohort, although Estate Dwellers and Boarders & Urbanites have an equal share of nearly half the total participants at 21% each. A complete list of participants with their categories listed can be found in Appendix E for ease of reference.

In the process of determining these categories, one of the challenges was deciding on the criteria to focus on. It may seem counter-intuitive to include headings relating to different kinds of criteria across the cohort; (as stated above) four of them are connected with the type of area in which participants reside, one with cultural affiliations, and another with socialising practices. However, I did not want to be too prescriptive with my focus on just one aspect, and combining criteria gives my analysis a broader perspective. A further issue has been in connection with how to assign individuals to one category when they cross-over into others. Indeed, I did shift a few respondents throughout the process if and when I deemed one criteria more influential than another. For example, Jamie was originally a Rural Dweller but was moved to the Cultural Alternatives group in the analysis process, once I determined that this subcultural aspect was a more defining feature for him in terms of his cultural tastes and practices than the fact that he lived in a village.

It is important to note that in later chapters I will add greater layers of complexity to these categories and further explicate the decisions in adopting the category names, returning to matters of definition.

I next detail the categories in order of the largest to the smallest numbers of individuals within the groups. I provide details on the socio-economic parameters of the group; what characterises them, and the individuals therein. Specifically I detail the numbers, genders and ages of members, the type of residential area they live in, any socialising patterns to note (investigated in detail in the next chapter), any defining or relevant (sub)cultural affiliations, level and types of education, commitment levels to their education, and the employment status and social grades of their parents.

4.5.1 Estate Dwellers

This, the joint-largest group, includes nine young people (21% of total cohort) that lived in areas that have social housing estates and were from relatively deprived socio-economic backgrounds. They were aged between 13 and 17, with the majority being on the upper end of the teenage scale: six were aged 16 or 17. All of the young people in this group were White British except for Lakeisha who is mixed-race. This was a predominantly male group (seven male, two female), with no expressions of gender dysphoria, although two of the male members identified as gay. They were mostly academy students (Year 9 up to AS Level), with two at college studying performing arts courses, and one undertaking a childcare apprenticeship. Levels of educational commitment were limited, especially with the younger teens attending an academy for which they expressed negative perceptions. Just one of the Estate Dwellers, Mitch, was formally film and media literate and was planning to do an A Level in Film Studies after re-taking his GCSEs. The Estate Dwellers came from a wide variety of family-types, with three from a traditional nuclear set-up, three living with just their mothers and siblings, one with step-parents and siblings, and one living with his grandparents. Most of the parents worked in service industry positions in the C2 or D social grade (more details follow). I met all of these young people in the city and estate youth clubs, or in leisure settings, and had cinema trips with two of them, together at the same visit.

The specific areas of Norwich that these young people lived in were Heartsease, Lionwood (in the Crome ward), Catton Grove, Bowthorpe, and Earlham. All of these city suburbs are characterised by large council estates that suffer from deprivation. It is reported that within Catton Grove, where four participants in this group lived, 33% of residents aged 16 or over have no formal qualifications, compared with the national average of 22%. Only 8% of residents hold a degree or equivalent qualification, compared with a much higher national average of 27% (Big Local, c. 2016). The local school, Sewell Park Academy, has a low 33% of pupils obtaining five grade A*-C GCSEs compared with the national average of 58%. Three participants lived in Bowthorpe and Earlham, an electoral division amongst the most deprived 10% in England (Norfolk County Council, 2012b).

To give more detail on the Estate Dwellers' family and socio-economic contexts: the two participants from single-parent families lived with their mothers who were unemployed (social grade E in the ABC1 system); one participants' parents both worked in the food service industry (D); one had a father employed as a taxi driver (D) and a mother who was a part-time hairdresser (C2); and another lived with his grandmother who was a foster-carer (D) and grandfather who part-owned his own bus company (C1). One male participants' mother was a supermarket assistant (D) and his father a factory manager (C2), whereas his friend lived with his mother who was a clerical worker (C1) and step-dad who was a shift manager at a poultry factory (C2). The final participant's mother was a cleaner (D) and his father was a recycling plant manager (C2). Here we find a mix of employed parents ranging from social grade D up to C1.

These individuals were mostly all sociable, at least in theory – it is notable that I did meet most of them at youth clubs, a social venue. However, through the interviews I learned that several of them spent a lot of time alone in their bedrooms, albeit gaming or on social-media (more on participants' sociality and leisure practices follow in Chapter 5).

4.5.2 Boarders and Urbanites

This category is made up of another group of nine teenagers (21% of the cohort), this time sharing high investment in, and emphasis on, their education, and representing a higher social class in general than other groups. They were all on the upper end of the teenage scale, aged between 16 and 18, with five males and four females represented. All of these group members were White British. The six Boarders were all A Level students at Wymondham (Boarding) College, with two of them actually boarders at the college (their families living in Kent and North Norfolk respectively), and the remaining four were 'day pupils' who travelled to college from rural villages or the affluent Norwich residential area of NR2, known as the Golden Triangle. The remaining three Urbanites were male AS Level students (one of which was studying Media Studies) at the City of Norwich School, a city sixth form academy, and all lived in the Golden Triangle.

To deconstruct the group name, 'Boarders' refers to boarding school students (albeit just two were actual boarders and the others were day pupils). The 'Urbanite' aspect of this group refers to the other three participants but can also be applied to the Boarders. I offer the following definition as one that I adhere to in relation to the young people in this participant group:

> [An urbanite is] a person who inhabits one of the major cities in the world, aged between 17 and 44… An urbanite is an affluent consumer with an optimistic outlook on life that is very different from those who live in "small town" or rural areas. Urbanites are both a subculture and a contemporary lifestyle. They have 6 key characteristics: Time-poor, city-proud, media-literate, brand-centric, trend-sensitive and culturally-aware.
>
> (Brussels Academy, 2019)

Of the six key characteristics listed in the definition above, the Boarders and Urbanites definitely fulfilled three of them: time-poor, media-literate, and culturally aware. This term directly contrasts with that of 'suburbanite' – a name I have attributed to a different participant group (see 4.5.5).

Wymondham College, the boarding school that the majority of these group members were students at, is deemed as having excellent facilities and

teachers, and is rated as Outstanding in all areas by OFSTED (November 2017). This is an excessively regulatory space, however, especially for boarders. The implications are that outside of school hours, all of the students' free time is strictly limited to a couple of hours in the evening after they have completed their 'prep' (homework/revision). This also applies to parts of the weekend, with only Saturday from 12-9pm being deemed as 'absit' (the term used to determine when they are allowed to leave school premises). These restrictions relate to the day pupils as well, but enforcement is left to the students themselves or their parents, if they are off-campus.

These young people are from relatively privileged socio-economic backgrounds, with most of their parents in the category B and C1. One of the boarders' fathers was an RAF officer (C1) and the RAF paid a proportion of her school and boarding fees. The other boarder's mother was a hotelier (B) and her father owned his own internet security business (B). Amongst the day pupils: one's mother was an Estate Agent (B) and her dad a Software Salesman (B), another's mother was a Health Visitor (C1) and her father was a teacher (B). Family make-up was mostly nuclear, with one step-family.

City of Norwich School (CNS), where the three Urbanites attended, is a long-established state comprehensive, rated 'Good' by OFSTED in October 2016. CNS is currently, as of 2014, deemed an 'academy converter school' and is run by an Academies Trust. Converter academies are successful schools that have opted to convert to academies in order to operate with increased autonomy.[48] CNS is two miles outside the city centre and its catchment area is the NR2 Golden Triangle area, which is populated with middle-class families and professionals, as previously stated. Regretfully I did not ask these participants about their parents' employment.

The Boarders and Urbanites have equivalences with Bourdieu's social elite classification, in that they represent the upper-middle level of the system. As such they displayed significant cultural capital, demonstrating awareness of the

[48] Converter Academy definition from http://www.politics.co.uk/reference/academies, accessed 15/01/19.

'rules of the game'. In Bourdieusian terms they would be deemed 'innate winners' (Bourdieu, 1990 [1965]; Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]).

4.5.3 Cultural Alternatives

This group is comprised of eight young people that were characterised by their alternative appearances and subcultural affiliations in comparison with the remainder of the total cohort. They ranged fairly evenly in age between 15 and 18 and were all White British except for one half-Brazilian member. I met all of these teenagers at the city youth club (OPEN), except for one who was a College Media Student (who I met in leisure settings) and another member who I interviewed at the city sixth form academy (CNS).

This group was internally more heterogeneous than other groups in terms of where the young people resided and their socio-economic backgrounds. Four Cultural Alternatives were highly engaged with digital social media; regularly posting, vlogging, and blogging. Two of them also attended YouTube 'meets' in London and Cosplay conventions around the country. One female participant wrote reviews for a celebrity news company/website. Their adopted scenes ranged from one with a 'straightedge' affiliation[49] to a number of the young people having strikingly vividly coloured hair and other body modifications. Gender dysphoria was expressed by some in this group: one stated herself as 'gender fluid' and another as 'agender'; one participant appeared to be female to male transgender but identified as male; and another was gender neutral or masculine in her appearance (with short hair, beanie hat covered in badges, lumberjack shirt, and jeans). Relating the subject of gender dysphoria to Bourdieu's concept of doxa, Will Atkinson writes:

[49] 'Straightedge emerged in the United States in the early 1980s from within the music-driven punk subculture as a sort of subcultural reaction to the uncritical and apathetic attitudes and behaviours of many mainstream American youth as well as to the emphasis placed on alcohol consumption by adult culture. Straightedgers, especially in the early to mid-1980s, subscribed to a punk ideology of resistance to mainstream cultural values and norms, which they articulated most often through music'. Williams JP (2006) Authentic Identities: Straightedge Subculture, Music, and the Internet *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35(2): 173-2000.

> …the advance of feminism and the gay movement… have been instrumental in turning the previously rigid set of gender categories from unquestioned doxa into an *orthodoxy* counterposed to a *heterodoxy* proclaiming alternative visions of capacities and meanings, opening gender out into the variety of expressions and categories…, though some underpinning assumptions around gender and sex doubtless remain doxic nonetheless.

(Atkinson, 2016: 112 emphasis in original; see also Bourdieu, 2001b: 88-89)

Atkinson argues that in recent years, as doxa around gender norms developed into convention, that it has been debated by representatives in national fields of power (e.g. journalism and the media) rather than being accepted as taken for granted. What has followed is that dissenting views have actively transformed gendered doxa, which in turn filters down to the wider population. As Atkinson states, revised gender norms are 'ultimately made flesh in dispositions towards one body… and in attitudes and anticipations, producing a gait, a bearing, an appearance, capacities, skills, desires, perceptions, self-perceptions', and particularly relevant for my study, 'discourses and tastes' (Atkinson, 2016: 113).

This group was made up of two City College media students, two Year 10 pupils at out-of-Norwich schools, a female science and engineering student at Technical College, a city sixth form AS Level student (Media Studies being one of her AS subjects), a Year 11 suburban academy student, and one member not currently in education or training (NEET). Their family backgrounds were a fairly even mixture of nuclear, single-parent, and step-families.

The Cultural Alternatives lived in a variety of residential areas including three from council estates, two from villages a few miles out of Norwich, one in a market-town, and one from the suburbs (the residential status of the remaining participant is unknown). Their parents were heterogeneous in terms of their social class, widely ranging from unemployed (E) to business owners (B). One Cultural Alternative's step-father was a self-employed handy man (D), another's mother was an NHS mental health nurse (C1) and her father was unemployed (E). One participant's mother was unemployed due to ill health (E) and her father owned his own kitchen business (B). Another's Brazilian

mother was a security guard (D) and her elderly father, who was living separately, was a property owner and developer (B). The college media student and his two siblings lived with just their mother who was a care worker (C2). I did not collect information on three participants' parents' occupations/social class.

This group could be described best as being eclectic in its socio-economic make-up, but their heterogeneous subcultural and sociocultural identifications are precisely what brings them together into this cluster.

4.5.4 Squad Members

This group includes all four girls at the younger end of the teenage spectrum (aged 13 and 14) that I interviewed together at the Sprowston Teen Café, plus a pair of friends from the Open Academy (a female aged 16 and a male aged 17). All Squad Members were White British. The Teen Café clique reported on being part of a larger social group of about 30 that they dubbed 'the squad', elaborating on 'squads within the squad', talking of the nuanced hierarchies of their friendship group. The Open Academy pair have been categorised into this group due to the (separate) large group of friends that they socialised in; they reported on going with large groups of 10-12 friends out for meals and to the cinema. By clustering this group into 'Squad Members', this helps us to understand the importance of peer sociability to these participants, and the potential peer influence in terms of film consumption tastes and values, and cinema-going practices.

The Teen Café attendees all came from relatively middle-class backgrounds, all living in the Norwich suburbs of Old Catton (NR6), Sprowston (NR7), and the outlying village of Spixworth (NR10) to attend their suburban academy and the youth club. Their parents' socio-economic status' ranged from C2 to B social grades. One Squad Member's mother was a clerical worker (C1) and her father an engineer (B). Another's mother was a supermarket assistant (D) and her father a 'shunter' at the local train company (C2). A Teen Café attendee's mother owned and ran her own coffee shop (B) in Norwich and her father was

a bus driver (C2). The daughters of the train shunter and the bus driver reported that they got free travel (on the trains and buses respectively) due to their fathers' employment. A further Squad Member's mother was a phlebotomist (B) and her father was a mechanic (C2). All of these girls were Year 9 pupils, and therefore still at the pre-GCSE stage. As a result, there was no talk about the pressures of schoolwork from this group, unlike with some of the older participants.

The Open Academy pair of friends lived in Heartsease (NR7 which incorporates a large area of social housing), and their parents were a clerical worker at a wholesalers (C1), unemployed (E), and their two (respective) fathers were pickup drivers (C2). As they were undertaking their AS levels, they were more expressive about the workload of homework and revision that could impact on their leisure-time.

One particularly notable fact about the Squad Members is that, unusually, they all came from traditional nuclear family set-ups, in other words there were no single, step or extended families within this group.

4.5.5 Suburbanites

The Suburbanites are characterised mainly by their residential status in the suburbs of Norwich. There were six members in this group, four female and two male, with an even split of 16 and 17 year olds (three of each), all of whom were White British except for one Arab British member. I created this group as these participants performed relatively conventional identities in that they did not exhibit any alternative personality traits; for example, none of them had chosen to have body modifications, and they were all cisgender identifying.[50] I argue that they were followers as opposed to leaders in terms of media practices and film and television consumption. This is exemplified by one

[50] Definition of 'cisgender': 'Denoting or relating to a person whose sense of personal identity and gender corresponds with their birth sex'. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/cisgender accessed 15/01/19.

Suburbanite who confessed that he had joined Twitter not to express himself, but to 'keep up with what other people [were] doing'.

Within this group are a male and female pair of friends who I first met at the suburban youth club (Sprowston Teen Café, NR7). They also lived in this sprawling residential suburb, as well as being committed A Level students at the local academy. I met with another three female participants at the city youth club (OPEN), although they resided in the suburbs of Old Catton (NR6), Hellesdon (NR6) and Dussindale (NR7) respectively. Two of these were City College students (one was studying Health and Social Care, and the other was a student in the Supported Learning Department), and the third was a diligent city sixth form academy A Level student. The final member was a college media student, whom I met at cinemas via (and with) another participant. He is in this group due to his residing in the suburban village of Old Catton (NR6) and his relatively conventional and conforming tastes, attitudes, and gender performance.

This group's social grades were homogenous with their parents mostly in the C1 category. The two Teen Café friends' mothers worked together as pastoral officers at a local primary school (C1). Their fathers were a lifelong postman on the verge of retirement (D) and a manager at a wholesalers (D) respectively. Amongst the other parents were an insurance agent (C1), an IT support worker (C1), a clerical worker (C1), a phlebotomist (C1), a cable joiner (C1), and an (unpaid) full-time carer (E).

Some Suburbanites shared similarities with Bourdieu's *petite-bourgeoisie* social classification (representing the middle of system), in that via expressions of their cultural capital they were aspiring to be elite but were never going to be 'natural' winners at the game of culture (Bourdieu, 1990 [1965]; Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]). I shall expand on this notion later in Chapters 6 and 7.

4.5.6 Rural Dwellers

This final group of Rural Dwellers were mainly characterised by their residency in the villages and market towns of the rural county of Norfolk. The significance of clustering these participants in this way will become fully

evident later in the thesis, when I discuss issues of transport and access to cultural amenities, for example. Additionally there are implications regarding the difference of meanings of the city to these participants.

This was the smallest group, with only four participants, one of which was half Algerian with the others being White British. Amongst the Rural Dwellers were the three AS Level film studies students at City College, who all travelled a distance in on buses and trains from villages and market towns in south and east Norfolk (IP22, NR19 and IP21 respectively). Two of them were male students aged 17 and their female classmate was 16. The final member was a 14 year-old Year 10 pupil of a market town academy who mostly lived in an east Norfolk village with his father, but lived with his mother at the weekends near the centre of Norwich, regularly attending and volunteering at the city youth club (OPEN).

Their parents had a variety of positions ranging between E and C1, but mostly at the C2 level. One mother was a property developer (C1), a different mother was a care assistant (C2), and a father a self-employed handy man (C2). Another member's mother was unemployed (E) and her father was a lawyer (B). The final set of parents included a mother who couldn't work due to disability (E) and a father who was a supermarket manager (C2).

As previously mentioned, there are implications relating to these young people's socialising, leisure practices, and media consumption that relate to their rural residency, in terms of proximity to amenities, which I will develop in the next chapters.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have introduced my research participants, first broadly via a list with key identifiers and an overview of the sociodemographic factors specific to Norwich and Norfolk. To summarise, Norwich is a city of a modest-size population of mainly White British people skewing on the young side, with some wealth and significant pockets of deprivation. Educational attainment is lower than in other parts of the country, but the city has a relatively thriving arts, cultural, and leisure offer for young people to access.

The wider county of Norfolk is characterised by its comparatively large geographic area of mostly rural land with a scarcity of cultural amenities.

My research participants came from a range of residential areas; categorised as Council Estate, Rural (villages or market towns), Suburb, and Urban. Their social class was determined by the employment of their highest earning parent. My sample's social grades are mostly in the C1 category (supervisory, clerical and junior managerial / administrative / professional occupations), followed by AB (higher and intermediate managerial / administrative / professional occupations), then C2 (skilled manual occupations), and DE (semi-skilled and unskilled manual, unemployed and lowest grade occupations). However, my cohort is marginally more represented in each of the upper three grades of AB, C1, and C2, compared to the city, country, and national figures. Regarding the education status of my participants, 48% of them were studying traditional academic A or AS Levels, 19% were undertaking vocational courses or retaking GCSEs. Another 29% of the cohort were either pre-GCSE or taking their GCSEs. The remaining 4% were either an apprentice or unemployed. Just 19% of the total participants had part-time jobs. This information commences the 'cultural mapping' exercise advocated by David Morley.

I also presented the six categories that I have sorted my participants into for a short-hand reference to the whole cohort stratified in terms of their area of residence, media and cultural affiliations or socialising practices. Once more, this process was not straight-forward and does not provide hermetic, definitive descriptions of my research participants. In the next chapter, I offer more information and analysis on the six participant groups through the three themes of identity, relationships (family, friends and romantic), and leisure and media activities. In the process, I build a more nuanced picture of my research participants, their interests and influences on their cultural tastes.

Chapter 5. The Cohort: Sociocultural and Media Contexts

Introduction

This chapter examines the personal, familial, social, media and leisure contexts of my research participants' lives and builds on the socio-economic and geographic contexts presented in previous chapters. Here I focus in on respondents' identities, household make-up, their social lives, and their free-time activities in order to understand the place that film consumption has in their everyday routines and experiences (in ensuing chapters). As previously outlined, my approach is within the field of new cinema history (Maltby et al., 2011) one that advocates the 'importance of the institutional and geographic frameworks that direct and control the film viewing experience and the wider sociocultural situation of the audience' (Aveyard and Moran, 2013: 4). It is precisely these 'wider sociocultural situation[s]' of audience members that I am concerned with in this chapter. Specifically, group by group, I examine formative influences on my participants' identities, and the significances of family, friendships, and relationships. I also outline their media, leisure, and entertainment activities and analyse a range of factors liable to influence these.

The first section of this chapter (5.1.1) is an introduction to the concept of youth identities and the ways that these are expressed. I give an overview of the types of ways in which the individuals defined themselves. The next focus (5.1.2) is on the relationships and the modes of sociality that my cohort reported on. As this research is an examination of young people's film consumption and cinema-going - which are leisure-time activities - it is important to consider who they are spending that time with, and the levels of influence at play. I report on my respondents' family and household type and what characterises their familial relationships. I look at who they socialise with, be it friends, family members, or a boyfriend/girlfriend, or whether they spend a lot of time alone. I also examine whether they spend significant amounts of time using digital social networks and have online friends. The final sociocultural focus (in 5.1.3) is an examination of the activities my cohort engage in when not studying or working, excluding film consumption (this is

addressed in later chapters). I consider the values that young people seem to place on studying in relation to their leisure time and whether other activities (such as part-time jobs) place more pressure on this free-time. Related to this, is the level of disposable income the participants have and where they get it from (i.e. their own earnings or handouts from their parents). I look at the levels of their media and cultural engagement such as reading, visual art, or listening to music for example; and other leisure pursuits such as sport, or membership of clubs. I examine levels of involvement with digital media: including social media sites (Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and Tumblr), computer/video/online gaming, the use of apps on mobile devices such as smart phones and tablets, listening to and creating music, and the consumption of and participation in the Internet video-sharing site, YouTube.

The main empirical analysis in this chapter (Sections 5.2-5.7) is structured via the six participant groups I established in the previous chapter: Estate Dwellers, Boarders/Urbanites, Cultural Alternatives, Squad Members, Suburbanites, and Rural Dwellers. I approach each group in turn, provide a reminder of the category's key features and take a closer look at its members' reported sociocultural contexts via the three foci of identity, relationships, and media and leisure practices. At the end of each of these sections, I present a case study of an individual that personifies that particular participant group in order to provide a richer, deeper description of the group via a representative member.

5.1 Sociocultural Factors

5.1.1 Youth Identities

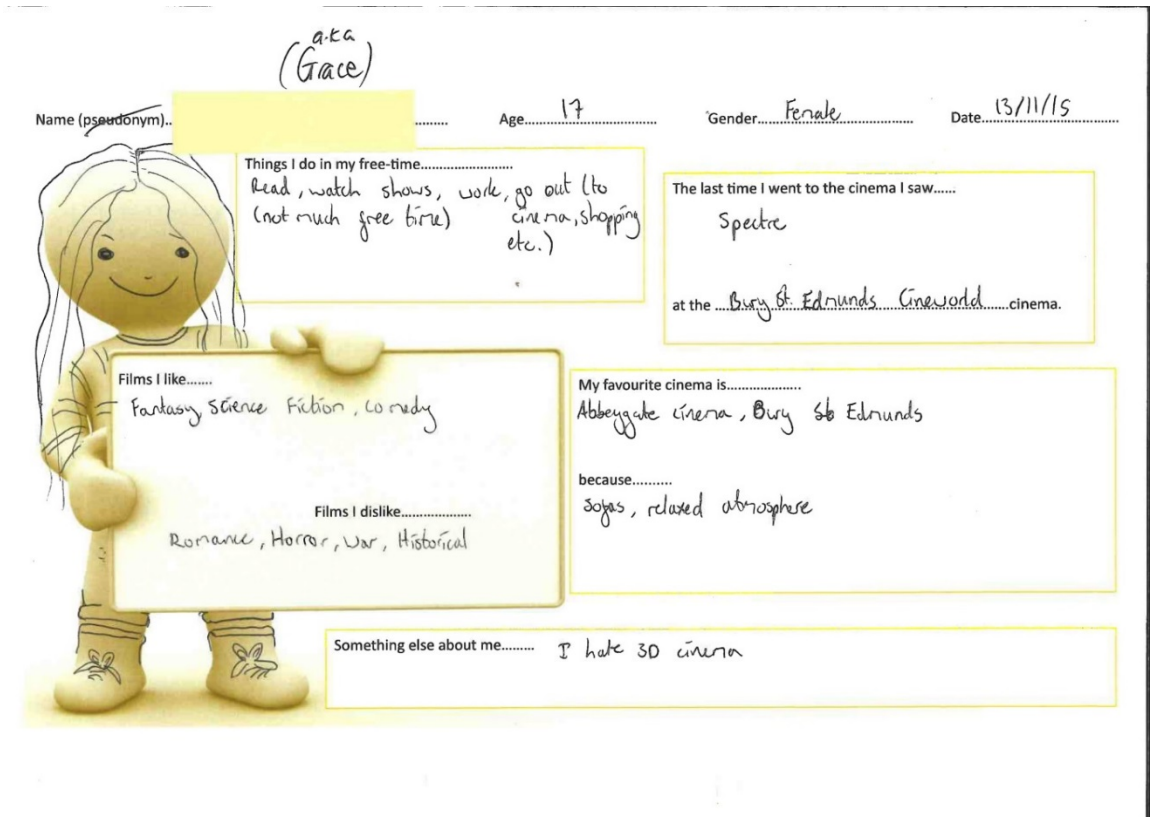
My focus on identity is in order to examine the young people's activities and discourses through which they define themselves, variably via associations with other people and (sub)cultures. Youth is typically regarded as a key life stage in the development of identity; Paul Willis argues that the teenage years are when 'people are formed most self-consciously through their own… activities. It is where they form *symbolic moulds* through which they understand themselves and their possibilities for the rest of their lives' (Willis,

1990: 7 my emphasis). I look at the prominent aspects of my participants' identities as they presented them, either explicitly or implicitly, through analysis of my focus groups and interviews. I assess the types of terms and language that respondents use to define and describe themselves and others. I also examine how youth identities relate to broader lifestyle practices and values. I adopt the concept of identity as 'how we define ourselves, based on our characteristics and attributes (our self-concept) and the social context(s) of which we are part' (Davies and Eynon, 2013: 60). These definitions of ourselves are related to those aspects that we can *relate* to other individuals, social groups, or communities but also what *distinguishes* us from others. Here I look to the ways that my respondents expressed or 'performed' aspects of their identity, to use Goffman's term (1990 [1959]). I report on my young people's discourse in relation to aspects of their identities such as their age or life stage identity, their gender, sexuality, and social class. Examining these facets of their identities will lead to an assessment of their relationship with their tastes, attitudes and behaviour.

Referring to the self-identity task that I asked my respondents to complete before I interviewed them (as detailed in my methodology chapter); an example of a completed Identity Page can be found in Figure 5.1.1 below. Of my 42 respondents, 30 completed Identity Pages (71% of total cohort). The page constituted a series of boxes with prompts for the young people to fill out themselves. They were mostly questions related to leisure activities, cinema-going, film consumption, tastes and values, but the final prompt invited a broader response in respect of: 'Something Else About Me….'. The responses to this final prompt included comments connected with their leisure activities, gender and sexuality, nationality, skill-sets, lifestyle affiliations, and their studies. These worksheets helped to aid understanding of how my respondents expressed their identity by showing who or what they identified with most prominently at that moment. At the very least, they referred to something that they thought would be interesting, safe and acceptable to report on, in writing, in front of their peers and myself as researcher. This relatively public act made the task something of a performance of identity. It is worth noting that this last, broad question on the Identity Page seemed to be the most difficult

question for them to answer as they often took the longest amount of time (compared to other parts of the page) to complete it and often checked in with other participants as to what they had written.

Figure 5.1.1 Example of an Identity Page.
Grace is in the Boarder and Urbanite group.



I asked all of the cohort to state their gender on the Identity Pages. I did not provide binary prescribed options to choose from (i.e. male or female) but instead gave them a blank space to write the word/s that best described their gender to them. Twenty out of the 42 wrote 'female' (constituting 48% of my cohort), 20 wrote 'male' (another 48%), one young person stated that they were 'agender' (2%), and another as 'gender fluid' (making up the final 2% of the cohort). Conceptions of masculinity and femininity are understood in academia as the 'cultural' versions of the biological determinants of the male and female sex. Judith Butler makes the distinction 'between sex, as biological facticity, and gender, as the cultural interpretation or signification of that facticity' (Butler, 1988: 522). There are other forms of identity expressed by my

participants and these are addressed later in this chapter, group by group. Identity is defined and shaped by the other individuals and groups that young people spend time with; namely family members, friends, and romantic partners. I turn to this familial and social context next.

5.1.2 Family, Friends, and Relationships

Here I examine the types of household and family that my cohort were living in and the extent to which they have already asserted their independence and emergence as young adults. This relates to the extent of the communities they have forged with their friends, peers and partners and the degree of influence these relationships have on their leisure activities and, perhaps ultimately, their film consumption practices.

Families are considered to be paramount in relation to the social forces that shape and influence young people's development (Lila et al., 2006; Atkinson, 2016). Schrøder et al argue that although 'the peer group has assumed an increasing importance as a prominent context of media use for adolescents…it is still the case that the family by far overshadows any other social institution as the most important context of media use' (Schrøder et al., 2003: 5). Although a large number of older teenagers are transitioning to independence from their parents and siblings, the family is still seen as performing a key role connected with the formation of identity at this life stage. Hendry et al concluded that 'parents remain an important influence throughout the adolescent years helping young people mould their sense of self and shape future life choices' (Hendry et al., 1993: 179) Bourdieu situated the parent-child relationship as the zenith of social reproduction (2010 [1984]) placing emphasis specifically on the role of the father by only collecting data on the educational level and occupation of the fathers in mostly traditional nuclear families. This focus on the patriarch as the most influential parent is outdated today. Indeed, feminist theorists have critiqued Bourdieu's work for severely under-representing the role of the mother and normalising the nuclear family model (Silva, 2005).

In 2016, when I conducted the bulk of my interviews and focus groups with my young cohort, there were 18.9 million families in the UK ((ONS), 2016). Of these, a total of 7.9 million families had dependent children.[51] This breaks down further to 3.3 million married, civil partner or cohabiting couples (42% of total), 2.4 million step-families (30%),[52] 1.9 million single-parent families (24%), and 0.3 million extended or multi-family households (4%).[53]

All of my respondents lived at home with their families still, mainly due to the fact that they were all aged 18 or under, and all but two were in full-time education or training. There were a variety of family types represented however including; traditional married or cohabiting parents with children (otherwise known as the nuclear family), those living with step-parents and step/half siblings, single-parent, and multi-family households. Figure 5.1.2 below shows the different family types that each of my respondents reported on. The colour coding of individuals corresponds with the participant group I have allocated for them (Key under Table).

[51] According to the ONS, 'dependent children are those aged under 16 living with at least one parent, or aged 16 to 18 in full-time education'. (ONS) OfNS (2016) Families and households in the UK: 2016. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.

[52] Figure from 'Lone Parent and step families with dependent children' ONS user requested data. Spreadsheet dated 09/03/16 accessed 13/08/18: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/families/adhocs/005452loneparentandstepfamilieswithdependentchildrenandchildreneligibleforchildmaintenance

[53] Households containing 2 or more families (multi-family households) were the fastest growing household type over the decade to 2016, increasing by 66% from 194,000 households in 2006 to 323,000 households in 2016. This increase is statistically significant. Families in these households may be unrelated, or may be related in some way, for example, a married couple with their son and his girlfriend. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/families/bulletins/familiesandhouseholds/2016 accessed 13/08/18.

Figure 5.1.2: Family-Types of Cohort.

Family Type	Individuals Colour Coded by Group	No. of Participants (% of total)	National Average
Nuclear	Charlie, Josh, Nemo, Grace, Sasha, Camilla, George, Archie, Emma, Erika Liam, Danielle, Isabel, Abigail, Bonnie, Gabby, JJ, Hannah, Milo, Ellie.	20 (48%)	42%
Step-parents	Wes, Mitch, Ethan, Rebecca, Harry, James, Jenson.	7 (17%)	30%
Single-parent	Callum, Lakeisha, Lila, Jamie, Cherry, Atticus.	6 (14%)	24%
Multi-family	Emile, Michael, Mandy, Amber.	4 (9%)	4%
Not known	Jack, Peter and Dominic, Jayke, Cory.	5 (12%)	-

KEY
Participant Group with Colour Code **Estate Dwellers Boarders & Urbanites Cultural Alternatives Squad Members Suburbanites Rural Dwellers**

Due to the mainly arbitrary pattern of colour codes, it is apparent that there are not many clear correlations between family type and participant category. Of the few patterns that do emerge however, all of the Squad Members come from traditional nuclear families and most of the young people living in multi-family set-ups are Suburbanites. For more on these patterns see Sections 5.5 and 5.6.

It is clear then that within my cohort, the single most common family type is still the traditional nuclear family, with just under half (48%) of the young people living in this set-up. This means that 40% were of a different type however, with 17% living with step-parents, 14% with just one parent, and 9% with in a multi-family household (this was usually with an older sibling who had a partner living with them at their family home). If we compare the national figures from the ONS (2016) on family type, we can see that my sample of Norfolk families are a little more traditional in their makeup in that

there are a greater number of nuclear families, although it is notable that I spoke to a higher proportion of people living in a multi-family households than was represented in the national figures.

A lot of the talk about families occurred naturally in discussions concerning film tastes and decision-making, and practices about home film viewing and cinema trips. These areas will be addressed in following chapters, but there were other, more general, observations about the nature of familial relationships for my participants. These included descriptions of complicated family structures across my cohort; including divorced parents, step-parents, step and half-siblings, foster siblings and occasionally homes crowded with extended family members, and even large numbers of pets. A number of young people split their time between separated parents, from a range of different participant groups (two Estate Dwellers, one Boarder/Urbanite, one Cultural Alternative, and two Rural Dwellers). These young people experienced a more fragmented home-life which had become standard for them, but this dividing up of free-time between parents had implications for their leisure practices and the number of influences on their formation of tastes.

David Buckingham has stated that 'adolescence is…a period in which young people negotiate their separation from their family, and develop independent social competence (for example, through participation in "cliques" and larger "crowds" of peers, who exert different types of influence)' (2008: 3). This practice is demonstrated best by the Squad Members group, whose members spoke of socialising in extended friendship groups of up to thirty peers and equated the importance of these relationships to those of family by talking about a 'squad family tree' (further details in 5.5).

Ten of my total cohort of respondents (24%) referred to boyfriends or girlfriends that they currently had or had been with in the past. For some, these relationships appeared just as important as those with friends or family, contrary to the notion that teenage romantic relationships are transitory and trivial (a view supported by Collins, 2003). In fact, two pairs of my participants were actually in a relationship with each other: Lila and Dominic (both Boarders/Urbanites), and Emma and Harry (both Cultural Alternatives).

Both couples spent a large amount of their leisure time together, often watching television and films together. As Harry and Lila appeared to have complicated home-lives (Harry, a crowded home, and Lila had separated parents that she alternated between), they preferred to be at their partner's home which seemed to offer them a type of haven for their leisure time, in comparison to their own home. Some participants referred to boyfriends or girlfriends as cinema-going partners, a practice that I will examine in more detail in Chapter 7.

5.1.3 Media, and General Leisure-Time Practices and Values

As a result of research on cinema-going in two Belgian cities, Meers and Biltereyst (2012) report that film audiences are generally social media users. They state that film-goers were 'historically the first social audiences for a mass medium, and they remain social media users in our contemporary media saturated culture' (Meers and Biltereyst, 2012: 93). This section explores the activities that participants undertook in their free-time and the values that they attribute to leisure, especially their media use.

A number of my research participants professed to not having a lot of free-time outside of their school or college responsibilities. Nine (21%) out of the total 42 respondents were keen to stress the dominance of schoolwork in their free-time, even though I did not ask directly if this was the case. It is noteworthy that they were all older teenagers between 16 and 18 years old and they were all studying at sixth form or college. All of these participants foregrounded their education as a priority in their lives, to the extent that it encroached significantly on their leisure-time. However, this group of nine participants presenting as diligent students only constituted 12% of the total group of 16-18 year olds in full-time education, so are not representative of the majority in this respect.

Only eight out of the total cohort of young people reported on having a part-time job (just 19%), mostly in retail and leisure. Employment was in a variety of shops including a toy store, a clothes retailer, a pharmacy, a convenience store, and a wholesalers. One participant worked at a cinema (Vue), and another two each had a paper-round. This clearly meant that these teens had

their own (nominal) income, enabling them greater freedom to pick and choose their own leisure-time activities independent of their parents (variable) 'pocket money' handouts. However, having these part-time jobs also meant that their free-time was restricted even more than those that only had homework and revision encroaching on their leisure time. Notably also however, seven respondents (17% of total) informed me that they undertook voluntary (unpaid) work: four of them at OPEN youth venue (assisting staff with running the drop-in youth club and other sporting and cultural activities such as climbing and dance classes), two of them for the National Citizens Service, and one Boarder went to Central America with a group to volunteer at a school after completing a fundraising project. They all seemed to rate these experiences highly, with the two of them who worked with the National Citizens Service saying they missed it when it finished; 'at first you think, oh hurry up, and when it's over you're like, I wanna do it again'. These participants clearly felt motivated to contribute to particular projects or causes without remuneration, probably partially to gain experience that they could list on their CVs.

The kinds of (non-cinematic) activities that my cohort discussed doing in their free time encompassed a broad range including: watching TV, computer gaming, listening to and making music, artistic (drawing, painting, photography), social (attending youth club and using social media), literary (reading fan fiction and manga, writing stories and film ideas), and sporting (playing football and basketball). The most popular activity (after watching TV) was youth club attendance with nearly half (19) of my respondents regularly spending time at their chosen club. This is hardly surprising considering I actively recruited nearly half of my sample via youth leaders, and found the various youth clubs to be useful destinations for encountering a good cross-section of young people (in terms of socio-economic background). So although this may not be entirely representative of the wider 13-18 year old population, spending time away from home at youth venues featured significantly in a large proportion of my cohort members' lives. Consequently, I questioned them on what they actually *do* at these sessions. Emma (16, OPEN city youth venue and suburban academy Year 11 pupil) said this: 'It's a friendly community. You can get along with everyone. You can just chill. Be

on your phones. Play games and that'. Emma emphasised the social aspect of attending the venue, choosing to describe it as a 'friendly community', implying a cohesive and accepting group of peers and supportive youth workers. She reiterated that they could 'just chill' and be on their phones – as opposed to the regulatory and digitally restrictive environment of school. Jayke (16), Jack (17), and JJ (16) expounded enthusiastically on the facilities at OPEN to me:

Jayke	It's better than my house. Until <her brother> shows up and then it's the same as my house.
Anna	So you don't have to pay anything?
All	No.
Anna	And have you made new friends?
Jack	Yeah. Most definitely.
Jayke	I actually *have* friends now.
Anna	What kinds of activities can you do here?....
JJ	There's X-Box.
Jack	There's X-Box and PlayStation up there.
Jayke	There's an Air Hockey table which is so fun. There's computers, that thing[54]
JJ	There's table tennis.
Anna	Have you played the T Wall?
Jack	I'm really good at that.
Jayke	I really like it because I get to hit things.
Jack	They also do a lot of activities like…
Jayke	Cooking classes that you have to pay for.
Jack	Yeah they have a cooking class, rock climbing…
Jayke	Dance, theatre….

Jayke favourably compares the OPEN venue to being at home, adding that this is spoiled when her brother also attends, in a spirit of sibling rivalry. Jayke and Jack both agree that attending OPEN has helped them make connections with other teens and initiate new friendships or extend their current friendship groups.

Respondents conveyed to me the general and specific types of activities that they do for pleasure when they're not studying or working, via the ID pages and during the interviews. The following Table 5.1.3 lists these pursuits in

[54] Jayke refers to a 'T Wall' gaming panel with squares that randomly light up and the player has to hit the square to deactivate the light sensor

order of popularity from the most common to least, once again this is colour-coded and a key is provided at the base of the table to link my participant groups to individuals and identify any patterns. I have not included film consumption on this table, or in this section as all the young people spoke about this activity (as it was my main focus) so it would skew results. Instead, Chapter 7 presents the film consumption findings.

Table 5.1.3: Cohort's Leisure and Media Activities
(from most popular to least)

Activity	**Description**	**No. of Participants (% of total)**	**Individuals Colour Coded by Group**
TV	Netflix, binge-watch box-sets, 'trashy' reality TV, soaps, X-Factor with family, Channel 5 thrillers and crime shows.	19 (45%)	Callum, Nemo, Lakeisha, Archie, Grace, Sasha, Rebecca, Harry, Jayke, Emma, Gabby, Abigail, Bonnie, Liam, Danielle, JJ, Mandy, Michael, Atticus, Milo, Ellie, Jenson.
Computer Games	Playing games online collectively or individually on consoles and hand-held devices.	12 (29%)	Charlie, Josh, Mitch, Wes, Emile, Callum, George, Archie Rebecca, Erika, Jenson, Atticus.
Music	Listening to and playing music (guitar, ukulele, keyboard, drums).	9 (21%)	Josh, George, Ethan, Rebecca, Jamie, James, Mandy.
Reading	Books, manga, comics.	7 (17%)	Jack, Isabel, Abigail, Jayke, JJ, Michael.
Art	Drawing, sketching, painting and spray-painting.	7 (17%)	Josh, Jack, Jamie, Isabel, Bonnie, Milo, Jenson.
YouTube	Watching parkour videos, comedy sketches and YouTubers (e.g. PewDiePie).	6 (14%)	Emma, Cherry Gabby, Bonnie, Abigail, Milo.
Playing Sports	Football, basketball and pool.	6 (14%)	Nemo, Wes, Emile, George, James, Jenson.
Going Out for a Meal	Eating out in restaurants with friends or family.	5 (12%)	Grace, Sasha, Camilla, Liam, Danielle
Writing	Essays, stories, fan fiction, film ideas.	3 (7%)	Jayke, Jamie, JJ.

FaceTime/Skype	Chatting with friends via video-calls.	3 (7%)	Callum, Charlie, Amber.
Theatre-going / Productions	Attending plays and musicals. Doing stage management for school plays.	3 (7%)	Jack, Charlie, Camilla.
Walking	Dog walking, 'wandering in woods', 'milling round the shops having a laugh'.	2 (5%)	Atticus, Milo
Photography & Film-making	Taking photographs and videos for pleasure.	2 (5%)	Emma, Erika
Roleplaying/ Cosplay	Avid role-player (character acting), cosplay conventions.	2 (5%)	Mitch, Cherry.
Knitting	Knitting toys, scarves etc.	1 (2%)	Mandy
News Media	Watching news channels to keep up with current affairs.	1 (2%)	Michael
Club Member	Regular attendee at Cadets (St John's Ambulance) meetings.	1 (2%)	Emma
Animals	Wolf 'obsession' including drawing them, encounters at zoos.	1 (2%)	Bonnie

KEY
Participant Group with Colour Code **Estate Dwellers** **Boarders & Urbanites** **Cultural Alternatives** **Squad Members** **Suburbanites** **Rural Dwellers**

It is evident that a wide range of activities were pursued by my cohort. Television watching on its various digital platforms, was the most frequently discussed activity and had even representation across the participant groups. It was a popular and unifying activity, which was closely linked with their film consumption (especially as some talked about watching films on broadcast television). Binge-watching box-set television series in quick succession was a particular highlighted practice. This was mostly done via subscription video on demand (SVoD) platforms (Netflix being the most frequently mentioned); a manifestation of contemporary digital media consumption. This practice is described by Sidneyeve Matrix; 'huge percentages of [SVoD] subscribers [streaming] back-to-back episodes, devour a season of content in just days' (Matrix, 2014: 119). Her research considers the 'affordances and the constraints of TV binges when evaluating the impact of SVoD viewing on

young people's relationships, identities, and values, as well as their media use, habits, and literacies' (Matrix, 2014: 119). My data reveals that the roles that these practices fulfil for my cohort are: time-filling, box-set curiosity, viewing compulsion, and keeping up with peers' viewing preferences.

A notable observation of the leisure pursuits reported by my cohort is that a relatively large proportion of them were of an active artistic or creative type. Amongst these were: making and listening to music, reading, drawing, painting, writing, production of digital content, theatre-going, knitting, and photography. In comparison, there were not a great number of sporty types, with only six participants (14%) reporting on watching or playing football, basketball, or pool. Unsurprisingly, the Internet was a ubiquitous presence in my contemporary young people's lives, so much so that using their devices to access social media and other online products and services was a doxic activity (taken-for-granted) with most participants. However, some individuals foregrounded their digital media consumption and activity within our discussions (see 5.4 Cultural Alternatives). I now move on to the examination of each of the sociocultural and media contexts, including identities, relationships, and media and leisure pursuits, for each of my participant groups in turn.

5.2 Estate Dwellers

The Estate Dwellers group of nine participants (seven male, two female) were characterised by members residing on council estates. They were divided in terms of their identifications with gender and sexuality in that most performed heteronormative tendencies, but two had LGBT identifications. In terms of this group's pattern of family structures, Figure 5.1.2 shows that a third of this group lived in traditional nuclear family households (notably less than the nearly 50% of nuclear families in the whole cohort). The other two-thirds of members were fairly evenly spread in all the different family categories. There were two young people in this group that lived with step-parents and siblings. The friendship patterns for this group varied between a small number of them spending a fair amount of time alone in their rooms (Callum, Jack, Josh), to

some of them socialising in large groups (Nemo in the park, Emile with his 'football mates'). The 'loners' did, however, say that they often chatted to friends online via Skype or gaming devices. Most of the young people in this group were fairly regular attendees at youth clubs, so were used to meeting friends face to face in their leisure time. Two pairs in this group were close friends (respectively); having the shared interests of gaming, football, and boxing films (Emile and Wes), and gaming and film (Josh and Mitch). Only two of the members talked about a current romantic partner (Nemo and Mitch) and Mitch was quite clear that his girlfriend's viewing tastes were very different to his.

This group had a large number of highly engaged gamers, who were all male and aged between 14 and 18. A number of these young people admitted to spending considerable amounts of their leisure time gaming, owning a number of gaming devices, and in some cases so many games that they had not yet got round to playing them all. Charlie reported that he played *Sims* (a virtual life simulation game) on his Samsung tablet as much as he could, stating that '*Sims* is my life'. Charlie also admitted that he used to have a laptop computer but that he broke it in a fit of pique whilst playing Sims. It appears that for Charlie at least, playing this particular game seemed to perform a cathartic function at times, enacting violence on his simulated characters (and actual violence on his hardware) perhaps to release tension, although it could just have been an exploration of the limits of the game. I had this exchange with 17 year old college student Mitch:

Anna Are you a gamer as well, Mitch?
Mitch Oh yes!
Anna <laughs> Shared passion? <with Josh>
Mitch Well I'm a teenage boy. What do you expect?

Here Mitch cheerfully owned up to personifying the stereotype of adolescent boys being enthusiastic gamers. Wes and Emile, other Estate Dwellers (from the Catton Grove estate youth club), also admitted to being keen gamers and frequently playing FIFA games together on the X-Box. Callum (17, suburban academy A level student), reported on having an abundance of leisure-time and put it this way:

Callum	Yeah I have quite a bit of spare time to waste.
Anna	To waste? Do you waste it then?
Callum	I do schoolwork obviously and then as I don't have a job or anything I just kind of like, mess about.
Anna	What does that involve?
Callum	I dunno I just like…..talk to friends…just like
Anna	How do you talk to friends?
Callum	Skype and stuff. Go round. Do things. Play [video] games.

Callum admitted that he had 'quite a bit of spare-time to waste' although notably was at pains to claim that he put his studies first before he 'messed about' talking to friends and playing computer games, suggesting a modicum of academic diligence (although this may have been due to the fact that his teacher was sitting within ear-shot of our focus group). There is evidence that all of these male Estate Dwellers were frequent gamers due to a relative abundance of free time (less engagement with education equalled less homework), combined with a relative lack of their own spending money. For them, gaming was better value for money than going out to the cinema for example, and there were reports of them engaging with friends via their online gaming practices – thereby providing them with sociality in the process.

Jack was an Estate Dweller from a 'chavvy'[55] area (his words) who seemed keen to demonstrate his levels of educational engagement and cultural capital to me. He made it clear that he had literary and cultural capital, via his reported reading of a classic novel and attendance at theatrical productions. Jack did subvert the trend for Estate Dwellers in this respect, but also because he was not a gamer; he was more interested and invested in the performing arts, reading and creating 'artwork'. He did however profess to spending time on the social media platforms of Facebook and Tumblr, playfully stating that he was 'Tumblr trash' on his ID page.

In summary, the Estate Dwellers come from a variety of family backgrounds, but had a slightly higher rate of 'alternative' family-types (i.e. non-nuclear).

[55] The word 'chav' is generally understood as a derogatory term for 'a young person of a type characterised by brash and loutish behaviour (with connotations of a low social status)'. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/chav accessed 19/07/18.

They were mostly very socially active with a lot of face-to-face (and online) interaction with friends, which could be attributed to them living in close proximity to their friends, within their housing estates. Educational commitment was not a subject that featured very highly in this group, and most did not have independent income via part-time employment. Most Estate Dwellers did not appear to be very engaged in family life, in terms of regularly spending time together with siblings and parents in communal areas in their homes. They were mostly sociable personalities however, but often that socialising would involve gaming and chatting with their friends, and online as opposed to in person. Members spoke to me of their use of particular apps and sites such as lip-synching app Music.Ly, Facebook chat, and Tumblr. Contrasting notably with other groups, the majority of Estate Dwellers emphasised the prominence of computer-gaming in their leisure lives, candidly informing me of the large amount of time they spent playing on their devices and consoles. This had a consequential effect on the prominence that film consumption had in their lives, as will be discussed in later chapters. I next highlight Josh as the Estate Dweller Case Study.

5.2.1 Josh: An Estate Dweller Case Study

Josh was a 17 year old doing a childcare apprenticeship via City College. He lived in the Bowthorpe estate area with his mother who was a supermarket employee, his dad who was a factory manager and his older sister who had recently moved back home. He reported that he used to watch television in the lounge with his parents, but he had stopped doing this in recent times, as well as eating together with his family (attributed partly to his sister returning home and him feeling crowded out). He initially told me that he hardly ever met up with his friends because they were all connected online. Later in our interview however I elicited that he did go out and see them at their homes sometimes and that he had distinct circles of friends (‘the geeks’ and ‘the party ones’). Josh did not discuss any homework or coursework that took up his leisure-time, instead he would typically be in his bedroom gaming, listening to music, and watching television and films (mostly via illegal downloading). He explained that he used to be quite an avid reader of books, but in the school

summer holiday when he was ten years old, he asked his father to get out all of his old gaming consoles and 'went on a gaming binge', after which he never opened a book again. He also reported that he found video games 'the most important thing in my life. Sad as that seems'. It is notable that by becoming interested in gaming, Josh is replicating the leisure practices of his father, who provided him with vintage consoles from his own gaming years – a prime example of Bourdieusian cultural reproduction, albeit contemporary *popular* culture, from one generation to the next (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990 [1970]).

Josh was representative of the Estate Dweller trends of low educational engagement and a resulting abundance of free time, high levels of time spent gaming, low interaction with family, and a sociability both in person and online.

5.3 Boarders and Urbanites

The Boarders and Urbanites, a group of five male and four female participants, did not reveal a great deal about their identities in our discussions - in relation to their gender, sexuality or any other (sub)cultural affiliations. I could attribute this to the make-up of the focus groups as acquaintances that could have shared other group members' personal information indiscriminately if they chose to. There was definitely a sense that there were friendship cliques at the boarding school. Also, it is highly possible that identity issues were as yet unexplored and/or unexpressed by the Boarders and Urbanites due to their intensive focus on their education at this life stage, and the lack of opportunity in the regulatory spaces of their schools.

The boarders Sasha (17) and Camilla (16) only got to see their families once every three weeks, who lived in Holt in North Norfolk and Folkestone in Kent respectively. As a result, the way they spoke about them was a little different to other participants, in that they displayed a kind of wistful but firmly defensive tone about the importance of time spent with their families. They stated that they made special efforts to schedule quality time with their families on the relatively rare occasions that they went home. Other Boarders and

Urbanites talked about going out with their families for trips to the cinemas and to restaurants too however. It appeared that families in this group were more cohesive, compared to most of the others. It may follow then, that due to the relatively unusual closeness to their families (compared to other older teens at least), Boarders and Urbanites were open to influence from family members more than participants from other groups at this life stage.

Sasha and Camilla informed me that two and a half hours of prep (homework) every weekday evening was obligatory for students at their state boarding school. Sasha lamented on this relatively recent demand on her time and reflected on the freedom she used to enjoy:

> I used to love… how my life was. How I was….so much more free than I am now. Like being able to do things on weeknights and just being able to go upstairs and not have to do two and a half hours of work after school….so that was a lot more free time for me to do what I wanted to.
>
> (Sasha, 17)

Lila (18) and Grace (17) were students at the same boarding school and concurred about the pressure on their time in relation to home-study. On their Identity Page they wrote the following underneath 'Things I do in my free time….': 'Read, watch shows, work, go out (to cinema, shopping etc.). Not much free time' (Grace), 'Spend time with friends. Studying a lot so not much free time' (Lila). There was a distinctly higher level of educational commitment with these group members than with other groups. Significantly however I interviewed all of these participants mostly in their restrictive school environments,[56] which may have been a factor in their emphasis on the academic (although no teaching staff were present at any of these focus groups). In their limited free time, preferred leisure activities included: reading, shopping, Zumba, volunteering, seeing friends, playing football, music, and video games. Three of the Boarders agreed that their first choice of

[56] This was via three separate focus groups (two at the state boarding school, and one at the city sixth form academy). Although I did meet five of the Wymondham College students at Cinema City for a film screening and a brief post-film chat on one occasion too.

a night out, would be to go out for a meal with friends. This was an echo of a number of the Boarders and Urbanites telling me about meals out in restaurants that they fairly frequently had with their families.

Digital media engagement was severely restricted for the Boarders due to there being no freely available Wi-Fi and a limited mobile signal. If they wanted to access anything online, they had to use school PCs in a lab, where peers could and would look at what they were viewing or doing over their shoulders. Peer pressure was clearly evident in shaping the kind of digital media, television and films that the Boarders consumed. As Camilla explained: 'I guess we feel comfortable doing what everyone else does in there, watching what everyone else watches. But if it was something a bit different then I wouldn't feel comfortable doing it'. Sasha agreed that due to the fear of peers looking over her shoulder and judging her media choices, she would never watch YouTubers in the computer room. The boarding school was presented to me as a hyper-regulatory space in terms of peer-pressured taste-making between the teenage students that boarded together (reminiscent of Cann's scholarship on gendered taste-making in hyper-regulatory school spaces – see 5.4 for more). I was told about regular occasions when a particular Boarder clique (including some male students) would gather together in their common room to view the long-running structured reality television series *Made in Chelsea* (2001-present). Sasha described the show as enjoyable 'trash'. Moreover, Sasha and Camilla expressed mild scorn at Grace, being a day pupil that was not in their friendship clique, who admitted that she had never seen any *Made in Chelsea* episodes – further cementing the evidence of peer pressure related to tastes this time from Sasha and Camilla directed at their classmate.

In summary the Boarders and Urbanites demonstrated high engagement with their studies, and a greater than average commitment to family life. The Boarders were restricted in their media use on campus by technical restrictions (to Wi-Fi access) but also by peer pressured taste-making.

5.3.1 Camilla: A Boarder/Urbanite Case Study

Camilla had been a boarding student at Wymondham College for nearly six years when I met her. Her family lived a three-hour drive away in Kent and she and her younger brother (also a boarder) went home for the weekend once every three weeks. Her mum was a school secretary and her dad was in the Royal Air Force. She purported to value the time she was at home with her parents as she did not get to see them often. She had aspirations to be a teacher.

In between our first meeting and the second, Camilla went to South America for a month with a group from Wymondham College - they volunteered in a school in Nicaragua that they had fundraised for, before 'climbing mountains and waterfalls' for the rest of the trip. She also volunteered at school on theatre productions, doing stage management. She was studying for A Levels in English, Drama, Psychology, and Photography; notably more arts-based subjects than her boarding school colleagues who were mostly studying STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) subjects.

When I asked Camilla what is was like to be a boarder, she laughingly responded: ‘it’s like one big dysfunctional family. Everyone’s really close, so it’s really nice’. It appeared then that she (and others) equated their fellow boarders to family members, in a similar way to the Squad Members referenced their friendship group as a family tree (see 5.5). This ‘closeness’ of the Boarders that Camilla refers to is symptomatic of the clique-like friendship groups that I observed at the boarding school. Camilla typifies the Boarders and the Urbanites through her educational commitment, her devotion to her family and her heteronormative, middle-class cultural affiliations, which contrast with those of the Cultural Alternatives to which I turn to next.

5.4 Cultural Alternatives

The Cultural Alternatives are a group of eight young people from a variety of backgrounds and areas. They are characterised by their outspoken natures and eclectic affiliations with popular cultural and media products and platforms, as

well as an openness to gender dysphoria and queerness. The Identity Page 'Something else about me' responses from members of this group ranged from comments about their appearance: 'I love colour and change my hair colour every week', to flippant observations about themselves: 'I'm very good at stealing food off my friends. I'm a bae',[57] 'I am the Gay King', and 'I enjoy putting stickers on my face'. Rebecca admitted that she 'binge-watched a lot and reviewed films for a 'celebrity' news company/website'. Emma stated her career aspiration; 'I want to be a mechanic', subverting the gender stereotype of women not wanting to train for the male-dominated profession of vehicle maintenance.

I found the nature of youth-cultural groupings and identities generally to be fairly arbitrary, and the presence of cohesive subcultural identifications was negligible within this group. I argue that the Cultural Alternatives, exhibited traits more related to 'postmodern' accounts of taste cultures, such as those reported by Featherstone as a 'movement away from agreed universal criteria of judgement of cultural taste' (2007 [1991]: 104). These accounts mark a departure from Bourdieu's findings in *Distinction* and indicate a shift 'towards a more relativistic and pluralistic situation in which…the strange, the other, the vulgar, which were previously excluded can now be allowed in' (Featherstone, 2007 [1991]: 104). Andy Bennett (2000; 2004; 2011a; 2011b) and Harry Blatterer (2010b; 2010a; 2013) also theorise around this post-modern notion of youth cultures as being ever more fragmented and varied, and state that rather than clearly defined subcultures, it is transient lifestyles or temporary scenes that young people associate with. It should also be noted that scholars of subculture (such as Thornton, 1995; Gelder, 2007), whilst conceding to Bourdieu's claim that subordinate cultures are partially framed by dominant forms of cultural classification, have counter-argued that members of subcultures assert themselves positively against officially validated cultural hierarchies.

[57] When I questioned the meaning of the word 'bae', the young people described it as a terms of endearment made up from the acronym for 'before anyone else'.

I did not expressly enquire about the sexuality of my respondents during my interviews but on occasion it was referred to by the young people themselves - and within this group especially. It became evident that gender and sexuality were integral aspects of the Cultural Alternatives' identities and were occasionally referred to in relation to their expressions of taste. The willingness of these young people to embody, express, and discuss issues of gender and sexuality contrasts with my broader sample. They also contrast with the findings of the similar study undertaken by Victoria Cann in Norfolk schools, which focused expressly on issues of gender in contemporary youth taste cultures. Cann found that 'participants generally believed that an individual is either male or female and this should be evident and attributable in interaction' (2018: 68). Although, she found there was some recognition of gender fluidity from a queer perspective from her young people, none of them had actually experienced this - or if they had, were not prepared to discuss it with her whilst in the school environment. The vast majority of her cohort were ostensibly fully invested in the gender binary. Cann argues that the Norfolk schools that were the sites of her focus groups were 'hyper-regulatory' environments that reinforced heteronormative (patriarchal) cultural and societal norms regarding gender (Cann, 2013; Cann, 2018). This hyper-regulatory environment contrasted with what I experienced at OPEN, which was where I met with most Cultural Alternatives; it was a welcoming venue for diverse young people to relax in a leisure setting. However, as previously mentioned, I too found that on the occasions that I held focus groups in schools and colleges, the young people were more guarded in their responses. If there were personal issues of gender and sexuality with these participants, they chose not to disclose anything on these subjects to me at any other interview setting other than at OPEN.

In relation to the household make-up of the Cultural Alternatives, their families were a wide and even spread across the different family-types. There were the same number represented equally in all but the 'extended family' category. As an example of one of the extended step-families I heard about: Harry had 'three [siblings] in the house' but five (total) that he 'knew of', elaborating by just saying that his dad had 'a few other [children]'. Also, in recent years his step-

father had taken to collecting and keeping a huge number of birds and animals at their property. Add to this menagerie: three younger half-siblings, his mother and his step-father, all in a three-bedroom semi-detached house on the outskirts of the city. The result being that Harry mostly preferred to spend his time either at the OPEN youth venue or at his girlfriend, Emma's house as it was away from his 'annoying siblings'. This indicates a common theme with a lot of the participants that I met at youth clubs; the desire to get away from their home environment and families in the evening or at the weekends – a factor that impacted on their general leisure and lifestyle practices.

Most respondents did not explicitly discuss their online activities unless questioned, however Internet-use seemed especially vital for the Cultural Alternatives. Erika told me that she had won an award at her High School Prom for 'Most Addicted to the Internet' (ironically she had not been able to collect the award at the time as she was wandering the building trying to 'find the Wi-Fi'). David Buckingham relates young people's use of online media as a means to form identity and communicate with different aspects of self-hood, thereby enabling them to relate to the world and to others 'in more powerful ways' (Buckingham, 2008: 14). I found evidence of this 'power' in a number of my participants, and Erika was a stand-out example due to the social and cultural capital that using YouTube, visiting YouTube's HQ in London, and linking with other like-minded digitally creative young people had bestowed on her. Cherry (15) had also made friends via YouTube communities and had taken it further by attending YouTube 'meets' in London, enabling her to meet online friends 'in real life'. Through these new social connections, Cherry had fostered a love of cosplay, attending conventions in costume to connect and bond with her new social circle. This linking of virtual with 'real-life' interaction supports findings by Davies and Eynon that the online and offline worlds are closely related; 'the majority of online interactions by young people are linked with people in the 'real world' (2013: 69). Boyd extends this idea by pointing out that it is not the *virtual* but the *actual* that is paramount; 'most teens are not compelled by gadgetry as such—they are compelled by friendship. The gadgets are interesting to them primarily as a means to a social end' (boyd, 2014: 18).

The Cultural Alternatives then are diverse in terms of identity and family backgrounds. A common theme is the desire to spend leisure time away from their homes with friends, in some instances pursuing shared interests in vlogging, and cosplay. Investment in education was not as high priority as their social and cultural lives. They are highly engaged with digital media, with a relatively prominent investment in Internet culture which has rewarded them with new face-to-face social connections.

5.4.1 Jamie: A Cultural Alternative Case Study

Jamie (18), college media student, wore his identity in a literal sense: the first time I met him he was wearing a Metallica t-shirt, drainpipe black jeans, black platform boots and his long straight blonde hair was loose down his back. I questioned him on the significance of his t-shirt and he was at pains to point out that he didn't want to have his identity defined just as a 'metal-head':

Jamie	…..I mean, one of the things I really can't stand about….nowadays is how really very narrow-minded some people can be. So if they see you're wearing a Metallica t-shirt, they assume you only like that kind of music. I have been a metal-head all my life since I was four.
Anna	Is that because of your parents…? I mean how did you hear metal?
Jamie	Well my Dad was a little bit…he laid off a little bit. He liked his softer stuff. He kind of played Metallica to me and I kind of said to him "hey this is good". And then my Mum took me aside and said, "Cradle of Filth here you go"…..they're a much heavier band. I was like, "OK Metallica bye" and I started listening to Cradle of Filth. And from quite an early age I got picked on at school. I was very….weird as they put it. But no I'm very open-minded. I do like my varieties – Beethoven and Mozart and all that kind of stuff. And I do like the occasional pop song every now and then. But I'm all for the Gothic stuff as well. So Metal mixed with orchestras and choirs. That's all good.

Although Jamie was a self-confessed 'metal-head', he was also concerned about being pigeon-holed as being part of just one music subculture and

professed to also being interested in certain Classical music and Pop songs. This correlated with Andy Bennett and Harry Blatterer's post-modern concepts, where individuals pick and choose cultural products from a broader range of prescribed cultural hierarchies than Bourdieu presented in *Distinction* (2010 [1984]), and conformed with the cultural omnivore thesis (Lamont, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996).

As mentioned above, a number of Cultural Alternatives discussed friendships that they had made solely via social media or online communities, as well as others detailing how they maintained existing friendships online. Boyd gives her reasons for young people using online social media sites as fulfilling desires to 'to gossip, flirt, complain, compare notes, share passions, emote, and joke around. They want to be able to talk among themselves—even if that means going online' (boyd, 2014: 21). Jamie had this to say about the benefits of online social networking for him:

> …I only got Facebook last year. I'm very, very slow on that kind of stuff. And for some reason I was really surprised when I saw that I got a friend request from someone in Algeria. And we started talking….and it's like we've known each other for years. And then I got a friend from Canada who I now have a really strong connection with. And …one of them I think we have a really strong bond because of our similarities with music and another one I have a strong bond with because of our similarities in film tastes. And those are my two strongest points. So I guess yeah international friends I can relate to the most.
>
> Jamie, 18

This excerpt not only highlights the usefulness of social media to Jamie to establish new friendships on an international scale, whilst in his relatively remote location in a village on the outskirts of Norwich. It also underlines the importance of shared passions around media consumption (in this case music and film) a key factor for other Cultural Alternatives too.

5.5 Squad Members

The Squad Members group is comprised of the four female Year 9 (aged 13 and 14) pupils from the suburban youth club plus two A Level students from

the suburban academy (one female, one male). This group is characterised by the large friendship groups within which the members socialise. Abigail was quite descriptive when she referred to their friendship group as 'the squad':

Abigail	I don't have a high enough social…I was about to say…level (this proves it!) to actually go out and go to the cinema by myself cause I have no friends…! <laughter>
Gabby	Apart from us!
Abigail	I'm joking. This is the squad.
Gabby	There's a bit more of us. There's about 30 of us.
Abigail	I know but we have squads within the squad.
Bonnie	That confuses me.
Abigail	Squad family tree!

Abigail told me more than once throughout the focus group that she believed herself to be 'socially inept', although her actual behaviour contradicted this statement, as she was the most vocal and confident individual in her group. When Gabby stated that there was a large number of about thirty of them in their friendship group, Abigail indicated that this was divided into hierarchies or cliques by referring to 'squads within the squad' and a 'squad family tree'. This hierarchical dynamic of their friendship group is illustrated later in the same focus group when Abigail talked about a sleepover that they had recently been to for Bonnie's birthday and apologised to Gabby as she was not invited (she was clearly not deemed as being in the right branch of the 'squad family tree' for this social gathering). The practice of adolescents being part of a large friendship group enables them to assert independence within the safety net of a friendship group, to ratify and guide their practices and behaviour. Indeed, in describing her 'squad' as a 'family tree', Abigail is equating her group of friends with her kinship group. One of the benefits of being part of a large network of friends is to enable shy or socially awkward Squad Members to socialise in the relative 'safety of the flock'. Two Squad Members agree on this point:

Abigail	On my own I'm either really hyper or unsociable or….
Bonnie	Like me!
Abigail	Yeah me and Bonnie are the same.

Bonnie	I'm too shy. When…..when I'm without my friends I'm too shy and I don't want to talk to anyone. <said quietly>

Liam (16) and Danielle (16), both A Level students at the suburban academy, also reported on the large group of friends that they sometimes went out with. They talked about an upcoming meal that they were planning at an Italian chain restaurant with a group of twelve friends, plus a cinema-trip that they had recently been on with a group of ten of them. Squad Members expressed affirmation for the idea of community by forming and maintaining these large friendship groups, affirming Bourdieu's concept of 'group habitus', in which he argues that a collective habitus is possible after an extended period of time, where a shared social experience results in drawing up of boundaries and an exclusivity of practice (Bourdieu, 1984).

Unusually and uniquely, all of the Squad Members came from traditional nuclear families, perhaps indicating that they were mostly from communities with traditional 'family values'. This context of relatively stable domestic settings could be a factor in their propensity for socialising in large groups; perhaps the firmer foundation increased these individuals' confidence in making friends and forging social links.

With regards to Squad Members' views on their education there was a mixed response. When asked about what he did in his leisure-time, Liam answered 'schoolwork'. When I pressed him, he responded, 'on the off-chance we'll have a day when we [he and his friends] do things together, like on the last day of school….so we're all going out for a meal together'. Liam reported that his studies and his part-time job at a wholesalers were prioritised before his social life. This may be due to his perception that his education is what he *should* be putting first, especially as his teacher was in earshot during this focus group (as was the case with Callum from the Estate Dwellers group) so this may have influenced this statement. The other, younger Squad Members from the suburban youth club and Academy didn't discuss their educational commitment (they were pre-GCSE at this stage), but related school-life more to observations about their lack of confidence, or social embarrassment. Gabby

and Bonnie talked of their shared reticence of speaking in class for fear of being reprimanded by teachers, and concern over how their peers may judge them:

Gabby	I don't even speak in class even if I'm sat with my friends.
Abigail	I talk in class but to my friends across the room.
Gabby	I don't have the guts to do that. I'm too scared of getting told off and, like, what people think of me if I spoke in class.
Bonnie	That's what I'm like.

These recognitions of how Gabby, Abigail and Bonnie appear (or conversely do not want to appear) to their contemporaries and others, including me as the researcher, demonstrated self-awareness but also a desire to project particular personality traits. Being viewed as weird, or as a teacher's pet, or being chastised by teachers in front of schoolmates was to be avoided. This discourse also implies a fear of being individually exposed, and further confirmation of their feeling of safety in larger groups. This fear of peer judgement could well extend to their reported film consumption tastes and practices, as has been evidenced elsewhere in the cohort by the Boarders in their restrictive boarding school environment.

The Squad Members as a whole were fairly highly engaged with digital media. Liam reported that he used Twitter to tweet about television box-sets he was currently bingeing on. He specified that this was something he only usually did in the holidays from school:

Liam	Well the only times that I do really watch is like in the holidays. So like, I finished the two seasons of *Orange is the New Black* in just over two weeks. Like I'd stay up till like three in the morning and watch as much as I could.
Callum	I did that with *Game of Thrones*. I watched four seasons in four days. A season a day.

These relatively intense binge-viewing practices seem to be fairly common amongst participants across the cohort, when they feel they have the free time. Moreover, they are happy to communicate with peers (via social media), and

myself, about the extremes of their viewing (staying awake into the early hours, watching a season per day for four days straight). This demonstrates a common bond with peers who have practiced binge-watching to the same extent, in relation to both the texts and the practices.

The Teen Café Squad Members also discussed watching broadcast and streaming TV every day (Gabby), and enjoying certain series (e.g. Bonnie and Gabby agreed on liking *Stargate SG1* (1997-2007). Abigail professed to watching 'everything' and the first titles that she name-checked were *Hannibal* (2013-2015)*, American Horror Story* (2011-present)*, Supernatural* (2005-present), and *True Blood* (2008-2014). She listed the different SVoD viewing platforms that she accessed as Netflix, Plex, Sky Movies and Sky On Demand on her computer, her TV and her iPad. Abigail in particular was highly engaged with media and broadcasting, as well as the more niche field of Japanese anime, recommending the 'Crunchyroll' anime app to her friends within our focus group. A few of the girls also reported on watching YouTubers regularly, such as PewDiePie and Danger Dolan, but Abigail was keen to stipulate that they were not 'crazy fan girls'. They also watched particular YouTube content such as parkour videos. In relation to other activities they enjoyed Bonnie and Abigail declared that 'we're a musical group', and on questioning revealed that by this they meant that they enjoyed listening to music, singing and 'raving' (Abigail defined this as 'dancing in a joking manner').

In summary, the Squad Members were most comfortable when blending into a larger peer group, although there were roles within the groups (i.e. someone leads, the remainder follow). Some of the younger members were anxious about standing out and being judged by peers and teachers in relation to their behaviour at school. All of these group members were from stable, nuclear family set-ups, mostly in comfortable suburban homes, which influenced their sociability and access to media platforms. There was fairly high digital media engagement expressed, and numerous paid-for subscription services and electronic devices were mentioned, implying that their parents were financially

comfortable enough to provide the Squad Members with the relevant software and hardware to enable this media engagement.

5.5.1 Abigail: A Squad Member Case Study

Abigail (14) was, by far, the most expressive and enthusiastic of all her 'squad'. She was aged fourteen when I met her at the Sprowston Teen Café and was in Year 9 at the suburban academy (Sprowston Community Academy). She lived in the residential suburban area of Sprowston with her parents and siblings. Her mother owned a coffee shop in Norwich and father was a bus driver (she got free bus travel). Her parents were 'always working' so they did not go to the cinema. I enquired as to the aspirations of group members and in Abigail's words: 'my parents don't have anything so that's why they're pushing me to do things' (i.e. go to university). I asked her if she had a part-time job, her response was, 'well I can work in my mum's coffee shop but I choose not to. Because - too much effort. And I don't want to be round my family for too long. Like I said – anti-social'.

Abigail talked animatedly about all kinds of media that she enjoyed, including: music, television shows, subscription video on demand (SVoD) platforms, movies, manga and anime. At our focus group, she wore a t-shirt and bright yellow hoodie with branding and images of characters from *Adventure Time* (2010-2018), the American animated television series. *Adventure Time* is popular and has had had a keen following from young audiences, the series is regarded as having a cult status (Olson and Reinhard, 2017: 177). Abigail allied herself with this popular culture property that is both alternative to the established television conventions *and* commercially successful, signifying the paradox of individuality and conformance so often inherent in teenage identity (see Willis, 1990; Kruse, 1993). Although Abigail was the leader of her squad, and therefore perhaps a little unrepresentative of the 'pack', other members were clearly influenced by her tastes and practices. She personified the suburban, domestically-stable nature of the majority of the Squad Members and the requirement to socialise in the security and comfort of a large friendship group. Her high media engagement through subscription services

was enabled by financially secure parents, and she was enthusiastic about her broad range of media and leisure tastes and practices.

5.6 Suburbanites

The Suburbanites were a relatively small group with just six members (four female and two male) who all lived in suburban areas of Norwich and were fairly conventional in the tastes and attitudes that they conveyed; contrasting keenly with the Cultural Alternatives in this respect. They were all aged 16 or 17 and were studying A Levels or vocational courses at a mixture of suburban and city sixth forms and colleges. They generally indicated a fair amount of educational commitment, a trait they shared with the Boarders and Urbanites. Participants claiming that they did not have much free-time was a common theme across this group. When I interviewed Mandy and Michael at their suburban youth club, I asked what they did when they weren't at sixth form. Mandy wryly responded, 'does coursework count?' When given the opportunity to state 'Something else about me' Hannah referred to her college course '[I study] Health and Social Care'. This implies that Suburbanites had a relatively high level of commitment to their education

Throughout the focus groups and interviews, a number of the young people expressed assessments of their own personality, constituting parts of their identity. On his ID Page, James wrote: '[I'm] just a very friendly, outgoing person', and relating to things he did in his free-time; 'just generally socialise'. This self-analysis of his personality as pleasant and genial informs us of how James would like to be viewed as just a 'nice-guy'. JJ (17), an attendee at OPEN, exhibited a keen dedication to her A Level education at a city academy, she was doing four A Levels and spoke positively about her school-life. She was also quite self-aware and 'woke', [58] in that she expressed outward admiration for the actor and feminist activist, Emma Watson: 'I'm just like, everything she does..."yes". The 'He for She' campaign and the fact that she went to uni although she didn't have to go to uni but she did. I just think she's

[58] Woke refers to being 'aware of and actively attentive to important facts and issues (especially issues of racial and social justice)' https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/woke accessed 05/12/19.

the best role model'. JJ also wrote on her 'Something about me' section that 'I'm a Muslim. I speak Arabic', foregrounding her religion and 'mother-tongue' as prominent to her identity.

There was a trend within the Suburbanite groups for large and close families. Both Michael and Mandy lived in their modestly sized suburban homes with large families, as both had older siblings with partners that had moved back home, albeit temporarily. Moreover, their mothers worked together as pastoral workers at the same local infant school and had been friends for a long time before this. So, both Michael and Mandy were very close with their families (Mandy spoke about going to the cinema with her mum, Michael's mum and Michael's twin sister). JJ also came from a large family, and often had aunts, uncles and cousins from London to stay at their house in the Norwich suburbs. She had family in other parts of the world too, with whom they were quite close. Amber also lived with an extended family of older brother and his girlfriend and spoke about her stay-at-home father being her Carer, as she had learning disabilities.

In summary, the Suburbanites foregrounded their use of Netflix for 'current TV programmes…because they're a craze' (Michael), and a taste for 'trashy TV shows' (Mandy). Digital media engagement was moderate, or at least not prominently discussed. They were from large, but supportive families, and mostly committed to their schooling. Suburbanites were fairly conventional in their identifications, and with wanting to blend in with contemporaries. A prime example of this behaviour comes from Michael and his Netflix practices, and this is expanded on next.

5.6.1 Michael: A Suburbanite Case Study

I met Michael (17), at the suburban youth club and at the Hollywood cinema in Norwich with his friend Mandy (16). He was a sixth-form student at the local suburban academy, diligently studying A Levels in Maths, Physics, and Law. He was not planning to go to university due to the cost and the 'pressure', instead he had aspirations to do an apprenticeship in Accounting. He lived in the suburban area of Sprowston with his twin sister (who had a part-time job and so was not at the youth club with him), his parents, his older brother (aged

20) and his brother's girlfriend. He also vaguely told me that in addition he had more than one half-brother (from his father's previous relationship). His mother was a pastoral officer at a junior school and his father was a postman who was on the verge of retiring after 40 years in the job. None of his immediate family members had been to university (except one of his half-brothers who did Law). He came across as a serious young man who was a little 'geeky' and socially awkward.

Michael informed me that he was a user of Twitter but purely as a means to satisfy his curiosities and keep up with discussions amongst school friends:

Mathew	I'm not really a big fan of [social media sites]…I'm more of <laughs>…I'm more of someone who follows people. I like to see what's going on.
Mandy	You just keep up.
Michael	I'm not on there for people to find out about me. I'm more interested in what other people are doing. Sometimes people talk about arguments on Twitter and I'll be like "ooh". Cause I have an account so I'll be able to flick through what's going on. And I've never uploaded anything. It's more like some way that I can find out what's going on in people's lives. Which sounds odd now that I've said that out loud. <laughs>
Mandy	It's how our generation communicates. It's how we find out about things. Sadly <laughs>. We don't talk!

Michael's social media 'lurking' practices, chimes with Lewis and Fabos' (2005) qualitative study on the roles of instant messaging as a means for young Americans to connect with school friends, and that knowing what went on online out of school hours was a key method of being part of the 'in crowd'. Michael reported that he had watched the television show *Pretty Little Liars* (2010-2017), 'just because [it's] a craze and I'm not really enjoying it….I'm quite embarrassed to admit. It's a very girly programme'. Here he reluctantly admitted to succumbing to viewing the programme due to again wanting to keep up with a trend within his peer group. However, he then gendered the series as 'very girly' and was very clear about not liking it. He was keen to be seen as heteronormative at this point, although conversely he did later interject that he would have liked to have been invited to a late-night interactive screening of the queer cult favourite, *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (1975,

Jim Sharman) with Mandy, her mother, his mother, and his sister at Cinema City.

There is strong evidence then that, like other Suburbanites, Michael was at pains to 'keep up' with his peers in terms of social media chat and box-set television. However, in other ways he broke the mould; specifically this relates to his film tastes and his penchant for classic films, such as 'old dramas relying on suspense to set a scene'. His favourite film was *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968, Stanley Kubrick) and he professed a love of 'hard Science Fiction'. I will expand on Michael's atypical film tastes, values, and practices in Chapters 6 and 7.

5.7 Rural Dwellers

This final group is constituted of just four members that all live approximately 25 miles away from the urban capital of Norwich in country towns and villages. Three of them were studying AS Level Film Studies together at City College (Atticus, Milo, and Ellie) and the fourth member (Jenson) was a Year 10 pupil at a Market Town Academy. The implications were that in order to travel to the city for academic or leisure purposes, it involved a train or a bus journey (usually) of between 30 and 60 minutes.

Rural Dwellers did not reveal a great deal about their identities; such as (sub)cultural affiliations or gender dysphoria. This is probably due to the fact that I interviewed them mostly together on campus in a meeting room, and we had limited time for the focus group. Some of them seemed inhibited with their responses (Ellie especially), which I believe was due to the formal and regulatory environment but also because they were not close friends. Similarly, Jenson was not particularly effusive with his discourse (even though I interviewed him and Hannah together at the relaxed leisure setting of city youth club). It is possible this was because he was not that friendly with Hannah, or that at three years younger than Hannah, he felt inhibited due to his junior status; alternatively there is a chance that he was merely shy.

The four Rural Dwellers came from a variety of family set-ups. Atticus was an only child living with his white British mother in Diss (a market town 25 miles south of Norwich), who sporadically visited his Algerian dad in London. Ellie also lived in south Norfolk, in a village near Diss with her mother, and father (a lawyer) with whom she has a self-confessed 'difficult relationship'. Ellie's older brother and sister had moved out, although she stated that she was close to her mum, sister and niece and they spent a lot of time together. At weekends Ellie would sometimes watch primetime television programmes (she cited *X-Factor*) in the lounge with her mum, sister and other visiting extended family members. Milo was from a nuclear family, with a younger brother in his remote east Norfolk village, and Jenson also lived in an east Norfolk village from Monday to Friday with his father and step-mum. He spent the weekend in Norwich city centre with his mother. This split-existence afforded Jenson the chance every weekend to 'hang out' and volunteer at OPEN youth venue, watch TV shows with his mother whilst eating dinner (*Game of Thrones* was a current favourite), and go to the cinema. Thus it could be argued that Jenson represented a slight anomaly to the Rural Dweller group, in that he was unusually socially active; having more opportunity than most rurally isolated young people to participate in different urban leisure pursuits every weekend.

The Rural Dwellers were not particularly vociferous about their digital media use, although Atticus did refer to watching Vice News (a current affairs YouTube channel), and film trailers and reviewers on television and YouTube. Milo also talked about seeing TV shows and film reviewers on YouTube and offered the opinion that online film reviewers were more influential than newspaper or magazine reviewers.

The Rural Dwellers were characterised by their relative high level of film and media literacy, explainable by the fact that three members were studying AS Level Film Studies. They were fairly close with their families, although friendships were greatly valued too. Due to their rural residential status, they were especially appreciative of the city and its cultural and social amenities. This appreciation of the urban was expressed most demonstratively by Milo, and it is to him that I turn now for a Rural Dweller case study.

5.7.1 Milo: A Rural Dweller Case Study

Milo was from a nuclear family, with a younger brother, and lived in a remote east-Norfolk village. His thick Norfolk accent implied that he and his parents were Norfolk-born. His father was a handy man and his mother was a care worker. He travelled in by bus regularly to Norwich to attend City College for his A Levels (a round trip of over an hour), and reported on opportunities it gave him in relation to broadening his horizons, and developing and diversifying his social life:

> I'll mainly socialise here at college. That's why I like college. That's one of the main reasons I like coming here. The social interaction with all different kinds of people here. All different cultures, backgrounds, all that kind of stuff. I like that.

This positive reporting on City College-life contrasted with the way Milo discussed his home-life as being 'lonely' and aimless. He spoke of doing 'nothing' whilst at home in Scarning, the Norfolk village where he lived:

Anna	Is there much to do in Scarning?
Milo	Hmmm sometimes. Sometimes.
Anna	Like what?
Milo	Well just sort of like looking out of my window at the clouds…<laughs>

It is worth emphasising that Milo laughed after this last statement and this was rapidly followed by a lot of laughter from the other members of this focus group. Atticus (17), even added, 'God that's bad man'. This is partly due to the fact that Milo was seen as the joker of the group (Ellie: '[Milo's] just hilarious'), and also that there is a disapproval or incomprehension about Milo just doing 'nothing' and admitting to it. Later in the discussion Milo tells us all that where he lives '…there's not that much happening. Or I'm not getting invited out to do anything. I'm just so lonely….<sniggers>'. He added that 'sometimes I'll go out for a wander in the woods', and again this elicited a laugh from the other students. I suggested that it was similar to Atticus' activity of walking his dog, to which Atticus' defensive response was 'What? No…I go out, but I don't have a forest that I wander in!' It appeared that there was a shared mirth and slight mockery of Milo for admitting to the solitary and

'aimless' activities of sitting and cloud-watching in his room, or walking in the countryside near his home. Although Estate Dwellers Callum and Jack also talked about having lots of 'time to waste' (Callum) and sitting in their rooms 'pretending not to exist' (Jack), it seems that these were relatively rare admissions across the whole cohort of teens that I interviewed, where it was more socially acceptable to be seen as busy either studying, working or undertaking specific leisure activities with friends or family.

Milo spoke affectionately of his family, in that he helped his father with his handyman job, and would knock on his younger brother's door to encourage family interaction when he thought he was being too insular playing his X-Box. Milo was a creative individual, studying Art and Photography A Levels, as well as Film Studies. His educational commitment was not particularly strong however, as when I asked him if he drew or painted for coursework at home he had this response; 'No. Barely ever in fact. I mainly do my own thing. I don't do much homework at home. I'll be honest. I'm a bit lazy like that'. When I asked him for elaboration on what his 'doing his own thing' meant he answered:

> Well. I do a bit of this and that really. Sometimes I watch films…not ever so much though. I don't watch ever so many films. It will mainly be the sort of funny sketch things on YouTube. Or little things like that. Ricky Gervais Show. It's a bit of a laugh you know…..Sometimes I'll watch some of them. There's really pointless videos. Yeah they're always a good laugh.
>
> Milo, 17

Milo's emphasis on 'having a laugh' here reverberates with the comedic personality he conveyed in the focus group, and his attitude to cinema-going (more of which in Chapter 7). Milo personified the Rural Dwellers in his appreciation of city-life compared to the reported monotony of his rural village and its lack of entertainment options and social activities. He was committed to his family, but greatly valued the opportunity to socialise with different types of people at college. His media literacy was moderate, and surprisingly perhaps for a Film Studies student, he was a little disinterested in film culture and viewing.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided further information on the sociocultural and media consumption contexts of my research participants' lifeworlds. This included descriptions of their performances of identity, the significances of family, friendships, and relationships, and a presentation of their (non-film/cinematic) leisure and entertainment activities. I also examined how youth identities relate to broader lifestyle practices and values.

I revealed that Estate Dwellers displayed trends of low educational engagement and an ensuing abundance of free time, with high levels of time spent gaming, low interaction with family, and a peer sociability both in person and online. Boarders and Urbanites however demonstrated high investment in their education, and a higher than average commitment to family life. The Boarders were restricted in their media use on campus on a technical level (controlled Wi-Fi access) but also by self-imposed peer pressured taste-making. The Cultural Alternatives then are diverse in terms of identity and family backgrounds. A common theme is the desire to spend leisure time away from their homes with friends, in some instances pursuing shared interests in vlogging, and cosplay. Investment in education is not as high priority as their social and cultural lives. They are highly engaged with digital media, with a relatively prominent investment in Internet culture which has rewarded them with new face-to-face social connections. The Cultural Alternatives were diverse in terms of identity and family backgrounds, both within their group and across the cohort. They were keen to spend leisure time away from their homes with peers, and in some cases pursued hobbies and wider social networks (on a UK-wide scale) in relation YouTube vlogging, and cosplay. Investment in education was relatively low, but they were highly engaged with digital (social) media. Members of the Suburbanite group were from large, but supportive families, and mostly committed to their schooling. They were fairly conventional in their identifications (heteronormative, no subcultural affiliations etc.), and with wanting to blend in with suburban contemporaries. They foregrounded their use of Netflix but their digital social media engagement was moderate, or at least not prominently discussed. The final

group of Rural Dwellers valued both their families and their friendships equally. They demonstrated high levels of film and media literacy and no identification issues of note. Due to their rural residential status, they were especially enthusiastic about the city and its cultural and social amenities. Romantic relationships only impacted on a small percentage of my whole cohort (15%), although it could be that there were unreported stories here (it was not a key line of enquiry).

It has been made evident that economic resources, areas of residence, type and place of education and levels of engagement with it, as well as family and friends are strong influencing factors on how and where young people spend their leisure-time. This is illustrated by the high investment in gaming demonstrated by Estate Dwellers. Television consumption was a unifying act of media consumption across the cohort. This was undertaken mostly by SVoD platforms, with only a few mentioning broadcast TV. This examination of my respondents' general leisure and media practices has enabled a broader view of the social and cultural practices within which film consumption sits. This leads to the next chapter in which I focus in on my young cohort's film consumption practices, tastes and values in settings that are not cinemas.

Chapter 6. Non-Theatrical Film Consumption Tastes, Practices, and Roles

Introduction

In this chapter, I explore young people's taste value systems in relation to their reported film consumption experiences in non-theatrical spaces; principally in the home, but also in school spaces. This focus is adopted in order to get nearer to the examination of the places, values, and roles of film consumption and cinema-going for this age group. Karina Aveyard emphasises the significance of researching and analysing non-cinematic forms of consumption due to the exponential growth of mobile and domestic viewing in recent years (Aveyard, 2016: 140).

To structure the analysis of my empirical data, I utilise Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and cultural capital. Bourdieu stated concisely in the following equation that practices result from the relationship between habitus, combined with capital and a field:

$$[(\text{habitus}) \times (\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$$

(Bourdieu, 1986b: 101)

To unpack this formula in relation to the issues of this chapter: the current circumstances of the field (of non-theatrical film viewing) plus connections between teenagers' dispositions (habitus) combined with their position in the field (cultural capital), result in a young person's film consumption practices. Michael Grenfell (synthesizing Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 104-107) elaborates on Bourdieu's process by outlining the three steps to take in order to undertake a Bourdieusian analysis of a social phenomenon:

(1) Analyse the position of the field vis- à- vis the field of power.
(2) Map out the objective structure of relations between the positions occupied by agents who compete for the legitimate forms of specific authority of which the field is a site [via cultural capital].

(3) Analyse the habitus of agents; the systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing a deterministic type of social and economic condition.

(Grenfell, 2010: 20)

My intention here then is to attend to the core tenants of Bourdieu's methodology by structuring my analysis around field, habitus, capital, and practices; whilst also appreciating Will Atkinson's challenge to consider issues of multiplicity, time-space, and social networks (Atkinson, 2016: 14-19). As referenced in Chapter 3, Atkinson argues that Bourdieu omits to address these further three key areas that can significantly affect the lived experience of the lifeworld, the formation of the habitus, and ensuing practices. This chapter then is subdivided into sections addressing first certain aspects of the doxa of the field of film consumption; meaning where the 'natural and social world appear as self-evident' (Bourdieu, 2013 [1977]: 164). I then examine the domestic and mobile film habitus(es) conveyed by my young participants. This is followed by a discussion of their performances of cultural capital, with the culmination of the consideration of ensuing film consumption practices.

To elaborate, I first report on the values, systems, and discourses that relate to my cohorts' doxic experiences in the field of non-theatrical film consumption; focusing on what it is implicit in the 'rules of the game' (Bourdieu, 1990: 61) and any evidence of illusio. Section 6.2 homes in on the observed habitus(es) of my young participants and the familial and social relationships that shape and influence adolescents' development and taste-making. This is in order to establish the factors that feed into the decision-making processes of participants in relation to their film-viewing, which in turn will inform the analysis (in later chapters) of the social, cultural, and environmental factors that can limit young people's specialised film consumption. I look at the people that influenced participants' viewing choices including; peers, parents, educators, and even the educational institution they were situated in. In section 6.3 I consider film taste expressions as performances of (popular) cultural capital, identity, gender, and maturity. As well as being an extension of Bourdieu's work, this relates to Willis' concept of the 'symbolic moulds' that individuals form in adolescence that go on to shape their identities into

adulthood (Willis, 1990: 7), which in turn stems from Goffman's work on identity performance (Goffman, 1990 [1959]).

The final sub-section presents some key viewing practices reported on by my cohort; in terms of specific activities, times, places, and the other people involved. I focus on whom participants undertook their viewing *with,* and their practices *whilst watching* in relation to a consideration of the social and communal roles of viewing films domestically. Conversely, some of my groups reported on viewing content alone, with different gratifications implied; so solitary viewing as a practice is addressed. The final subsection of this chapter addresses issues of access to film texts, focusing on digital piracy. This was a practice that was in evidence with certain participants, but not others according to socio-economic resources and parental influence. I next examine the structures of the field of domestic and mobile film consumption.

6.1 Doxa of the Field of Non-Theatrical Film Consumption

Bourdieu posited that in order to understand a social phenomenon it is inadequate to just examine interactions, dialogue or actions. It is also essential to examine the social space, or 'field' in which exchanges, communications, and proceedings take place (Bourdieu, 2005 [2000]: 148). Therefore, Bourdieu used the concept of field to describe the social sphere in which agents or actors are situated, with their related social positions. I start this chapter with an examination of the social and power structures of the field of mobile and domestic film consumption, to pave the way for an analysis of the group and individual experiences of my participants. Matt Hills summarises the notion of a Bourdieusian field as 'a (relatively) autonomous, bounded social space within which 'players' compete over specific forms of status, or 'capital', whilst sharing an embodied and preconscious, habituated 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980]: 66; cited by Hills, 2018: 106). Hills goes on to state that fields 'are also articulated with a doxa, or an unquestioned sense of how capital can be amassed, or lost' (2018: 106). The 'players' in this field are the young consumers of film, and the cultural capital that can be amassed relates to knowledge and tastes related to certain directors, film awards, critic's values, and discourses around film as art. This chapter addresses the extent and the

ways in which my participants invested in these forms of cultural capital (or not).

This field is transitory and ever-shifting, mainly due to technological change. Indeed, the last couple of decades have seen a rapid increase in the number of methods for accessing film content and film culture digitally and via the internet. On this point, Valerie Wee argues that 'generations born after 1995 into capitalist, technologically advanced first-world environments — who have grown up with digital entertainment interfaces…are abandoning traditional, industry-regulated forms of media consumption' (Wee, 2017: 133-134). She states that the proliferation of viewing options in the digital era has affected access and consumption behaviour from young audiences, including the escalation of digital piracy (this point is developed in 6.4). These developments may have affected other dimensions of the field, including cultural capital accumulation. The technological advances of the Internet have severely reduced the influence of newspaper and magazine film critics for example, leading to a more fragmented model of YouTube reviewers, social media reviewers, and user reviews. Indeed, in some ways, relatively new digital filmmaking, distribution and exhibition methods have enabled a greater variety of filmmakers to produce and screen their non-mainstream work. Although there are arguments about mainstream Hollywood movies squeezing out the competition and the demand not being strong enough to let independent film thrive. Indeed on this point, Valerie Wee states that even though 'youth audiences are increasingly straying from traditional sites and (plat)forms of consumption, and turning to alternative means of accessing content, they are not necessarily encountering more diverse content... Rather, most remain primarily interested in consuming professionally produced films and television shows' (Wee, 2017: 138).

Will Atkinson argues that 'two individuals physically co-present in the same 'situation' but not in the same field will, therefore, perceive one item, event, symbol, sign or person (including each other)…in two totally different ways and respond to them accordingly' (Atkinson 2016: 28). In this sense, the classifying and evaluative operations of the habitus operate differently for individuals with variable backgrounds, demographics and sociocultural

contexts. In a case reminiscent of Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding model (2001 [1980]), two audience members can interpret the same film or franchise in very different ways. Whilst conducting my fieldwork, *The Twilight Saga* (2008-2012), a set of five romance fantasy films from Summit Entertainment, were discussed by two different participants in very different ways. Firstly Cultural Alternative Jamie, 17, talked of how his mother was a 'big fan' of the saga, but he and his two siblings 'hated' it. Occasionally their mother would ask if they could sit down and watch one of the films with her to which they would protest; but on Mother's Day or her birthday, Jamie and his siblings would acquiesce. Jamie explains further:

> [Mum] says to us that you can laugh at it as much as you want….So just for entertainment - she finds this quite funny as well - we sit there and we mock it. So if someone's pulling quite a hilarious face....we'll often say something funny to accompany that and she will burst out laughing. She will find it hilarious.

From, a different perspective, Boarder Sasha used *The Twilight Saga* as her 'comfort films' and would repeatedly watch these titles in the security and cosiness of her own room on campus, in an act of reassuring herself; possibly when she felt lonely, homesick, or in need of entertainment with tried and tested gratifications. Here we see two different players from different social groups using the same film texts in very different ways. Jamie's family use the saga to bond on special occasions, and Sasha uses it alone to escape from the peer and educational pressures of boarding school.

Mobile and home film consumption as it manifested for my young participants mostly comprised of home viewing content on televisions, PCs, tablets, X-boxes and smart phones in their bedrooms, alone or with friends/partners/siblings and in living spaces with family members. There was also discussion of mobile viewing on public transport, in public spaces (such as shopping malls), at college, and in youth clubs via personal devices. The field of non-theatrical film consumption is experienced differently by dissimilar individuals and groups. The possibilities and limits of this consumption were imposed by the resources available to participants including; content providers (e.g. SVoD platforms), technological requirements (whether paid-for and reliable Wi-Fi was available or not), social and other media, and each other

(see Section 6.2.1 on peer affect). For example, coming from lower income families Estate Dwellers had more practical and logistical implications on their home-entertainment options in terms of resources, facilities and opportunities, as opposed to Suburbanites for example. Distinctions such as these are developed with more specific examples throughout the course of this chapter. The field of non-theatrical film consumption then is not the same for all parties, players, or individuals, and this is also affected by dispositions or habitus, to which I turn to next.

6.2 Domestic and Mobile Film Habitus(es)

Bourdieu's concept of habitus is used to interpret a number of oppositions that determine how we discern the lifeworld. As previously outlined in Chapter 3, Bourdieu explained this 'structure' as a system of dispositions that generates perceptions, appreciations and practices (1990 [1980]: 53). Habitus refers to embodied tendencies, attitudes, and values about society and culture that young people inherit and receive through a process of socialisation in their early lives. In relation to the field of non-theatrical film consumption, I adopt and adapt Janna Jones' term 'movie habitus' here to 'domestic and mobile film habitus', which encompasses the set of practices that are enacted in a 'multiplicity of temporal and spatial zones' (Jones, 2011: 102). This speaks also to Atkinson's trepidations about Bourdieu's lack of concern over the multiplicity of fields and time space (locations and temporalities). In a consideration of contributing factors to the formation of domestic and mobile film habitus; Donovan and Garey (2007) reported on the key influences on teenage film fans in their journey of film appreciation. They found these to be: watching films on television (especially special seasons or programming strands), school teachers that inspired young people, keeping up with their peers and impressing friends and siblings, parents' tastes, and lastly repeat-viewing of DVD collection or particular favourite titles or franchises (Donovan and Garey, 2007: 15). There was evidence of all of these influences across my cohort, although viewing films on television was not foregrounded – possibly revealing a key shift away from broadcast TV to streaming services in the twelve years since Donovan and Garey's report was published. I next report specifically on the effect of

peers and family members on the formation of my participants' habitus(es).

6.2.1 Peer, Familial and Other Influence

Peer Effect

Peer views were important generally across my cohort, with some participant groups (Estate Dwellers, Boarders and Urbanites, Squad Members, Suburbanites) demonstrating that being part of a friendship clique heavily influenced their taste-making. Conversely some individuals communicated a hunger to seek out new viewing via self-curation methods, such as Suburbanite Michael and Estate Dweller Mitch using Internet 'Top Ten' or 'Best of' lists. In demonstrations of Bourdieu's cultural reproduction, parents were influential to some, including fathers and daughters/sons and mothers and daughters. Relationships with parents were strongest amongst the Boarders and Urbanites group, which could be explained due to the absence experienced by Boarders due to living away from home or prolonged periods of study, and the value they placed in spending time with their families when they were able to.

In terms of decision-making on what films to watch and influences on practices; some of the Estate Dweller boys talked of how they 'asked their mates on X-Box' (Emile), or were made aware of titles via social media. Josh reported that he was highly influenced by what was most popular on YouTube; 'I click on Trending on YouTube. So, it will show what most people have been watching most recently'. He goes on to elaborate a little on this process; 'It's normally what everybody else recommends isn't it?...I just get recommended stuff and download it and watch it. If it's crap it's crap. If it's good it's good'. Fellow Estate Dweller Mitch also valued peer's suggestions to help curate his viewing; 'if someone recommends something I might see what it's like'. These examples clearly demonstrate Bourdieu's argument about practices of a 'given agent [being] objectively harmonized among themselves, without any conscious concertation, with those members of the same class' (Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]: 168); personal endorsements from peers about film choices are accepted by these Estate Dwellers, and other participants in other groups, as indicators of quality and value.

A further case of peer influence is demonstrated by Urbanite George who went to see *The Revenant* (2015, Alejandro G. Iñárritu) with a group of friends. At the time of the focus group *The Revenant* had just been nominated for a total of twelve Academy Awards and so was seen as a prestige title. When I asked George what he thought of the film, he had this to say in relation to peer pressure and taste-making:

George	……I want to like it….yeah….that's the thing, 'cause my friends came out of it saying it was amazing, and it's nominated for twelve Oscars or something, and [whispers] I'm not sure I liked it
Anna	Yes? Why not?
George	I don't know!
Ethan	It's slow isn't it?
George	Yeah and it's not like…it didn't seem really to flow that well, it was all broken up and like, thoughtful and stuff. Honestly I don't know how to describe it. When I go and see a film that I really like, the next day I'll keep thinking about it, but I was glad it was over to be honest.

George and Ethan communicate a disconnection between how they feel they *should* be assessing *The Revenant*, and how they *actually* felt about it. Due to the critical acclaim and his friends' positive response, George was reluctant to admit that he had not enjoyed it. In evidence here is George's 'feeling for the game' (of 'quality' cinema) and his self-consciousness at not feeling able to naturally play the game.

Peer influence is clearly in evidence again with Suburbanite Michael, who had chosen *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (2015, J.J. Abrams) for a cinema visit with fellow Suburbanite Mandy and myself, because 'a lot of people [were] talking about it'. Michael spoke about a social media group chat that he had been part of, in which his friends had discussed this particular film and he wanted to 'find out what the big deal [was] about'. There were sociocultural factors relating to the participant groups' key characteristics that affected film tastes. This was in evidence with the Suburbanites and Squad Members looking to culturally coalesce with peers, to blend in and not stand out from the crowd; whereas Cultural Alternatives aimed for cultural distinction. By way of example of the latter, Cultural Alternatives Harry and Emma talked animatedly of the Studio Ghibli anime films, but Harry was keen to make it

known that he had his own theories about darker subliminal meanings of some of the films. Therefore, not only did Harry express a preference for specialised Japanese film texts, he asserted his (sub)cultural capital via his own subversive readings of the film.

Parental Influence

A number of participants across my sample talked about the effect that their parents' film tastes and practices had on their own. Some groups more than others were accepting of their parental influence, the accumulation of cultural capital and the acquisition of knowledge about film culture. The Boarders and Urbanites were a key group in this respect. Like most of the Boarders and Urbanites, Grace was very close to her family and talked about regular Sunday night movie nights she had at home with them (discussed further in 6.4). Here she explained how the film choices are made, in a traditional patriarchal set-up - usually heavily influenced by her 'domineering' father (her description):

> We sit down and watch a movie together….every Sunday night…..My dad usually chooses the movie because he thinks we all have really bad taste in films. Because my brother always wants to watch a cartoon and Mum wants to watch *Pride and Prejudice* all the time. So we watch a really lame Sci-Fi movie like *Primer* or something. And everyone's like, "we hated that movie", and he's like, "it's so good!"'.
>
> Grace, 17

Contradicting her reported rejection of her father's taste above, with the specific example of a 'really lame Sci-Fi movie', Grace later talks about her enjoyment of sci-fi and action movies. She cites *Star Wars*: 'my dad really likes them and watches them all the time. So I watch them with him all the time'. Grace appears to be achieving paternal validation by viewing what her father approves of, having developed similar tastes due to this patriarchal influence. Grace also speaks about her father's love of Bond films and how she had acquired a taste for them as she matured: '…my dad used to take us to see all of the Bond films, but we were quite young when they came out. So they were really scary and horrible'. She goes on to explain however that *Spectre* (2015, Sam Mendes) is the first one she had actually enjoyed; 'I could actually understand what was happening!' As well as demonstrating a point about

acquiescing to her father's tastes, Grace is here performing her new-found maturity (a point developed in 6.3).

In an echo of Grace's reports, fellow Boarder/Urbanite Lila described another example of a patriarch's authority in ascribing cultural legitimacy on particular titles over others. These findings are indicative of Bourdieu's arguments about 'a resilient traditional pattern of masculine domination and feminine submission constitutive of the Western gender habitus' (Silva, 2005: 83). To explain; Urbanites Lila and Dominic were in a relationship with each other when I met them and it was clear that Lila's film consumption choices had been significantly developed since being with Dominic. She reported that she would regularly spend time at their house at the weekend and be part of 'family film nights'. Dominic's father was the main instigator and decision-maker on these occasions: 'his dad tends to be a bit domineering when it comes to what film, but he chooses good films so it's okay'. Lila elaborated by saying that whilst watching, the atmosphere was very reverential to the film and no talking or other noise was aloud, otherwise they would get told by Dominic's father to 'shut up'. The title she cited as the last film they had watched together was *Let Me In* (2010, Matt Reeves), about a 'scary girl vampire' which she found 'really weird'; not making it clear whether she admired the film or not. Notably, when Lila was describing this scenario to the focus group, Grace concurred that her father also insists on silence at family film nights, and she had also watched *Let Me In* on one of these evenings. By staging these family film nights and closely controlling them, these Urbanite fathers are instilling their children (and their friends/partners) with (popular) cultural capital on film culture and (in Bourdieusian terms) making them aware of the rules of the game of legitimate culture.

Conversely, the maternal influence on the domestic film habitus was stronger with some participants across other groups. Squad Member Danielle's tastes were influenced by her mother; they regularly enjoyed watching 80s and 90s 'classic' titles such as *Dirty Dancing* (1987, Emile Ardolino) and *Ghost* (1990, Jerry Zucker) together at home. This was echoed by Cultural Alternative Emma, who reported that she liked 'dance movies' such as *Fame* (1980, Alan Parker) and *Footloose* (1984, Herbert Ross), as she had watched them with her

mother who was 'from the 80s'. Cultural Alternative Jamie's (single) mother was a fan of Japanese and Korean 'horror flicks' and had influenced him in his taste for horror. Jamie talked about regular family viewings at home of films such as *The Grudge* (2004 Takashi Shimizu)*, Cursed* (2004, Yoshihiro Hoshino), and *The Cat* (2011, Byun Seung-wook). In these instances there is some evidence of a transference of tastes from one generation to the next, in acts of cultural reproduction, in the case of the Urbanite fathers it is also potentially fulfilling the function of conveying a cultural hierarchy.

Other Influence and Self Education

JJ, a 16 year old girl with Arabic cultural heritage, reported on having had her viewing broadened by a non-family member; her older neighbour who lent her films to watch:

> I watch DVDs because - I don't actually own any - but my neighbour who's in his late 50s, he has a lot of …DVDs. So he always lends them to me. He has the really old *Doctor Who* DVDs and stuff. The black and white ones – the really old ones. So he'll lend them to me. He also has horror movies, like *Psycho* and stuff.

JJ's report about sharing in the fandom of her older neighbour and allowing herself to be introduced to his favoured texts, demonstrates quite a remarkable meeting of two ostensibly very different individuals. JJ's experience of influence here is an atypical example that crosses generational, gender, and cultural divides and demonstrates Will Atkinson's concern for the consideration of wider social networks in the analysis of a field (2016).

As noted in Chapter 4, some Suburbanites shared similarities with Bourdieu's *petite-bourgeoisie* (representing the middle of social system), in that, expressions of their cultural capital indicate aspirations to be elite. According to Bourdieu however, these players are never going to be 'natural' winners at the game of culture (Bourdieu, 1990 [1965]; Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]). Although Suburbanite Michael went with the crowd in his decision to go to see *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (2015, J.J. Abrams), he was also keen to inform me about his curiosity about a wide range of films, and an ensuing autodidactic film education; demonstrating acquired and accumulated cultural

capital. In this respect Michael demonstrates Bourdieu's disparaging arguments around autodidacticism, as reflected in this extract from *Distinction*:

> The clearest manifestation of the cultural alienation of…autodidacts is their readiness to offer proof of their own culture even when it is not asked for, betraying their exclusion by their eagerness to prove their membership (in contrast to the well born, who mask their ignorance by ignoring questions or situations which might expose it).
>
> (Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]: 77)

One example of this was Michael's practice of self-curating his viewing of classic films, such as films of the 1940s, via tools such as the Internet Movie Database (IMDb) Top Rated selection list. He explains this process in more detail:

> They [IMDb] have a top 250 of what's on people's watch lists.[59] What's handy is if you look for a film you like, and it will say what's like it. Or 'you might be interested in' and it will give you a collection of films. And it's good when you watch a film that you like, and you look down the list and there are films that you've already seen. Because that way you can see that it's quite a good recommendation, because they do that quite well. I have to admit. When I'm watching a film, I always go on the Internet Movie Database.
>
> Michael, 17

Michael here explained the sense of satisfaction he felt when he realised he had already seen films on the IMDb 'top 250 lists'. He had come to trust and respect this source as good quality cultural guidance, and he was pleased that he was accumulating cultural capital through his research and viewing selections. However, as previously noted, as a self-taught film fan and a representative of Bourdieu's *petite bourgeoisie*, Michael is positioned here as a victim according to the rules of the game of in which he is attempting to

---

[59] See the IMDb Top Rated Movies list via this link: https://www.imdb.com/chart/top?ref_=ft_250
The Top Rated Movie list only includes theatrical features.

- Shorts, TV movies, and documentaries are not included
- The list is ranked by a formula which includes the number of ratings each movie received from users, and value of ratings received from regular users
- To be included on the list, a movie must receive ratings from at least 25000 users.

Accessed 20/03/19.

participate. This relates to co-Suburbanite Mandy and an admission she made to me about not being good at 'looking at important films…..deeper films, more dramatic stories'? She goes on to explain, 'that's sort of my area. That's what I find interesting. But I'm really bad at getting to know what's on at the cinema – I won't find out about things until everyone else has seen it'. Here Mandy reports on abortive attempts at autodidacticism and the self-curation of 'important' and 'deeper' films. The kinds of films that Mandy reported that she was actually watching were Disney movies, mainstream Hollywood comedies (she cited *Dirty Grandpa*, 2016, Dan Mazer), and horror films. Her reflexivity about her sense of paralysis over other 'deeper, important' films that she *should* be watching indicated her feelings of inadequacy in relation to cultural hierarchies about which she felt uncertainty about negotiating. Both Suburbanites Michael and Mandy could be seen as being represented in another extract from *Distinction*:

> Because [they have] not acquired [their] culture in the legitimate order established by the educational system, the autodidact constantly betrays, by [their] very anxiety about the right classification, the arbitrariness of [their] classifications and therefore his knowledge – a collection of unstrung pearls…unchecked by the institutionalized, standardized stages and obstacles, the curricula and progressions which make scholastic culture a ranked and ranking set of interdependent levels and forms of knowledge.
>
> (Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]: 328)

Michael also admitted to having his viewing choices affected by critical acclaim, in particular the Academy Awards; 'I am influenced by them….if it wins an Oscar I'll probably watch it. If it doesn't win it's unlikely I'll watch it'. The reflexivity that Michael demonstrated here, has itself been theorised as a form of cultural capital, and is echoed by Mandy and her acknowledgement of her cultural paralysis over not watching 'deeper' films. Threadgold and Nilan put forward that 'reflexivity constitutes an element of cultural capital for contemporary youth', although they concede that this 'has become another form of what Bourdieu calls embodied cultural capital — which remains inequitably distributed along class lines' (Threadgold and Nilan, 2009: 47).

In summary, peer influence was strongest amongst the Squad Members (by definition), Estate Dwellers (especially the young males), and the Boarders (more detail on this next in the context of schoolmates). Squad Members looked to culturally coalesce with other Squad Members, whereas Cultural Alternatives aimed for (sub)cultural distinction. Parental tastes were most respected and followed by Boarders and Urbanites, who seemed to be more aware of the game. Indeed, the example of George and his anxiety over not liking the multi-Oscar nominated *The Revenant*, demonstrates this keenly. Some groups and individuals acquire film consumption influence via surprising routes (JJ and her neighbour), whereas others attempt to acquire cultural capital through self-education, although in Bourdieusian terms they will never win at the game of culture. Another form of Bourdieusian cultural reproduction – that of the education system is elucidated on next.

6.2.2 Reproduction in Education

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990 [1970]) argued that the high arts were consecrated in post-war society through their emergence in the field of education. This education is the mechanism for selecting and qualifying the brightest individuals, but also, more indirectly as the means by which the dominant social classes ratify their social inheritance. They go on to state that 'pedagogic action' can produce 'a durable training, i.e. a *habitus*, the product of the internalization of the principles of a cultural arbitrary capable of perpetuating itself after the pedagogic action has ceased' (1990 [1970]: 31 emphasis in original). Although 'the cinema' was not classified by Bourdieu as a high art, but as a middlebrow art alongside photography (1990 [1965]: 96), he does concede that 'knowledge of directors is much more closely linked to cultural capital than is mere cinema-going' (2010 [1984]: 27).

There was significant representation across my cohort of young people that were being schooled in film and media education, and therefore learning about the field of film production, exhibition, and reception. These participants were concentrated in the Boarder and Urbanite and Rural Dweller groups, with a couple also in the Estate Dweller, and Cultural Alternative groups (respectively). As a result, there was evidence of Bourdieu's aforementioned

cultural capital in discourse around directors and authorship. In an echo of a number of other participants across the cohort, college media production student Erika (Cultural Alternative) greatly admired Quentin Tarantino's work for his style and 'narrative structures'. The Rural Dwellers studying A Level Film Studies also discussed certain film directors and their styles - such as Quentin Tarantino again and the Coen brothers ('[Tarantino's] are a bit more…vibrant. Coen brothers are a bit more dark'). *The Hateful Eight* (2015, Quentin Tarantino) was a film that Suburbanite and autodidact film fan Michael (more on this in the next section) said he would 'definitely go and watch', adding for emphasis 'I do like Quentin Tarantino'.

Rural Dweller Atticus was keen to be regarded as a film buff; in his words: 'I don't really like as you say, mainstream films. So, *Avenger's* and all that lot, I'm not really a fan of it. I like art-house. Stuff like that'. In an effort to clarify Atticus' definition of art-house as a genre, I asked him whether he thought of a director that he also admired, Quentin Tarantino, as an art-house director:

> Yeah, I would classify him as using artistic ways of using the camera and the cinematography of it. So, when he uses a certain colour for representation stuff like that I would class that as being artistic. And I like films…so…*Raging Bull*, and other films like that I think they have a lot of twists and the way they use the camera and stuff. And the story and plot, it's not usual in other films, so *Avengers* is all about action and CGI and the good guy always wins and all this. I dunno I just find it rather boring and dull.

Atticus clearly demonstrates that he has been accumulating film knowledge, and he is keen to communicate that he can see a distinction between film with artistic value and those purely for entertainment. As a reminder, I interviewed Atticus and three of his Film Studies classmates at college, so the link with their film education was at the forefront of our minds, although any film appreciation may have also been instilled in him by his parents or peers. Indeed, another point to consider about Atticus in particular is his multi-cultural and relatively socially-privileged parentage (his father is an Algerian journalist who lived in London and his mother a property developer). He had a confidence and an ease in his demeanour and deportment which Bourdieu would have seen as symptomatic of the ruling elite. Atticus was aware of the

rules of the game and keen to communicate his cultural capital. Moreover later in the discussion, Atticus talked about regular trips to see Hollywood mainstream films (such as *The Fast and the Furious* franchise) with male friends, displaying the cultural omnivorousness of the more privileged (as discussed in Chapter 2). This was a tendency also observed with some of the other socio-economically and culturally advantaged Boarders and Urbanites; exemplified by a couple admitting to enjoying the canonised movie classic *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946, Frank Capra) at the cinema as much as mainstream blockbusters such as *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (2015, J.J. Abrams).

The Boarders at the boarding school (Camilla and Sasha) explained that their highly restricted film consumption was due to educational burden and commitment, Wi-Fi and phone signal limitations, and peer pressure. Only students in their final year were given permission to access the school Wi-Fi (via an Ethernet cable). Most of the boarding students had to use an IT room if they wanted to go online, and only at specified times for a few hours in the evening so it did not interfere with their 'prep' time (when they undertook homework). Camilla and Sasha reported that 'it's embarrassing watching films' in the IT room on campus as peers would look over each other's shoulders, leading to inhibition and self-censorship. Sasha reported that before she had the burden of A Level revision, she would watch approximately seven films a week (maybe more). At the time that I interviewed her, she claimed that she usually studied and slept a lot, but at the weekends was able to watch content 'quite a lot' in 'the snug' or the common room. She recognised that she had self-imposed boundaries on film taste whilst at boarding school according to peer pressure (as covered in the previous chapter). Sasha's revelation about having to conceal her true film tastes due to the restrictive school environment plus peer influence illustrates one aspect of the place of film consumption in some of my teenage participant's lives. Indeed, it highlights the place that film consumption has in the formation of identity; a key aspect of the teenage life stage (Goffman, 1990 [1959]; Willis, 1990; Wee, 2010). I next examine further how taste expressions can be viewed as performances.

6.3 Performances of Cultural Capital

This section examines how the cohorts' expressions of screen entertainment tastes manifested respectively as performances of identity, gender, cultural capital, maturity, and conformity or non-conformity (to the mainstream). Goffman (1990 [1959]) introduced the idea of the performance of identity in the 1950s and other scholars have developed this concept in different contexts; notably Judith Butler in relation to gender (Butler, 1988) and Fleur Gabriel in relation to young people's engagement with digital social media (Gabriel, 2014). This links with Bourdieu's notions of individuals having 'the sense of the position that one occupies in social space' (Bourdieu et al., 1991 [1988]: 235) by having a feel for the game. For most people this is not even thought about because they take their social position for granted and therefore experience doxa.

All respondents were made aware at the beginning of our encounters that I wanted to hear specifically about their cinema-going and film consumption practices, also some recruitment of students was assisted by Film and Media Studies teachers. These factors may go some way to explain why several of my interviewees made strong statements about their identifications with film, as well as the young people simply having an existing passion for the subject. There were reports of repeated viewing of certain films and franchises across the sample, and performances of the young people's identities as general film fans. Statements included: 'I love going to the cinema' (Grace, Boarder), 'I absolutely love film' (Jamie, Cultural Alternative), we are 'the film gurus' (Erika, another Cultural Alternative), and 'I'm a fan of films…I watch a lot' (Mitch, Estate Dweller). Indeed Mitch, and his fellow Estate Dweller Josh, stated their generic preferences firmly as 'geeky films' (citing *Star Wars* and *Lord of the Rings* by way of example), sci fi (e.g. *Alien*, 1979 Ridley Scott), and horror (Mitch name-checked classic 80s 'video-nasty' title *Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (1974 Tobe Hooper), in an act of gender distinction they were also at pains to make clear the genres that they usually avoided. Josh claimed to dislike 'anything 'chickflick' or 'independent feel good', a claim agreed on by Mitch; 'yeah because those are the films my girlfriend likes

and…dear Lord...' However, they both made the concession that they could be convinced to watch films from any genre if they thought the story-telling was good enough and this was in evidence during a participant observation visit to the cinema (more in this in the following chapter).

The Cultural Alternatives group contained a relatively high proportion of young people that identified as avid *Star Wars* fans, particularly Rebecca and Jamie. Rebecca admitted that she had been through a phase in her younger years when she had styled her hair like Princess Leia; 'I just grew my hair out and I was like, "I've got to have the Leia buns" that's gotta be like, my main thing'. Both the practice of sporting a *Star Wars* inspired hair-style and the reporting of it to me were performances of Rebecca's chosen affiliation with the *Star Wars* universe. Matt Hills states that fandom 'is…always performative' by which he means that 'it is an identity which is (dis-) claimed, and which performs cultural work …claiming the status of a 'fan' may, in certain contexts, provide a cultural space for types of knowledge and attachment' (Hills, 2002: xi). In the case of Rebecca's *Star Wars* fandom, it acted as unifying factor within both her relationship with her father ('it's kind of like, mine and my Dad's thing – *Star Wars*. He sort of like got me into it at an early age.'), and her peer group (within the focus group there was a sharing of appreciation of the *Star Wars* computer games with George in particular).

Performances of Identity and Gender

There is distinct evidence on taste cultures within my cohort to imply that the young people were articulating 'gender appropriate tastes' (Cann, 2018) especially from the Estate Dwellers group, and when their tastes were contrasted with their partners of the opposite sex. In discussions about my participants' film tastes, it became evident that there were some consistencies along the lines of gender. A number of the boys expressed aversions to romance and drama in favour of science-fiction, horror, and action. Five male Estate Dwellers expressed these taste preferences, and were perhaps subject to stronger 'gender-appropriate' taste preferences in their communities. Nemo, another Estate Dweller stated that her favourite film genres were comedy, romance, and horror. She claimed to also like action films as well, although

she added that, ‘some, fighting films are kind of boring. I take a while to actually get used to it and get into it’. Nemo also had a boyfriend at the time and was clearly influenced by him: she had been to see *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (2015, J.J Abrams) with him and his family ‘because they all like that sort of thing’. She went on to explain that ‘I didn’t really think I’d like it, but I actually really liked it’.

This gendering of tastes is reinforced by the Estate Dwelling best friends Emile and Wes who both loved hyper-masculine boxing movies, including *Creed* (2015, Ryan Coogler) but especially *Southpaw* (2015, Antoine Fuqua). Emile claimed he had seen *Southpaw* ‘about fifteen times’ initially via YouTube and had eventually acquired his own copy. Wes had accessed it via Sky on Demand and the two of them talked animatedly for some time about the story of the film and particular scenes. Wes talked generally about the genres he favoured: ‘action, adventure something like that’ and then a genre that he was not so keen on, ‘films I dislike I dunno. Romance’. These findings relate to Bourdieu’s arguments about the last refuge of working-class cultural autonomy lying in the ‘values of virility’:

> …it is perhaps one of the last refuges of the autonomy of the dominated classes, of their capacity to produce their own representation of the accomplished man and the social world, that is being threatened by all the challenges to working-class identification with the values of virility, which are one of the most autonomous forms of their self affirmation as a class.
>
> (Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]: 385)

Boarders Sasha and Camilla admitted that some of their regular viewing stemmed from a nostalgia for the young girls that they once had been. They illustrated this in relation to the subject of their Disney fandom, reporting that they indulged in private repeat viewings of ‘the older cartoon’ Disney films such as *Beauty and the Beast* (1991, Gary Trousdale and Kirk Wise) and *Pocahontas* (1995, Mike Gabriel and Eric Goldberg). Camilla calls them a ‘blast from the past‘, and Sasha agrees; ‘I like living out my childhood. I like glitter. I like dressing up <laughing>….I’m such a child (she was then 16)!’ Both Sasha and Camilla were self-consciously performing the ongoing pleasures they garnered from the texts of their girlhood, moreover there was

shared mirth in relation to their 'guilty pleasure' confessions. These revelations can also be interpreted as performances of their feminine identities. This chimes with findings that Janna Jones reported on regarding the re-watching of Disney films; the practice made her university student participants nostalgic and mattered to them because it enabled them to appreciate all the times they had spent watching Disney films with their mothers (Jones, 2011: 100). Sasha and Camilla both professed a penchant for 'chick flicks' and 'romcoms', with the caveat that they would only watch these kinds of films in private. Sasha explains why: 'it's quite…an intimate thing…your choice in film. Sometimes it can be quite embarrassing especially if you're in to one type of film that some people [meaning boys] might consider quite… It's the idea of giving yourself a stereotype that you don't necessarily want'. This links with my observations on the peer influence of adolescents' taste cultures (in 6.2.1), specifically in the regulatory space of the boarding school (in 6.2.2).

Performances of Maturity

The phenomenon of changing cultural tastes due to maturation was evident within my cohort, especially in relation to their experiences with the horror genre. In a piece of auto-ethnography Mark Kermode (2001) talks of his discovery of horror films as a young teenager on his family's television, having sneaked down to the lounge after his parents had gone to bed. He explains the appeal of this activity and genre to his young self: 'what was captivating was the electrifying atmosphere, the sense of watching something that was forbidden, secretive, taboo' (2001: 126). Although my participants may have experienced some of the same feelings of excitement, danger and independence from their parents through their horror film consumption, what emerged was that these emotions did not always stand the test of time, and with some, their initial interest in the genre had declined considerably. This pattern did not only apply to the horror genre either, both Jamie and Cherry (Cultural Alternatives) expressed distinct current aversions to popular film franchises that they had loved as younger children (*Harry Potter* and *Toy Story* respectively), perhaps once again in Goffman's terms, as a *performance* of their maturity to their peers and to me as the interviewer.

The horror genre was generally enjoyed across the Cultural Alternatives group, as exemplified by Jayke and Cherry. On the pleasures experienced watching horror films Jayke said: 'I…jump and scream and I laugh at myself'. She took this gratification even further by re-enacting the jump scares of monster movies with her friends at an event called, 'PrimEvil' which was a Halloween-themed open night at the local dinosaur-themed adventure park. Cherry attributed her love of horror films to a babysitter that used to 'put on films for [her] brother'. She explains, that her younger self would be playing with her Barbies whilst watching it, and she somewhat defensively adds 'though I never got scared or anything'. This defensive tone was one that Cherry repeated when she reported that she had recently watched *Leon* (1994, Luc Besson), and her mum had watched a few violent scenes with her telling her that she was going to get nightmares. Cherry had protested at this saying, 'I'm not, I've watched it twice now'. Here Cherry asserted her perceived maturity to her mother and assured her that she could cope with the adult themes in the film. Additionally, Cherry was performing her level of maturity to me as researcher, as well as peers present in the focus group. These findings about Cultural Alternatives' taste for horror films corroborates with an argument from Stokes and Maltby regarding 'how such groups as adolescent males and female horror movie fans use film-viewing to display and establish their cultural competence and subcultural identities' (Stokes and Maltby, 1999: abstract).

Some of the Estate Dwellers related film tastes and preferences to age. Liam talked about his response to comedies having got more discerning as he had grown older:

Anna	*Deck the Halls*? What's that, a Christmas movie?
Liam	Yeah….like I used to really enjoy it, but watching it as a more mature person it's fairly shoddy.
Anna	Was it? Was it a comedy?
Liam	Sort of. It's trying to be a comedy. But I think the older you are, the less funny it is.

Fellow Estate Dweller Jack also linked his changing taste in films with his maturation, and a realisation that horror films had taught him to distrust venturing out in his neighbourhood after dark. He says: 'I personally don't like walking around at night…It's because I used to watch a lot of horror films

when I was a lot younger, and they were all set at night….and I'm like "no I'm not going out at night. I'm going to stay safe"'.

The issue of the age-rated classifications for films was discussed with some of the younger teenagers in the Squad Members group. This became a method by which participants could perform their perceived maturity in terms of film tastes. The Squad Members (aged 13 and 14) were conscious of age-rated film classifications, but dismissive of them. They reeled off the names of a number of adult-themed titles that they had watched, including the 18 classified film *Se7en* (1995, David Fincher), and the 15 certificated titles of *World War Z* (2013, Marc Forster), and *World's End* (2013, Edgar Wright). The reason Bonnie gave for the 18 certificate for *Se7en* was that it 'is about a murderer – I thought it was really good because I like that sort of thing…like murder'. Bonnie went on to point out that 'my mum and dad bought it on DVD and showed it to me' (a further demonstration of parental influence on tastes). Gabby explained that *World War Z* was a 15 'not because it was rude', but 'because it was zombies and that' and *The World's End* is also a 15-rated film because 'it contains alcohol consumption...and violent scenes'. BBFC [60] certifications for films (that were above their current age) did not seem to prevent the Squad Members from viewing any titles, in fact the group were quite animated and open when discussing this subject with a high level of awareness of the issues warranting the classifications. This discussion exemplifies the time-honoured tradition of young people showing off about circumnavigating gatekeeping initiatives such as the BBFC's age certifications,

[60] The British Board of Film Classification (BBFC) is the organisation that regulates and guides viewers of films, videos (DVDs/Blu Rays), and websites subscription video on demand (SVoD) in terms of age appropriate classifications. The ratings range from Universal (U) which is deemed suitable for all ages, to R18, which classifies sexually explicit content and is 'Restricted' to those aged 18 or over (usually only exhibited or sold in specially licensed cinemas or sex shops). In between these two poles sit the following ratings: PG (Parental Guidance advised), 12 (suitable for those aged 12+) and 12A (those aged 12+ should be accompanied by an adult at the cinema), 15 (the most likely classification for specialised film titles) and 18. The BBFC establishes its classification decisions on the basis of its Guidelines that are produced in consultation with changing public opinion about current views on cinematic and home released entertainment titles. https://bbfc.co.uk/about-classification accessed 19/10/19.

and as a group of younger teens it may be that the Squad Members felt more need (than older participants) to perform their developing maturity in this way.

The discussions here have shown that teenagers' expressions of home entertainment tastes can be viewed as performances of their self-identity, gender, cultural capital, and maturity related to their social grouping. This leads to an examination of some specific practices of film consumption in the home and elsewhere.

6.4 The Practices of Non-Theatrical Film Consumption

I turn now to a discussion of the key practices of domestic and mobile film consumption that emerged from my research. Like Bourdieu, I mean to do more than simply take the practices that young people report for granted and instead consider them in relation to the wider patterns of their social and cultural lives. Bourdieu discusses practice as the outcome of processes which are 'second nature', established by an ongoing learning that begins in childhood (Bourdieu, 1990: 62-63). This second nature is characterised by people's doxic comprehension (albeit subconsciously perhaps), of how things happen or are done. As already discussed, some research participants were more aware of the rules of the game than others, and these are stratified along the lines of class, education, and gender. This awareness of the game also relates to familial, peer, and romantic relationships; and roughly pertains to my participant groupings.

Shared and Solitary Viewing Practices

The extent to which my participants viewed films alone, with peers, or with their families speaks to the wider context of their sociocultural situations and patterns have emerged relating to the participant groups I placed them in. There are similarities with Janna Jones' research (2011; 2013) which states the importance of movie nights to her undergraduates in relation to the organisation of their leisure time and their connections to their families. Specifically there is a parallel in relation to the Boarders and Urbanites group and their reported family film nights (more follows). Jones' scholarship

contrasts with the findings of Joan Abbot-Chapman and Margaret Robertson (2001) who interviewed working-class teenagers in Tasmania, and suggest that teenagers search for 'private places in which to withdraw and reflect' as well as for 'safe seclusion or group activities with close friends as part of the process of construction of self as a reflexive and symbolic project' (Abbott-Chapman and Robertson, 2001: 485). Here they corroborate with others' observations on the project of the teenage self and self-identity formation (Goffman, 1990 [1959]; Willis, 1990; Hall et al., 1999; Skeggs, 2004). Elsewhere, Abbott-Chapman and Robertson (2009) conclude that 'adolescent preferences for home, [and their] own bedroom….express ways of redefining the boundaries of private space as the practical embodiment of intergenerational power relationships' (Abbott-Chapman and Robertson, 2009: 419). Again, there were echoes of the value of the private bedroom space to certain group members, especially the Estate Dwellers who were not particularly family-minded, and Cultural Alternatives who preferred to either be alone in their rooms or with friends in leisure spaces.

The practise of shared regular movie nights was a stronger theme with the Boarders and Urbanites than with other participant groups – the group highest on the social scale, and most likely to go to university. This draws the comparison with Janna Jones' middle-class university student demographic, (conceding that there are some differences between British and US class structures). For the Boarders, movie nights performed a family bonding activity that seemed enshrined in an almost sacred tradition. Camilla talked about her experiences:

> We watch quite a lot of films….. So every time I go home, we have family evenings, where we all hand in our phones…So no-one's on their phone during the film…..[we have popcorn and sweets and] then we all watch a film together. It happens like, every three weeks….cause I've got a brother. It's only he and I so [in terms of siblings], it's like our way that we spend time together of an evening.
>
> Camilla, 17

Camilla here is making clear her feelings about the importance of quality time with her family and how film consumption in the home is a means for this.

Moreover, there is a ritualized element to the act whereby certain practices are adhered to on each occasion (they have cinema-themed snacks) and hand their phones in for an exclusivity of experience. This reported behaviour is indicative of Camilla's domestic film habitus and is shared with other group members including Grace, Lila, and Dominic (as detailed in 6.2.1). Most of the Boarders and Urbanites (and a few individuals from other groups) discussed viewing of films together with family as a valued, intrinsic, and entertaining part of their home life at this stage of their lives.

A contrasting disregard for sharing family viewing experiences was in evidence with the group at the opposite end of the social scale; the Estate Dwellers. A number of these participants described an aversion to sitting in the lounge in favour of being in the comfort of their own rooms, with their own devices (this finding speaks to the Abbott-Chapman and Robinson 2009 study, albeit in a UK setting as opposed to an Australian island state). This included Josh who felt crowded out by his older sister who had recently moved back home, Charlie who streamed content using his uncle's Netflix account, Emile and Wes who preferred to watch boxing films via their X-Boxes in their rooms, and Lakeisha who was annoyed by her younger brother and had her own (mainstream) DVD collection which she would watch 'over and over'. She cited *Save the Last Dance* (2001, Thomas Carter)*, Despicable Me* (2010, Pierre Coffin, Chris Renaud), and *Minions* (2015, Pierre Coffin, Kyle Balda) as examples. As covered in the previous chapter, other Estate Dwellers Jack and Callum also spoke of spending long periods of time alone in their bedrooms watching content and 'pretending not to exist' (Jack), as well as 'wasting spare time' (Callum); their choice of negative language implying perhaps that they were not particularly happy that this was the case however. Nemo was an Estate Dweller that had a romantic partner and talked about spending time at his house. She described a scene from the previous weekend when she had sat in her boyfriend's living room with some of his family, although it did not seem as if it was in order to share leisure time and bond with each other: while she watched a film on Netflix on her phone with her headphones on, her boyfriend was using his personal PS4 gaming console and his siblings and parent/s watched the television.

Collective viewing with friends was more common for the Squad Members group, possibly unsurprising considering the 'pack mentality' of its members. Abigail reported on a slumber party she and her close friends had had recently in celebration of Bonnie's birthday, where they had watched film and television content together. This was an activity that indicated a strengthening of, as Abigail put it, a 'squad within a squad'; the sleepover enabled them to temporarily branch out of their contexts as children in their own households and enjoy some freedom from parental restrictions. The girls admitted that their communal viewing at the sleepover allowed them to have 'a background thing so it wasn't totally silent which is really awkward'. Another Squad Member, Liam, reported that he would often go to his best friend's house to watch films on DVD, with *Deck the Halls* (2006, John Whitesell) being a recent example. Liam also described a tradition of 'Sunday night film nights' which he, his brother, and his parents would enact on the rare occasions that his father was not away working as a lorry driver. Surprisingly, they would sometimes rent discs from a local shop named 'Starship Video' for £2 a night[61] Liam explains: 'We do rent occasionally. There's a place just outside the estate where it's cheap for like £2 a night. And when Dad's at home on a Sunday night, which he hardly ever is, we get a film out together'.

Not many Cultural Alternatives claimed to sit with their families and watch films or TV together. A reason for this may be that, as they were maturing, these young people (and also the Estate Dwellers) more so than other groups, were keen to follow their own path and experiment with their own tastes, distancing themselves from their parents and their preferences. This is exemplified by Rebecca who, although, in the past had watched *Star Wars* films with her dad as a bonding exercise (he was separated from her mother) this was not something she did much anymore. She rarely watched films with her mother and step-father: 'as a family we watch a lot of films between us, but we don't watch them necessarily together. My parents will sit and watch a film together, but I probably won't watch it with them', she attributed this to

[61] I interviewed Liam in December 2014, the video rental business that he referred to has shut down since.

the fact that 'they like thrillery action movies' which was 'not really [her] thing'. Cultural Alternative Harry and Emma who, when they weren't at the OPEN youth club, watched a lot of films together, specifically at Emma's house in her room as his house was full of 'annoying siblings' (Emma's words). This is another example of Cultural Alternatives making use of film consumption as an activity to establish autonomy from their parents and siblings.

Suburbanite Mandy and her large extended family occasionally used their paid-for subscription services of Sky on Demand or DVDs to view films in their lounge together. Here she explains the rituals and typical behavior regarding this activity:

Mandy	We don't talk throughout the film.
Anna	You don't? And what about phones. Do you have a rule about that?
Mandy	I think my Dad would like to make a rule about that! <Michael snorts>. But no. If he did, I probably wouldn't join in.
Anna	What about popcorn, curtains closed that sort of thing?
Mandy	Curtains closed, lights off. Yeah. Sound bar on.
Anna	And what about pausing it? Do you ever pause it?
Mandy	Ah. Only if mum wants to go and make a cup of tea or something. Or like, mum will go to the toilet, like ten times during a film <Michael giggles>. As soon as you press play, she'll get up to do something. And it's like, "Mum you wanted to watch the film, where are you going?", and she's like, "no you can carry on playing it", and we're like, "stop, no."

Mandy notably rejects the notion of not being allowed to have access to her mobile phone during a family film night, meaning that she was not prepared to be totally disconnected from her digital social networks for the duration. In the description of her mother's 'up and down' behaviour and the consequent pausing of the film, we learn about the staccato nature of this family's viewing, their exasperation at the mother, and their intention to keep her involved in the shared experience. In a similar vein, Rural Dweller Milo expounded on his self-confessed short attention span in relation to film consumption at home and explains the usefulness of the 'Forward' button on the remote control:

Milo	If it's a good and gripping film then I'll be able to watch it all the way through. But if it's not I'll have to take a break…we just skip all the boring parts …I mean who cares about the story line? And to be honest, with the DVDs, they just slice out bits of the film anyway. So you know, it's just a bit pointless really. So you know. Let's take a break. Eat some cheese! <laughter>.

With these examples of shared viewing in this section it is evident that watching films together at home provides opportunities for social and familial cohesion and the shaping of leisure time both in terms of friendship and relationship development and family bonding. They also demonstrate that the cinematic viewing experience is valued by a number of my cohort (especially Boarders and Urbanites) to the extent that it is recreated in domestic settings to foster a sense of occasion. This links too with taste formation and the influence of parents in shaping domestic and mobile film habitus. Whereas the opposite could be said of most of the Estate Dwellers, who tended to spend more time alone in their rooms watching films either by design or out of necessity due to an aversion to the alternative of sharing domestic spaces with their family members, although that is not to say that their film habitus was not influenced by their parents. In the final section I detail one such way that Estate Dwellers and participants across other groups demonstrated parental influence on attitudes to digital piracy.

Digital Access to Film Texts

As discussed elsewhere, there are myriad methods by which teenagers can access film texts in contemporary society. I encountered variations of practice along class lines in connection with issues of economic resources. All participants had their own smart phones and laptops or tablets, but one particularly revealing aspect of access concerned practices and attitudes around digital piracy.

Jonathan Marshall and Francesca da Rimini have commented that today, digital piracy is a 'mundane and everyday activity' undertaken by millions of people across the globe, and as a consequence, 'piracy is a commonplace disorder within the order of information capitalism' (Marshall and da Rimini, 2014: 323). Contrary to Marshall and da Rimini's findings however, members from

the more privileged Boarders and Urbanites, and Suburbanites groups, had little knowledge or interest in illegal film consumption (pirated) methods and instead accessed their parents' paid-for subscription services (SVoDs). However, there were admissions of unofficial streaming and downloading methods across most of the remainder of my cohort. These were participants who had very limited cash to spend on their leisure activities at this point in their lives. Indeed, only a few participants had independent income from part-time jobs, and the remainder only had pocket money that their parents gave to them either weekly or as and when they needed it.

Digital piracy was most frequently reported by Estate Dwellers, Cultural Alternatives, and the Rural Dwellers in acts of cultural reproduction and in the service of satisfying keen appetites for content. The practice was most highly prevalent in the Estate Dwellers group. This could be attributed to their relative lack of disposable income and the modelling of this behaviour by their parents, other family members, and friends. In Mitch's words: 'Well I actually watch films quite often. Although I don't necessarily <clears throat and talks in a faux whisper> *pay* for them'. Josh goes a step further and explains that he learned how to stream and download from his dad, who still 'often downloads movies illegally'. Josh goes on to add, 'I know that's bad…but does anyone ever download a movie legally?' Another Estate Dweller, Emile, admitted to using the website Putlocker (an online file-hosting index) to stream (illegally). After some discussion on the subject, Emile revealed that he was not actually aware that it was an illegal process and just admitted to putting film titles into Google and clicking on the 'random links' for the full movie. Erika (Cultural Alternative) had a desktop PC at home in her bedroom and was in the practice of often streaming film via illegitimate sites, a learned behaviour from her parents who illegally streamed and downloaded content 'all the time' establishing this practice as a distinct feature of Erika's domestic and mobile film habitus. Cultural Alternatives Harry and his girlfriend Emma admitted to streaming unofficially if they couldn't find the programme or film they wanted to watch through any legitimate means. Harry was very confident with his ITC skills and so boasted to me that it was 'too easy' to find recent and popular films and TV to watch for free online. He dismissed the illegality of unpaid-

for-streaming as not as much of an issue as downloading and distributing copies on a larger scale, 'which would kill the industry if everyone was able to do that'. Harry's brazen attitude to digital piracy could be seen as demonstrative of links with a particular aspect of teenage identity performance as rebellious and testing boundaries (Erikson, 1994 [1968]).

As previously mentioned, digital piracy was less evident amongst the Boarders & Urbanites, Suburbanites, and Squad Members. Most of the younger female Squad Members (aged 13 and 14) accessed their parents' paid-for subscription streaming services (e.g. Sky, Netflix and Plex), and notably, when asked about unofficial methods, they claimed not to even know how to illegally stream or download content. Gabby (13) admitted that 'it kind of scares me', and Abigail (14) explained that 'it's pointless cause we have all the [legitimate viewing methods]…and it's illegal!...We are good children'. This is attributable to their self-confessed younger age and an awareness and fear over the illegal practice (which was not communicated by any other participants), and like the Boarders and Urbanities, they did not need to find content via illegal means as they had full legitimate access via SVoD platforms. Therefore, within my cohort the evidence shows that behaviour and attitudes towards whether to access film texts by illicit means (or not) was clearly stratified according to socio-economic resources, whether the practice had been modelled by their parents making it a doxic experience, and their specific age (i.e. the younger teenagers were concerned about the illegality of the practice).

Conclusion

This chapter has addressed issues of teenagers' film consumption in non-cinema settings. It has shown that there are certain aspects of the young peoples' doxa of the field of film consumption that have been affected by advances in digital media development; including the devaluing of published film critics, and the (currently unfulfilled) potential for greater exposure for independent filmmakers.

There were distinctions regarding film taste corresponding with key features of the participant groups; Squad Members looked to culturally coalesce with other Squad Members, whereas Cultural Alternatives aimed for (sub)cultural

distinction for example. Parental tastes were most respected and reproduced by Boarders and Urbanites, who seemed to be more aware of the game, and cultural omnivorousness was in evidence with the more socio-economically advantaged as well. I encountered participants that were enacting self-curation - as self-taught film fans and representatives of Bourdieu's *petite bourgeoisie*, who are positioned as never being able to truly succeed at the game of cultural legitimacy.

Film tastes were performed to demonstrate aspects of participants' identity, gender, cultural capital and maturity. This is at a life stage when the differences in age by a year or two are keenly felt. Cultural tastes developed and altered over the five teenage years, but there was empirical evidence that teenagers could also be nostalgic about their childhood selves influencing their current conceptions of themselves and indeed their viewing choices. Within my cohort there was the evidence that behaviour and attitudes towards whether to access film texts by illicit means (or not) was clearly stratified according to socio-economic resources. This practice had been modelled by some parents from the lower social groups making it a doxic experience, although the younger teenagers were concerned about the illegality of the practice. Moving on from domestic and mobile film habitus; the next, and final chapter examines cinema-going practices, roles and limitations.

Chapter 7. Cinema-Going Practices, Limitations, and Roles

Introduction

This chapter focuses directly on cinema-going from my participants' perspectives. I examine the practices, roles, and limitations of young peoples' film-going; highlighting the contrasts and similarities of experience between participant groups according to the sociocultural and economic factors that differentiate them. I first focus on the decision-making around which cinemas the young people frequent (or avoid) and, with the Bourdieusian framework in mind, the preferences and dispositions demonstrated therein. Then I look to who they attend the cinema with - be it a boyfriend/girlfriend or alone even - and how this affected film tastes and practices, and identity formation. Following this I highlight a few notable in-cinema practices that were reported or observed, in order to develop and enrich my examination of teenager's film-going experiences, values, and pleasures. I then analyse the roles of cinema-going to establish the motivations for attending a film theatre rather than watching a film at home. The final chapter section is a case study of engagement with specialised cinema in order to establish awareness and participation with non-mainstream cinema, where there is currently a dearth of teenage audience members.

In order to provide a frame of reference of the symbolic meanings of cinema-going for young audiences today, I next present a brief review of the social and personal significances and roles of the leisure pursuit in a historical context. In considering the distinctions in contemporary cinema-going practice, the broad history of film-viewing in theatres can provide a foundation for my discussion. Historically cinemas were arguably the first democratised entertainment venues and became known as the leisure activity that welcomed audience members from all social classes and types (Richards, 2010 [1984]). Albeit that there were different types of cinemas (ranging from 'flea pits' to 'Picture Palaces') that catered to different tastes, budgets, and sections of society; as well as different tiers and seat pricing in some film theatres to keep different classes

and social groups separate. A publication from 1930 describes the practices and roles of film-going at the time:

> The cinema, whether taciturn or chattersome, fills a need in our lives which no preceding age has ever felt…The cinema is at once the most public and secluded of places. One can go along, a deux, en famille or in bands….Punctuality and decorum are of little consequence. One can drop in and out at will. One can smoke. One can chew sweets, or peel oranges or manicure one's nails. It is an essentially democratic institution.
>
> (Shand, 1930: 9-10)

However anachronistic some of these practices sound to the contemporary reader, the cinema can still, paradoxically, be simultaneously 'one of the most public and secluded places'. I argue that it is still an 'essentially democratic institution' in that it is a leisure pursuit accessible to all, in terms of its relative affordability and lack of enshrined cultural codes (unlike with opera or modern art for example). Saying this, there are still different types of cinemas, programming, and seat pricing (in some theatres) and as a reminder I summarise these offers, specifically for the Norwich area, in Section 7.1.

Canadian scholar Charles Acland provides a thorough and more contemporary account of cinema-going in the following extract, published 73 years after Shand's:

> Public movie performances are occasions for eating, for disregarding one's usual dietary strictures, for knowingly overpaying for too much food, for sneaking snacks and drinks, for both planned and impromptu socializing…….for relaxing, for sharing in the experience of the screening with other audience members, for fleeting glimpses at possible alliances and allegiances of taste, politics, and identity…for standing in lines…..for the evaluation of trailers, for discussions of what preceded the film and of what will follow, and for both remembering and forgetting oneself.
>
> (Acland, 2003: 57-58)

Within this list of practices and roles, Acland mentions 'glimpses at possible alliances and allegiances of taste, politics, and identity'; relating his summary to those of (Willis, 1990) and (Corbett, 2001) who both point to the symbolic value of cinema-going for audience members in term of developing and maintaining interpersonal relationships. As before, analysis of my interview data is conducted through the lens of the Bourdieusian concepts of cultural

capital, doxa and illusio (Bourdieu, 2013 [1977]), and habitus (Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]). Bourdieu argues that cinema-going – or at least art-house attendance – can be viewed as culturally legitimate:

> If, of all cultural activities, cinema attendance in its common form is the one that is least closely linked to level of education, as opposed to concert-going, which is a rarer activity than reading or theatre-going, the fact remains that, as is shown by the statistics for art-cinema attendance, the cinema has a tendency to acquire the power of *social distinction* that belongs to traditionally approved art.
>
> (Bourdieu, 1973: 76)

Specifically I link Bourdieu's ideas with the experiences and values reported by my cohort and investigate the extent to which his concepts are still applicable, or nuanced by my contemporary cinema-goers. Throughout this chapter I also discuss the limitations of cinema-going for my cohort, analysing the aversions expressed by participants in line with Bourdieusian doxa and habitus. I have used a uses and gratifications (U&G) theory inspired approach to look at the roles and functions of going to see a film at the cinema.

As with analysis in previous empirical chapters, I looked for 'natural vocabularies' and self-positioning of participants in relation to others and their perspectives (Barker and Brooks, 1998: 24). In relation to cinema-going, and with reference to scholarship such as McQuail's and Stacey's, I have established my own four roles of cinema-going from analysis of my young people's discourse: Family Cohesion and Tradition, Socialising with Friends or Romantic Dates, Special Occasion and Entertainment, and Acquisition of Popular and Subcultural Capital. Within this chapter, I have not lost sight of the six participant groups established in Chapter 4 and used since; these remain as useful organizing categories to elucidate findings.

7.1 Cinema-Going Practices and Limitations

In this section, I look at the preferences and distinctions reported on in terms of cinema choice and the reasons behind these tendencies. This discussion of tastes, dispositions and aversions involves logistical and practical issues as well

as social and cultural factors both on a conscious level (i.e. they are openly discussed), and at the deeper level of habitus. The findings in this section then relate to cinema location and proximity to transport hubs and other retail options, economic resources and (perceived) price, as well as in-cinema facilities. Additionally though, I consider the sociocultural factors impacting on preferences and aversions in relation to habitus (in connection with my participant groupings).

I observe patterns of cinema-going practices via discourse analysis (detailed in Chapter 3) of the focus groups and interviews, and data collected from participant observation at cinema visits with young people. I first look at the decision-making processes reported on in terms of cinema and film choice. This discussion involves issues of (perceived) price, facilities, programme, services and location. Bound up with this is the consideration of the limitations of cinema-going for my cohort. Aversions to particular cinemas can be categorised as being social and cultural, for example habitus dictated discomfort for some at particular cinemas. In 7.1.2 I assess the people that participants are attending the cinema with: be it friends, siblings, parents, partners, or if in fact they attend alone. Following this I consider in-cinema behaviour in terms of rituals or routines around seating, refreshments and response whilst viewing. There is an added focus of my young participants' in-cinema behaviour in relation to other (older) audience groups. These areas of focus directly correspond with my original research question concerning the cinema-going practices of young people and the values and roles of these activities.

7.1.1 Cinema Preferences and Distinctions

I begin here with a reminder of the four cinema options that existed in Norwich at the time of data collection (2015-2016). The two multiplex cinemas were (and still are) Odeon (18 screens) at Riverside retail complex next to Norwich Train Station, and Vue (8 screens) within the Castle (Shopping) Mall in the heart of the city next to the Castle Museum and near to Norwich Bus Station. A third option was the independently owned (4 screen) Hollywood cinema situated in the run-down shopping area of Anglia Square to the north of the city

centre, with a mainstream programme (since closed).[62] The final option is Cinema City, the Picturehouse operated art-house cinema, screening a specialised programme of 'quality mainstream, indie, family, foreign language and documentary films'.[63]

As pertained to in Chapter 2, Bourdieu contends that the intellectual classes perceive that attending art-house cinemas is a 'pursuit of maximum 'cultural profit' for minimum economic cost', if attended with a 'frequency and regularity which take away any 'extra-ordinary' quality' (2010 [1984]: :267). This statement can be construed as prescient of the various membership and loyalty schemes that currently operate within the field to encourage more frequent and regular cinema attendance (e.g. Picturehouse Membership, Odeon Limitless, Orange Wednesdays).[64] The extent to which these schemes were taken up (or not) by my cohort, and the wider factors concerning cinema-going distinctions, are addressed in the following sections. For reasons of organisation and in order to be systematic, I present the findings in subsections according to participant group.

Estate Dwellers

The Estate Dwellers expressed preferences to certain cinemas in relation to geographical proximity, transport networks, and economics. Nemo, one of the Catton Grove Estate Dwellers reported that 'most of my friends go to Hollywood. It's just closer. And cheaper'. However, she went on to clarify that her personal favourite is the Vue cinema for reasons of comfort and choice of seating:

> It's got comfier seats. <laughs>…..Cause my back normally hurts sometimes at Hollywood……the seats are quite big as well and you can see the screen. And say if you want to sit at the back, you can just ask when you buy your tickets? Or if you buy them before you can, like, choose where you sit?

[62] My definition of mainstream here is big budget Hollywood studio films, and in the context of cinemas; multiplex chain venues.
[63] Description found at https://www.picturehouses.com/about-us accessed 04/11/19.
[64] The Orange Wednesdays deal offered two for one cinema tickets in the UK from 2003 to 2015. This promotion has since been replaced by Meerkat Movies, offered by comparethemarket.com.

Nemo here introduces the paramount importance that a great number of participants across the cohort put on the interior space of the auditorium, specifically on the comfort of the cinema seats. Nemo's attitudes to these two particular Norwich cinemas were echoed by fellow Catton Grove resident, Wes: '[I prefer] Hollywood cause it's cheap and Vue cause it's good quality'. He went on to state an aversion regarding the Odeon and its cost: 'I don't like Odeon. Odeon's too much'.[65] Jack, another Estate Dweller expressed his preference for the Vue due to its location in the centre of the city away from the main area of nightlife in Norwich, and its proximity to the bus station. He talked about sometimes feeling unsafe on the streets at night, and for him, habitually attending Vue gave him a sense of safety and continuity and, in Phil Hubbard's words, an ensuing feeling of ontological security (Hubbard, 2003b: 66-67).

There was a distinct feeling of a lack of spending power amongst participants, making ticket price a key factor in decision-making, especially within this group. Although Estate Dweller Charlie's father had a managerial position at a factory, and Charlie himself had a part-time job in a shop, he also felt consistently economically disadvantaged. This was made evident when Charlie told me, 'So [my dad's], the manager of that place [a recycling plant]', 'yet we're still poor….story of my life'. Following this statement, Charlie expressed an aversion for Cinema City due to its programming: 'I'm not really a fan of Cinema City…..You see it's just like, random films…..<he mutters something about *Pride* (2014, Matthew Warchus) as an example>'. At this point, his Cultural Alternative friend Erika, argues that *Pride* was a 'good film'. Due to restricted resources, Estate Dwellers' cinema choices then were keenly influenced by logistical and practical matters of location, cost, and an aversion to 'random' programming.

[65] Since I undertook my interviews, the Vue and Odeon in Norwich dropped their ticket price to £5 (from £7-£10 approx.) for everyone all day every day. Cinema City however has kept their ticket price at £11 for students that are not Picturehouse members, making price an even keener issue.

Boarders and Urbanites

Members of the more socio-economically advantaged Boarders and Urbanites group also reported on a perceived lack of economic power. Grace and Lila (both B in the ABC1 system) reported on usually having been 'on a budget' when they had been to the cinema together, being forced to eschew the IMAX screen at Odeon for a bargain ticket at the Hollywood cinema. Fellow Boarder Sasha expands on the idea of her relative impoverishment at this stage of her life in a discussion about boutique cinemas: 'some of the like, the smaller brands... that do cinema viewing… aren't as like, approachable for students. Because they don't really take into account that we don't have as much money as everyone else'. As was the case with domestic film consumption, the frequency of Boarders' cinema-going was heavily restricted due to the educational pressure on them, and their geographical distance from the city centre (involving a one and a half hour journey by public transport).

However, when the Boarders went home to visit their families once every three weeks, cinema-going was as much a part of their family bonding practices as was the case with movie-nights at home (as discussed in Chapter 6). Grace talked about a 'little' cinema in the small Suffolk market town of Bury St Edmunds that she and her family regularly attended, called the Abbeygate Cinema. Bearing in mind that there was also an 8-screen Cineworld Multiplex cinema in the town, they went to the two-screen independently owned Abbeygate cinema because her dad 'likes it there'. Again, this is reminiscent of the previous chapter's findings in relation to patriarchal authority ascribing cultural legitimacy, in particular evidence within the Boarder and Urbanite group. Grace went on to explain that the cinema had a restaurant that her family would have a meal in and then they would 'just go upstairs' to see a film in a screen where there are sofas instead of single cinema seats. She elaborated on the comfort of the Abbeygate auditoria:

Grace	Yeah. It's really nice. It's quite small but…there are a few seats, but it's mostly just big sofas that you can share with other people….it's sweet.
Anna	Is it quite sort of luxurious would you say?

Grace	It's much comfier than most cinemas. Because the seats were…a lot comfier. And you could have, like, glasses in the cinema..
Sasha	Ooh that's cool.

Grace's classmate Sasha approved of the comfort of the seats (a recurring concern across my whole cohort) and the possibility of taking glassware into the cinema. She then expounded on her own experience of smaller cinemas, making it clear that although expensive, it was her grandparents that paid for them to attend:

Sasha:	Is there a chain of those…across the country? And they're quite like…family run? Cause…I don't actually know if they are *family run* but it feels like it is because you can…the restrictions are a lot lower. You can go into the cinema with your *glass of wine* or whatever. And there's generally a café or restaurant downstairs? And then a movie theatre upstairs and most people like….
Anna	Have you been to one?
Sasha	Yeah I have yeah, in Southampton.
Camilla	I've never been to one of these Picturehouses. They sound quite cute though.
Sasha	They're quite expensive.
Camilla	It sounds cute though.
Sasha	They are very cute. I go with my grandparents....

Sasha's speculation that the boutique cinemas were 'family run' is revealing as her father and grandfather were in business together (running their own Internet safety company), and her mother operated her own up-market Bed and Breakfast in north Norfolk. Sasha is drawing favourable comparisons with family-run businesses; a set-up that she was familiar with. Additionally, the emphasis that both Grace and Sasha put on taking glasses of wine into auditoria is perhaps telling of their social status, and notable in that at age 17, they are still too young to legally drink. Here they are staking their claim as young adults and anticipating the drinking of a glass of wine whilst watching a film at the cinema as an act of maturity and luxury. The language that Sasha and Camilla use to describe the boutique cinemas is significant: 'comfy', 'sweet' and 'cute', are recurrent adjectives. This nomenclature is reminiscent of their previously reported home-entertainment practices of viewing 'comfort

films' on repeat enshrined as such by their younger selves (e.g. Disney Princess animated films or the *Twilight* saga).

Urbanite Lila also reported on preferring a small cinema; she was in a nascent relationship with fellow Urbanite Dominic, and they frequented Cinema City together. This was due to the fact that, in Dominic's words '[my] dad refuses to go anywhere else'; he had been brought up attending that cinema with his parents. Similarly to Grace's situation, Dominic and Lila were replicating the film consumption and cinema-going practices of Dominic's film-fan father – a practice that extended to their home-entertainment practice of viewing non-mainstream titles at Dominic's parents' house (see previous chapter). Indeed, this couple and other Boarders/Urbanites demonstrated what Bourdieu described as 'linguistic and cultural competency and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture' (Bourdieu, 1973: 80). The fact that these participants were students at a prestigious boarding school also points to Bourdieu's 'extremely pronounced relationship' (1973: 76) between level of education and participation in prestigious cultural activities, and the use of them as 'symbolic goods [as being] only possible for those who hold the code making it possible to decipher them' (1973: 73).

A few of the other socio-economically advantaged Urbanites spoke about positive experiences attending Cinema City. Ethan and Archie from the city sixth form academy had both been to see *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946, Frank Capra) there at Christmas with their families. Archie said it was his favourite cinema citing these reasons: 'the experience is different to most cinemas; it has a more homely comfortable feeling. The seats are also really comfortable and the food/drinks are good as well'. Archie chose to return to Cinema City on his birthday to see *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (2015, J.J. Abrams) with his family, but when pressed, he admitted he would normally go to a multiplex (Vue) if going to see a film with his friends. He adds the distinction in relation to film choice and programming that he would mainly see '[his] films' at Vue and 'the odd ones' at Cinema City. This chimes with Estate Dwellers Charlie's prognosis of Cinema City's programming being 'random'. This view of specialised programming being abnormal or 'weird' cuts across a lot of the

groups, even the more privileged socio-economic Boarders and Urbanites; teenagers on the whole (within my cohort at least) are disparaging of non-mainstream film texts and venues. Urbanite Ethan remembers first attending Cinema City at the age of ten to see the Hitchcock film *Rear Window* (1954, Alfred Hitchcock) with his family, and further reported that he really liked Cinema City because it 'does have great seats'. Ethan however also admitted that it would be 'weird' to go to Cinema City with friends, reiterating Archie's observation.

Regardless of the popular rejection of the art-house (at least with peers); the Urbanites' ease of switching between art-house and multiplex, specialised (classic) films and mainstream Hollywood, and their confidence in reporting on it to myself and their peers, speaks to the notion of the cultural omnivore (as discussed in Chapter 2). This trend corroborates the findings of Warde and Gayo-Cal's (2009) on the hierarchies of cultural taste in the UK; in which they concluded that the most omnivorous section of society was from the highest social class. The Boarders and Urbanites' culturally omnivorous film and cinema-going preferences are a sign of cultural capital and an ease with the 'rules of the game' – as learned from their parents, and grandparents in some cases. Indeed, Charles Acland has argued that 'ultimately, *the formation and circulation of cinemagoing knowledge* molds patterns of attendance and lodges cinemagoing as a visible lifestyle expression, that is, as a visible boundary of social and cultural distinction' (Acland, 2003: 81 my emphasis). This cinema-going knowledge was certainly in evidence within this participant group and there were signs of the Boarders and Urbanites tentatively distinguishing art-house cinemas from multiplexes in acts of lifestyle expression.

Cultural Alternatives

As with other group members, Cultural Alternatives' cinema preferences were often linked with practical considerations such as proximity to transport links and affordability. However, amongst the Cultural Alternatives, there seemed to be a lot of positive feeling particularly for the Vue Cinema. Erika was a

frequent cinema-goer and self-confessed 'film guru', attending approximately once a week, and mostly at the Vue. This can be easily explained by the fact that at the time, she had a part-time job at the Vue, and so obtained free entry. I asked her which cinema/s her friends went to however, she answered; 'Odeon or Vue. They're the only ones I've heard them go to'. Another Cultural Alternative, Jamie, talked about how the Vue was his favourite cinema, talking with great enthusiasm about his feelings for the venue. He explained that it was the one he had grown up attending and where he had seen many of his 'childhood films'. He referred to the Vue as the cinema he could 'always rely on', and elaborated that:

> if you're someone who loves films as much as I do then you're obviously going to want to feel the excitement and get the feeling that you're going there to see something absolutely amazing. And get the actual experience and I think to do that you're going to need all the right colours and the music and it's just the way that…something about the way that the building's designed that gives off a certain…feeling.
>
> Jamie, 17

Jamie's discourse about his feelings of excitement and the effects of the audio-visual facilities whilst at the Vue ('all the right colours and the music'), links with other reports of the embodied experiences of cinema-going. These include the cosiness that Boarders and Urbanites felt in the comfortable seats of the art-house and the excitement that Squad leader Abigail expressed about the Odeon's 'light-up stairs'.

If there was an ease, or even a thrill experienced at the multiplex, there was significant evidence within this group of a discomfort with the art-house environment; particularly in relation to the older customers. I attended Cinema City on two occasions with Cultural Alternatives Erika, and Harry and Emma (respectively). Following the Saturday matinee screening of *Our Kind of Traitor* (2016, Susanna White), Harry, Emma, and I sat down in the Cinema City courtyard for a post-film discussion. On questioning, Emma confessed to feeling 'a bit out of place' followed by a nervous giggle. She explained; 'It's more sort of older people sitting here…..everyone else seems to be a bit more

sort of dressed up and [acting] casual'. Erika gave a similar response when asked how comfortable she felt at Cinema City:

Erika	Old people look at you like you're too young to be here.
Anna	Did you sense that though?
Erika	Yeah, just a tad!

Both Erika and Emma's experiences of discomfort are indicative of Bourdieu's conflict (*lutte*) between the young and the old (Bourdieu, 1993 [1978]) and also relate to Hubbard's cinema-going scholarship on ''ambient fears' and anxieties [that] can saturate the social spaces of everyday life' (Hubbard, 2003b: 52). In this particular instance the girls' anxieties about being out of place and being judged by mature customers, may have led them to adopt 'strategies of risk avoidance that people practice in their everyday lives…creating boundaries between Self and Other that, in turn, contribute to emerging socio-spatial divides' (Hubbard, 2003b: 53). Conversely, this is evident from the other perspective, with some regular and more mature audience-members for art-house cinema displaying fear and anxiety about teenagers infiltrating their territory.[66] Doreen Massey discusses this territorializing of spaces according to age, arguing that a range of 'authorities in wider society invent and implement rules for the spatial ordering of the population in terms of age… so teenagers are not allowed into… cinemas showing certain films (these places being reserved for people *older* than them)' (Massey, 1998: 127).

In much the same way as Emma and Erika's discomfort at Cinema City was experienced in a corporeal sense, Jamie's discourse above is indicative of his cinema-going ease at Vue being felt physically at the level of habitus.

Squad Members

Squad Members were divided in terms of their loyalties to different cinemas. All members lived in the northern suburbs and villages of Norwich, so in terms of geographic proximity, Hollywood was the closest. It was generally agreed

[66] Evidenced within industry reports e.g. Cinema T (2013) *Tyneside Cinema Share Findings from Three Year Programme to Develop Younger Audiences for Specialised Film*. Available at: https://www.tynesidecinema.co.uk/about-us/news/tyneside-cinema-share-findings-from-three-year-programme-to-develop-younger-audiences-for-specialised-film (accessed 13/03/17).

however that the Odeon was the premium cinema choice in terms of facilities and experience; Liam and Danielle talked of various cinema trips to Odeon with large groups of friends, and both admitted to also going there with older siblings (because they would pay). Abigail kept enthusiastically mentioning the 'light-up stairs' and the Ben and Jerry's ice-cream concession at the Odeon, and Gabby interjected about the Odeon also having the premium screening facilities of 3D and IMAX. These observations are further evidence of the participants' valuation of the physical interior space and facilities of their favourite cinema (although no mention of comfortable seats this time). This valuation extended to the wider position of the cinema too: the Odeon is in the relatively smart retail area of Riverside, with a Hollywood Bowl and arcade, a Nando's and several other chain restaurants situated in the vicinity. Abigail would get the bus there (free of charge as her father was a bus driver) with some friends, afterwards attending the bowling alley and arcade next door. Fellow Squad Member Gabby had attended Odeon with her friend as she had a voucher that they split. Notably most Squad Members here used methods of reducing their costs to attend the most expensive cinema (letting a sibling pay, using free bus travel, or a voucher).

In the same focus group, the convenience and affordability of the Hollywood in Anglia Square was discussed. Abigail said, 'you can get the bus down there and it's really easy'. Fellow Squad Member Gabby talked about it being the nearest and the cheapest cinema for them, although she reported getting scared walking into Anglia Square due to its relatively dilapidated state, so she tried to avoid it. Gabby's reported experience can again be related to Hubbard's scholarship on the anxiety experienced by some audience members attending city centre cinemas (Hubbard, 2003b). However, Abigail defended the Anglia Square area, saying enthusiastically that other facilities that *attracted* her to the area included 'a dragon shop, charity shops, Poundland, music shop, Iceland… Greggs'. The Poundland was key to the acquisition of cheap cinema snacks (as detailed in the next section).

The young female Squad Members did not discuss Cinema City as somewhere they had attended or would likely attend with peers. I asked them if they knew of its location and if they had been there, this was the response:

Isabel	It's…..I'm trying to think because I know where it is but I can't think of the place.
Gabby	I don't even know where it is. My parents have been but I don't have a clue.
Abigail	I've never gone. I've never been there. I've never been to that one. I just like Odeon because of the light-up stairs.

Abigail and Gabby's parents had been to Cinema City – but they hadn't. Isabel remembered having been there in the past with her family to see *Star Trek into Darkness* (2013, JJ Abrams) and characterised it as being nice, small, expensive and 'quite fancy'.

Unusually then this group favoured the premium 18-screen Odeon cinema but with the qualification of only attending with money-off concessions. The down-market Hollywood was rejected by most due to its situation in a run-down shopping square, although one member defended it. Similarly Cinema City was not considered a viable option by the Squad Members mainly due to a lack of awareness and it perhaps being a little too expensive and 'fancy'.

Suburbanites

The Suburbanites were characterised primarily by their residence in the suburbs and therefore being reliant on buses for transport or lifts from parents. Mostly their families were relatively comfortable and financially stable, allowing some of them the opportunity to attend the more expensive Odeon; albeit usually only as long as they were with parents or older siblings who would pay (again similarly to the Squad Members). JJ talked about frequenting the Odeon on Riverside with her family (her father would pay for everyone), and afterwards going to Nando's for dinner. Hannah also described visits to the Odeon with her parents, as did Jenson with his mother. Although in much the same way as the Squad Members, Suburbanites discussed a number of deals and offers they accessed for their cinema-going with peers.

Although Hannah also had her own income via a part-time job in a convenience store, she was still conscious about the cost of cinema-going. On stating that the Vue was where she most often attended, I asked her what it was about this cinema that she liked:

Hannah	It's just cheaper.
Anna	Yeah? And do you have, like, special vouchers or…?
Hannah	[My friend] has the….Nationwide [Bank] two for one card thing that you get with your bank account.

Hannah demonstrates that it is the principal of the offers that are attractive; meaning that even if she did have the money, she would still seek out a bargain. In fact when I asked Hannah what she would do with £50 cash for a cinema-trip (i.e. where she would go, what she would see, and with whom), tellingly she said she would go to the Vue with her friend Jack because he would likely pay for her.

Suburbanite James described distinctions he discerned about the different Norwich cinemas based on cost, facilities, and ultimately relating to his young age. He says; 'Vue is for more young people…Because it's more affordable and if you go to Odeon they've got bars that you have to be 18 to go to. Whereas [at Vue] you've got arcades and things where you don't have to be that old'. This distinction can be related to Doreen Massey's arguments about space being socially constructed, the social being spatially constructed, and 'the dominant image of any place [being] a matter of contestation and [changing] over time' (Massey, 1994).

Michael and Mandy were other Suburbanites that were price conscious, unusually demonstrating a preference for the cheaper Hollywood cinema. They elaborated on this preference highlighting that it was seeing a good film that made it a positive experience, rather than it being a comfortable or luxurious cinema:

Michael	Yes because I personally believe the price outweighs the quality. I mean you can be in the most comfortable seat but it's all about the movie in my opinion. I mean it's all about the film you're watching. So if you go to a really good cinema and see a bad film, then it was a bad experience. If you go to a bad cinema and see a really good film, therefore it was a good experience. So I think as long as you see a good film, you might as well… go cheap on everything else.
Mandy	And Hollywood aren't that bad. I feel like they get a lot of stick for not being like, Odeon who've got these [promotional] things hanging from the ceiling and a Ben and Jerry's stall. But Hollywood the seats aren't

> uncomfortable, the screens aren't terrible, the sound is not….awful.

Here Michael eschews the importance of the physical (exterior and interior) environment of the cinema, in favour of the film being the most important factor to ensure a positive cinema-going experience. This was an unusual sentiment amongst the cohort, and one that was not expressed by any other participants.

The Suburbanites then yet again express cinema preferences in relation to the cost of entry, but also the physical and social spaces of cinemas. Odeon was favoured, but only if being paid for by an older and more financially able family member. James' report refers to his habitus as a young person being more disposed to the Vue, and the Odeon exuding a feeling of exclusion to under 18s.

Rural Dwellers

The Rural Dwellers are categorized as such according to their rural residential status, and members of this group were far more reliant than the city dwellers on public transport. This strongly influenced their cinema-going in that their choice of cinema was linked with proximities to the bus or train station (respectively). Atticus and Ellie lived in south Norfolk, connected to Norwich by train, so they preferred to attend the Odeon next to Norwich Train Station for convenience. Milo was from an east Norfolk village, near to the town of Dereham, linked by bus, so preferred the Vue next to the bus station. Their preference for the city centre Vue was also influenced by its proximity to their college and other public spaces such as shopping malls, and as Milo reported, the lobby of the Vue itself to 'wander around in' and 'have a laugh'. This once again links with ideas of cultural geography and the spatial construction of cinema culture.

The price of entry at the Vue was once again deemed more affordable than the other multiplex option: 'we don't normally go to the Odeon because it's quite expensive to get in' reported Milo. Notably, there was a branch of the Hollywood cinema in Dereham, but Milo rejected this option in a statement demonstrating distinction on the grounds of its run-down state: 'we wouldn't

go to the Hollywood in Dereham because it's err….It's a bit…grim! <chuckles>'. Moreover, he adds that even though it was currently undergoing refurbishment, neither he nor his friends would go to it anyway.

Family bonding via cinema trips with parents were an activity that was reported on by Rural Dwellers. Atticus and Jenson's parents were both separated, and as a result they both regularly spent time at the weekends with the parent they didn't live with during the week. This involved Atticus travelling to London to stay with his father every other weekend, and Jenson staying with his mother in Norwich city centre. This impacted on their cinema-going and Atticus reported on often going to a London cinema, although it was usually in order to view a film he 'really want[ed] to see'. Whereas Jenson (who was a little younger at fourteen) discussed being taken to a Norwich multiplex to see *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (2015, JJ. Abrams) by his mother and taking a friend along. These practices imply that for these Rural Dwellers at least, family relationships are maintained or enhanced by cinema-going, with the added benefit that the parent would pay.

In summary, the multiplex cinemas of Vue and Odeon were the favoured destinations of most of my cohort; although Odeon was seen as prohibitively expensive by a number of participants. A number of other respondents admitted to only attending the Odeon, when an older and more financially-able family member would take them. The Vue was a favourite of the young people that take the bus into the city and Odeon was preferred by the train travellers. The Hollywood chain was much derided as being 'run-down, cheap and not very well-looked after' (Harry). A minimal number of the young people had been to Cinema City, and quite a few had not even heard of it, although some of the media students had visited on official college trips. The Boarders and Urbanites were keen however and independently chose (as a group) to meet me there for a cinema trip. Price (or perceived price) is very important to most teens; a variety of discounts, loyalty cards, and voucher schemes were mentioned as having enabled cinema-going.

7.1.2 Cinema-Going Companions, Practices, and Behaviours

To look at my participants' companions for their cinema-going is to establish the function of the activity either as a romantic date, a social occasion with peers, a family-bonding exercise, or a solitary pursuit. This aspect relates to the roles of going to the cinema and is developed further in 7.2. Here I also examine the detail of key cinema-going practices and behaviours that were either discussed in focus groups or interviews, or observed, once more paying attention to any correlations in or between participant groups.

Cinema-Going Companions

Mark Jancovich has pointed out that '... teenagers are particularly drawn to places free of parental supervision. The cinema has therefore long been a key site for courting and dating' (Jancovich, 2011: 90). Conspicuously, not many of my participants reported on cinema trips with romantic partners. Admittedly however relationship status (past or present) was an area of enquiry that I did not explicitly ask about, although I did enquire generally about who they attended the cinema with. Also it could well be the case that some young people did not feel comfortable speaking about their dating life to me and in front of peers in the focus groups, due to the personal nature of these encounters.

However, there were some reports that were volunteered on cinema-going with a boyfriend or girlfriend, and gender differences came to the fore here. There were some instances where participants reported on film and cinema choice being directly influenced by their boyfriend. This was the case with at least one Estate Dweller (Nemo) and an Urbanite (Lila). The girls recounted that although the films and cinemas chosen by their boyfriends would not have been their first choices - *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (2016, JJ Abrams) for Nemo and *The Lobster* (2015, Yorgos Lanthimos) at Cinema City for Lila – they were not unhappy to have been influenced in this way. Conversely there was a dissonance reported by two male participants, in relation to their girlfriends' film tastes. Estate Dweller Mitch and Cultural Alternative Harry respectively told me about how they had to compromise to reconcile with these

different tastes (described by Mitch as anything 'chickflick or independent feel-good'); and both joked about the suffering that they had to endure in the process. In evidence here then is male influence on female partners regarding film choices which was freely accepted, however from the other perspective, the males that had girlfriends spoke disparagingly (albeit with wry humour) about having to compromise on film choice. This evidence points to issues of reproduction of gender roles; in that females were willingly submissive to their boyfriends' tastes, but males were not willing to (publicly at least) accept their girlfriends' tastes. Victoria Cann's findings on masculinity and gender appropriate tastes for boys in order to fit in with peers (Cann, 2018) reverberate here with these findings.

A further example of cinema-going with a partner is notable due to the recurrence of the theme of the physical experience of the cinema. Norwich Estate Dweller Josh (17) talked in a wistful tone about a trip he had recently taken to Cambridge (a journey of one to two hours by train), in order to meet a girl he was seeing. They had attended a multiplex to see *Deadpool* (2016, Tim Miller) for the third time (in his case). He had paid for the two of them to have a VIP reclining seat and Josh's words, 'it was brilliant, and the seating [was] nice, the view was nice, and I had a girl on my lap the entire time'. The emphasis is once again on the embodied experience of the cinema seats, a persistent theme within quite a few reports of cinema-going. Comfort and luxury are usually the key significances of the seating for individuals, but in this case, Josh shared his VIP reclining seat with his cinema-going partner and so the accommodating and reclining nature of the larger seat became particularly important. No talk at all about cinema-going with romantic partners occurred with Suburbanites or Rural Dwellers, with no immediately discernible reasons as to why this was the case, other than the discomfort of speaking to a researcher on the subject as mentioned above.

I argue that family-bonding and socialising with friends are key roles of cinema-going, depending on social grouping (addressed further in 7.2). The act of going to the cinema *alone* however is one that was quite divisive for my cohort, with some negative perceptions being aired on the subject. Solo cinema-going was described as 'weird' (Cultural Alternative Harry about

Estate Dweller Jack going alone), 'depressing' (Rural Dweller Atticus reporting on what a friend had told him about his experience of a cinema-trip on his own), and 'awkward' (Urbanite Grace admitted to having felt self-conscious and 'hating it' on the one occasion she went by herself). However, a few participants talked with ease about going to see a film alone as a practice that they had done in the past and would do again. This cut across different groups, with socio-economic factors not being a key determinant in this practice. Estate Dweller Charlie talked of going alone, even though he had been teased about it in the past, he was now 'popular' and confident enough to go on his own to see films that he couldn't get others to see with him. Harry said he would go to the cinema by himself and 'watch loads of films' if he was given £50 – thereby valuing quantity of viewing over the sociality of the act. Squad Member Danielle had been to see a particular film (*The Fault in our Stars* (2014, Josh Boone)) on her own because she knew she was going to cry and did not want any companions to witness it. Danielle deliberately sought a solo cinema-going experience to emotionally indulge herself (a practice that she may have inherited from her mother whose favourite film was *Ghost* (1990, Jerry Zucker); 'she likes the film but it makes her cry'). Boarder Sasha reported that; 'I don't mind going to the cinema on my own. I'd always ask if anyone wanted to go with me first. But if no one was available, I wouldn't make it restrict what I could do. I'd still go'. A common factor in those that told me that had they been to the cinema alone, was confidence. Those that reported positively on this phenomenon had the self-assurance to go to the movies alone and moreover, talk about it in front of their peers. Cultural Alternative Jamie expressed his understanding about the value and freedom of independence when he described the hypothetical act of solo cinema-going:

> you get a small feeling of….. power when you do things on your own.. That probably sounds a little bit ridiculous but you go to the cinema and you think "right this is my time, I can do what I want". If I had the chance to go to the cinema on my own I would because you know… I can pick the film, I can pick the snacks, I can sit back and relax.

Jamie here demonstrates an awareness of the benefits of independence, but at the age of 17, and still living with his mother with no disposable income of his own, he was not quite ready to venture out on his own.[67]

Here I have argued then that amongst those that did speak freely on the subject of movie-going with a romantic partner; there was evidence of gendered responses to the influence of their partners on film choices (girls were willingly compliant with their boyfriends' tastes, but boys were less publicly acquiescent of their girlfriends' tastes). The issue of solo cinema-going was divisive across the cohort with some actively rejecting it as a wholly unappealing practice in terms of how it would make them feel (depressed) or look (weird). However, the participants that did discuss going to the cinema alone appeared confident and self-assured in the practice and derived (or predicted) pleasures from the act such as emotional release in private, or independence and power.

In-Cinema Practices and Behaviours

Julian Hanich has theorised about the effect on audiences of the collective film-viewing experience in-cinemas and argues that:

> When we go to the cinema we always arrive with a bag filled with expectations. Not only do we expect to follow an uninterrupted projection of a film in a dark space; we also expect to cross a threshold into a public auditorium separated from the outside world, a space with specific behavioral rules in which we encounter other people.
>
> (Hanich, 2017: 3)

Hanich espouses the need to 'distinguish experiences conceptually, labelling them, and describing them with rigor helps to deepen and enrich our experiences' (Hanich, 2017: 23). In this section, I consider a few key practices that were reported on by my cohort in order to 'deepen and enrich' my examination of teenager's film-going experiences, values, and pleasures.

[67] After I had conducted my fieldwork, I learned that Jamie had got a part-time job at the Hollywood Cinema, probably thereby rendering him plenty of opportunities to see films at the cinema alone.

One unifying practice was participants taking their own food and drink into the cinema with them. To be more specific, there was a consensus across a number of participant groups that they went to shops to purchase sweets, savoury snacks, bags of popcorn, and soft drinks before going to see a film. There were specific discount stores in close proximity to the Vue in Castle Mall and the Hollywood in Anglia Square, such as the 99p Store and Poundland, and these were often referred to. Urbanite George reported that he and his friends would 'normally…go for lunch in the food court and then…get a snack in the 99p store' at Castle Mall before attending the Vue together. Considering the general relative lack of disposable income that my participants had at this life stage, it is unsurprising perhaps that this was common practice. This is not to say that the teenagers were not tempted by the range of refreshments available at their favourite cinemas. I asked Squad Member Liam what he would do if he were given £50 for a night out at the cinema. He responded by prioritising the drinks and snacks he would purchase: 'I'd make sure the 50 quid was spent well, like on Ben & Jerry's milkshakes things like that…… on proper food like nachos and hot dogs'. The slight complication here is found along class lines, in instances when the Boarders and Urbanites went to specialised cinemas such as Cinema City or The Abbeygate with their families. They would either have a meal in the in-house restaurant before a film or be bought drinks and snacks at the cinema's box office by their affluent parents.

In terms of behaviour whilst watching a film in the cinema; there were claims of engagement in what was on screen, and therefore no distractions of talking with companions or from the glowing screens of smart phones. This is certainly what I experienced on the seven occasions that I attended cinemas with members of my cohort. Of course, it is quite possible that they moderated their behaviour due to my presence however. This observation chimes with Heidi Grundström's that,' due to the instantaneity of living in a digitally networked setting, the space of cinema theatre is used for going offline' (2018: 5).

I now turn to a couple of participant observation sessions with Cultural Alternative Erika and her college friend Suburbanite James, which help me to illustrate findings about in-cinema deportment. I first invited them to meet me at a cinema of their choosing (they selected the Vue), to see a film of their choice (they chose *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay Part 2* (2015, Francis Lawrence). They smuggled their own snacks in and Erika mocked James for the brightness of his screen as he silenced it after the usual warning message was played before the film. Relevantly, this Vue pre-film etiquette message (voiced by actor Mark Strong) specifically points out that 'a little bit of darkness refines the senses' and 'focuses the mind' and appeals for 'no distractions, no sudden ringtones, no glaring screens, and no talking'. It invites spectators to 'switch off their phones and switch off from the outside world'. Therefore actively encouraging the state of immersion and explicitly stating the 'specific behavioural rules' that Hanich references at the beginning of this section (Hanich, 2017: 3). The second trip with Erika and James was to Cinema City, on my suggestion, in order to be able to compare and contrast the two experiences. I did invite them to choose the film however, and they selected *A Bigger Splash* (2015, Luca Guadagnino). After the screening, I asked Erika and James if they had looked at the other audience members that we'd shared the auditorium with. They both reported with some mirth that the others 'were all old' and that they were 'easily' the youngest people there. We then discussed the behaviour of the other audience members in the screening and Erika had this to say, 'they were talking. Everybody was though. Before, like, when the adverts were on, everyone was talking a lot….It's not a problem. It's just it's never been like that at any other cinema. It's always been silent'. Bearing in mind Erika had been a staff member at the Vue cinema for the previous year or two, and so had experienced more multiplex screenings than most, this was a notable observation of hers.

Additionally, as previously mentioned, on a separate visit to Cinema City with other Cultural Alternatives, Emma and Harry, we had watched *Our Kind of Traitor* (2016, Susanna White) at a matinee screening. Whilst watching this film, an elderly middle-class man spoke loudly to his female companion throughout, commenting on plot developments comparing them to those of the

John Le Carré novel that the script was an adaptation of. These incidents demonstrate that the usual social protocol of audiences watching films silently in-cinema, as exemplified by the Vue pre-film etiquette film, do not always apply, and my young participants were surprised that it was the older audience members in an art-house cinema that were doing the talking.

The Rural Dweller group members talked of their behavior whilst in the cinema watching a film. Atticus claimed an absorption in the film, even when attending with friends; 'you're not really caring about what's going on with the group sitting next to you. Cause you're usually just watching the film'. Milo took a different view however:

> When I go to the cinema I normally eat sandwiches and Skittles <laughs> for the first half an hour or whatever and for the rest of it I'll just be like…….well just sort of taking the mick out of the film for the rest of the duration! We'll be watching it quietly and either one of my mates will start saying something about what's going on on-screen.

For Milo, cinema-going was less about the film and more about the opportunity to socialise and 'have a laugh' with male peers. Ellie, the third Rural Dweller in the same focus group talked of her mixed experience of interaction with friends at the cinema once a film is on: '…one of my friends hates talking. But then the other one, you just kind of like, chat about it'. This section has demonstrated that that my participants' behaviour in-cinemas – both reported and observed in-situ – is connected with economics once more (e.g. taking in their own sweets and snacks), and also with accepted codes of spectatorship (i.e. Hanich's 'specific behavioural rules' of immersion) which are notable when not observed.

7.2 The Roles and Functions of Cinema-Going

Allen and Gomery state that for sociologists of film-going it is important to ask the question: 'what are the social attractions, advantages, and functions of the cinema… rather than any other social institution of entertainment?' (Allen et al., 1985: 157). This is a question that I respond to here. As previously stated, uses and gratifications (U&G) research was initiated in the mid-20th century in relation to increasingly popular forms of mass media and the uses that

audiences made of them. McQuail et al. established the following four main classifications of needs and uses in relation to audiences as being: Diversion/escapism, Personal Relationships, Personal Identity, and Surveillance/information (McQuail et al., 1972; cited in Severin and Tankard, 1992: 272). Using this as a model, as well as Jackie Stacey's three discourses of consumption: Escapism, Identification and Consumerism (1994), I have analysed my cohorts' discourse on the roles of cinema. The following categories emerge for my teenage film consumers regarding the roles and functions of cinema-going:

1. Family Cohesion and Tradition
2. Socialising with Friends or Romantic Dates
3. Special Occasion and Excitement
4. Acquisition of Popular/Subcultural Capital: Franchises and Adaptations

There were other reasons that my participants conveyed as to why they go to the cinema – such as the mere fact that they had vouchers for free entry, or they went on a college trip. However, I have distilled the most salient reasons into the above four categories in an act of clarification, and unpack these groupings in the following sections.

7.2.1 Family Cohesion and Tradition

This role of family cohesion and tradition was reported mainly by the Boarder and Urbanite group members, notably on the upper level of the social scale. Some of the Boarders used family film nights as a method to spend quality time with family members in their relatively scant leisure time at home. Moreover, some families had distinct traditions that had been established over years. A number of Urbanite male participants reported on visiting Cinema City annually at Christmas for festive family viewings of *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946, Frank Capra). Archie and Ethan discuss the experience:

Archie	Yeah my brother really enjoyed it so he thought as a Christmas present he'd do it for all of us. He bought the tickets.
Anna	How old is your brother?
Archie	25 in... a couple of weeks.
Anna	So do you think that was a good thing to all do together?
Archie	Yeah it was nice. It was quite a nice experience.
Anna	And what did you think of the film?

Archie	I mean I enjoyed it. It's a nice film to watch.
Ethan	It's good.

This festive family outing is one that at least two of the Urbanites agreed had become part of their Christmas tradition, and notably one that was not discussed by other participants from different social groups. Instead *Die Hard* (1988, John McTiernan) was a Christmas multiplex outing that Suburbanite Hannah reported on. Archie also reported that for his birthday (just after Christmas), he, his parents and his two brothers had been to Cinema City to see *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (2015, JJ Abrams). The male Urbanites concur that visiting the local art-house cinema is for special family occasions, to the exclusion of attending with friends, where a multiplex is the preferred venue (see 7.1.1).

The Squad Members were all from nuclear families that were still together (i.e. not single-parent or step-families) and there were reports of regular film nights at home in the lounge. There was a similar story from Suburbanites who came from large and close-knit families; most reported on attending the cinema with family members (with the added bonus that the parents would always pay). Suburbanite Hannah who had been to the Odeon with her parents the previous Christmas to see a one-off screening of *Die Hard* was a little embarrassed by this however, and stated that this made her look 'sad' (i.e. pathetic). This was said in a self-deprecating tone and by saying this in the focus group, I believe this was a statement of self-protection from peer mockery (which incidentally I do not believe was forthcoming). Nonetheless, it is clear that for some of my participants (but not most of the Estate Dwellers and Cultural Alternatives), family rituals and traditions were still being practiced via film consumption and cinema-going at their teenage life stage. These practices served an important role for these teenagers in family bonding, and for some parents (of Boarders and Urbanites especially), the transference of (popular) cultural capital around film culture was achieved.

7.2.2 Socialising with Friends or Romantic Dates

On a general and practical level, cinema-going is an accessible and independent leisure pursuit for the 13-18 age group in terms of legality, affordability and familiarity. This differentiates cinema-going from other leisure-time activities such as going to bars and nightclubs (illegal for under 18s in the UK), or attending theatres for 'high arts' such as theatre, opera, or ballet (which may be prohibitively expensive and 'not for the likes of [them]'). My empirical data indicates that cinema-going is also symbolically significant to the development and maintenance of social relationships for teenagers. This is in accordance with other cinema audience scholars such as Kevin Corbett (1998) and Janna Jones (2011; 2013), who both argue for the social significance of this leisure pursuit. Corbett reasons for a simultaneous social and individual benefit, stating that from the earliest days of cinema the act of going to the movies 'symbolized the simultaneous promise of a primarily social event wherein one could also experience highly individualized escapism' (Corbett, 2001: 30). To illustrate Corbett's social/individual experience paradox; I reiterate Rural Dweller Atticus' observation (made in 7.1.2) about the singular focus and attention he gives to the film when in the cinema, even if attending with a group of friends.

I have cited numerous examples of my young participants attending the cinema with groups of friends or romantic partners. A number of Estate and Rural Dwellers went in large groups of male friends (football mates, sixth form or college mates) to see films such as those from the Marvel or DC franchises, boxing films, fantasy and Sci-Fi. This was not necessarily a trend just for male participants however, as Squad Members discussed attending the cinema in large mixed groups to see Hollywood studio comedy films. For my cohort, the act of going to the cinema is usually a social one as with members of wider society. It is done with one or more companions; in contrast to home or mobile viewing which is more often a solitary act. However, the act of cinema attendance with others takes on a symbolic significance at the adolescent life stage, setting moulds for future personal, social, cultural, and taste developments.

7.2.3 Special Occasion and Excitement

The discourse around the 'death of the cinema' (see Usai, 2001; McNabb, 2018) does not account for the thrill and excitement of a cinema-trip that cannot fully be recreated at home, as reported by a number of my participants. I asked some about their thoughts on the cinemas of the future in order to illicit their current values and perceptions of movie-going. The young Squad Members were particularly effusive on this point, and reported the following:

Gabby	I don't know. I hope there will. Because it's more of a social event than sitting at home. Because you can now literally stream every single film there is out there.
Abigail	You could just binge-watch.
Isabel	But that's not quite the same as going to a cinema.
Gabby	Yeah it's not as thrilling. You have a big screen instead of a small screen.
Abigail	It's not as exciting. Because you're actually going out and you're like "oh my god it's actually going to be on in this amount of time!"
Gabby	You would just be like in your house, like all the time.
Abigail	….it's a different environment.… It is literally something special to do once in a while.
Gabby	Yeah it's like a special occasion. Yeah it's a treat.

The girls were in agreement over the differences of cinema-going compared to home viewing as an exciting and thrilling social experience which is a special treat. This was reiterated by Cultural Alternative Jamie when he repeated his enthusiasm (see 7.1.1) about the experience of an excursion to the multiplex:

> …It gives off a certain atmosphere….a certain 'movie atmosphere'. Because I walk in there and I think "wow this is really exciting I'm going to see this amazing film". And they always give you all the amazing sounds and it's the best picture as well.

Generally cinema-going is viewed as a treat and a pleasure; an out-of-the-ordinary event which is relished when undertaken. This is a particularly salient observation with the consideration of the proliferation of digital media and personal screen options available to my young cohort. [68]

[68] As I edit this thesis in June 2020, we are in the midst of the lockdown due to the COVID-19 global pandemic. As such, issues of home consumption as opposed to cinema-going are acutely salient and relevant – particularly with the threat to cinemas that months of closure implies.

7.2.4 Acquisition of Popular/Subcultural Capital: Franchises and Adaptations

Several young people cutting across the cohort stated that they did not go to the cinema too often, unless there was something they *really* wanted to see. There was a notable trend relating to franchise films and young adult novel adaptations. Key examples were *Star Wars* and *The Fast and the Furious*; popular Hollywood mainstream franchise properties that have a wider life in 'multiple media platforms or outlets with merchandising and tie-in potential' (Wasko, 2008: 22). Favourite film adaptations were mostly from Young Adult novels such as *The Perks of Being a Wallflower* (1999, Stephen Chbosky), *Paper Towns* (2008, John Green), or *The Fault in our Stars* (2012, John Green).

This category relates to the prefiguration that my participants expressed in relation to particular franchises or adaptations, and the satisfaction gained from seeing these movies at the cinema. There is significant scholarship on the issue of cinematic prefiguration, with a sizeable body of work centring on T*he Lord of the Rings* films – a franchise that was name-checked as a favourite by a number of male participants from the Estate Dwellers and Rural Dwellers groups. This literature features work by (Biltereyst et al., 2008), (Michelle et al., 2017) and (Midkiff, 2016), the latter of which examines the anticipation of *The Hobbit* films from 13-19 year olds in relation to their engagement (or lack thereof) with the novel. I also refer here back to Chapter 6, where I assessed film tastes in terms of performances of cultural capital, gender, and identity, and the popular or subcultural capital that allegiances can acquire.

By anticipating and buying in to the movie franchise market, participants are aligning themselves with popular culture and interpretive communities (Fish, 1980). This role is intrinsically linked with ideas of fandom and issues of identity (Hills, 2002; Jenkins, 2006). Several participants staked their claim as being either DC or Marvel fans. In fact even non-fans (Gray, 2003) may buy into a franchise out of reasons of curiosity and wanting to keep up with the

crowd. Suburbanite Michael exemplifies this when he explained that he had selected to go and see *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (2015: JJ Abrams) in order to 'find out what the big deal is about'. The Young Adult novel adaptation trend speaks instead to a more niche culture. The participants that mentioned these texts were mostly teenagers from the OPEN youth club, and the discourse around them indicated a subcultural affiliation and common bond in smaller peer groups (than the mainstream franchises at least). JJ discussed *The Perks of Being a Wallflower* (2012, Stephen Chbosky) film adaptation in relation to the book with her friend Jack:

JJ	I watched it the other day. Did you?
Jack	I haven't watched it in months, I'm going to have to watch it soon.
JJ	I really wanted to read it in when I was in Turkey. I looked for it everywhere and I just couldn't find it. And even if I did find it, it would probably have been in Turkish!.... I love it.

JJ and Jack bonded over their shared admiration for a particular Young Adult text and spoke of a practice of compulsive repeat reading and viewing. Although the above example would have been accessed via home entertainment platforms, there was other evidence of anticipation of other Young Adult adaptations at the cinema, mostly from female teens and in relation to coming-of-age type stories in an act of self-identity affirmation and subcultural affiliation.

7.3 Specialised Cinema-Going: A Case Study

In this final section, I look at the extent to which cohort members are engaging (or not) with specialised cinema, due to the relative lack of engagement with this cinema type and my ensuing research question directly addressing this issue. I categorise participants into a detailed model of specialised cinema engagement, considering the factors that influence identified trends. I establish the social, cultural, and environmental factors that limit teenagers' attendance with their peers at cinemas with a specialised film programme. To recap the issues that inform cinema choice for my teenagers; variably there is a lack of awareness or willingness to attend (in relation to specialised cinemas), there is

a discomfort for some in certain venues in relation to habitus, and the cost of art-house tickets and in-cinema refreshments can be prohibitive.

I have previously demonstrated that some explicitly rejected Cinema City (the specialised cinema option), such as Estate Dweller Charlie: 'I'm not really a fan of Cinema City…... You see it's just like, random films' and Suburbanite Hannah; 'It's a bit posh!'. Ostensibly Charlie and Hannah expressed their aversions in relation to the cinema's programming, décor and ambience, but there are more innate elements at play here. In Bourdieusian terms this relates to habitus and 'the most improbable practices...therefore [being] excluded, as unthinkable, by a kind of immediate submission to order that inclines agents to make a virtue of necessity, that is, to refuse what is anyway denied and to will the inevitable' (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980]: 54). Their doxa has imposed a 'sense of one's place' or a perception that Cinema City 'is not for us' (*ce n'est pas pour nous*) (Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]: 480). This correlates with the previously discussed sense of unease and discomfort that other teenagers (Cultural Alternatives Erika and Emma) reported on whilst in the venue, especially in relation to its other more mature audience members. Saying this, the male Urbanites all expressed the opposite (a sense of ease) about Cinema City. Archie stated that his favourite cinema was Cinema City because of the experience being different to other cinemas, it having a more 'homely and comfortable feeling', and an appreciation of the comfortable seats and the food and drink offer. Archie goes on to expound; 'But I really love it there. I don't know what it is. But…I just really like it there'. Regardless of this affection for the venue that he cannot easily explain however, Archie (joined by George and Ethan) all reported that at their current teenage life stage, they would only attend Cinema City with their families, eschewing it for a multiplex instead.

It was only fellow Urbanites Lila and Dominic that were fully engaged and established Cinema City attendees for all occasions, for the reason that Dominic had been socialised as such by his parents (whose father would 'not go anywhere else). Additionally, they were attending a prestigious boarding school where the rules of the game of cultural cinema was understood and valued. Lila talks to her schoolmates about why she likes the cinema, once

again with an emphasis on seating; 'I just like Cinema City cause it's…comfy….'cause you get these like, sofa seats in there'. Following this exchange, the group of five Boarders and Urbanites selected Cinema City over the other mainstream and bargain cinema options to meet me for a cinema trip. They even unanimously chose to see *The Lady in the Van* (2015, Nicholas Hytner), a film that ostensibly appealed to more mature Cinema City audiences. Following the screening, I asked them about their impressions of the place:

Camilla	I liked it.
Grace	…I really like it [too]!...it feels like it's more personal than, like, the Odeon or something.

Camilla then mentions the issue of economics; 'but it is quite expensive…I guess you're paying for it to be independent rather than….do you know what I mean? Cause it's like, smaller, like the screens are more cosy', a point that Grace seconded. I then asked if they would return to Cinema City if the opportunity arose, Grace responded 'yeah if it was payday <laughter> and I felt like it'. However, during other discussions it was established that due to reasons of price they would also (along with the male Urbanites) usually go to multiplexes with friends at this life stage. However, for the male Urbanites it was also a matter of feeling more comfortable at the multiplex for trips with their peers.

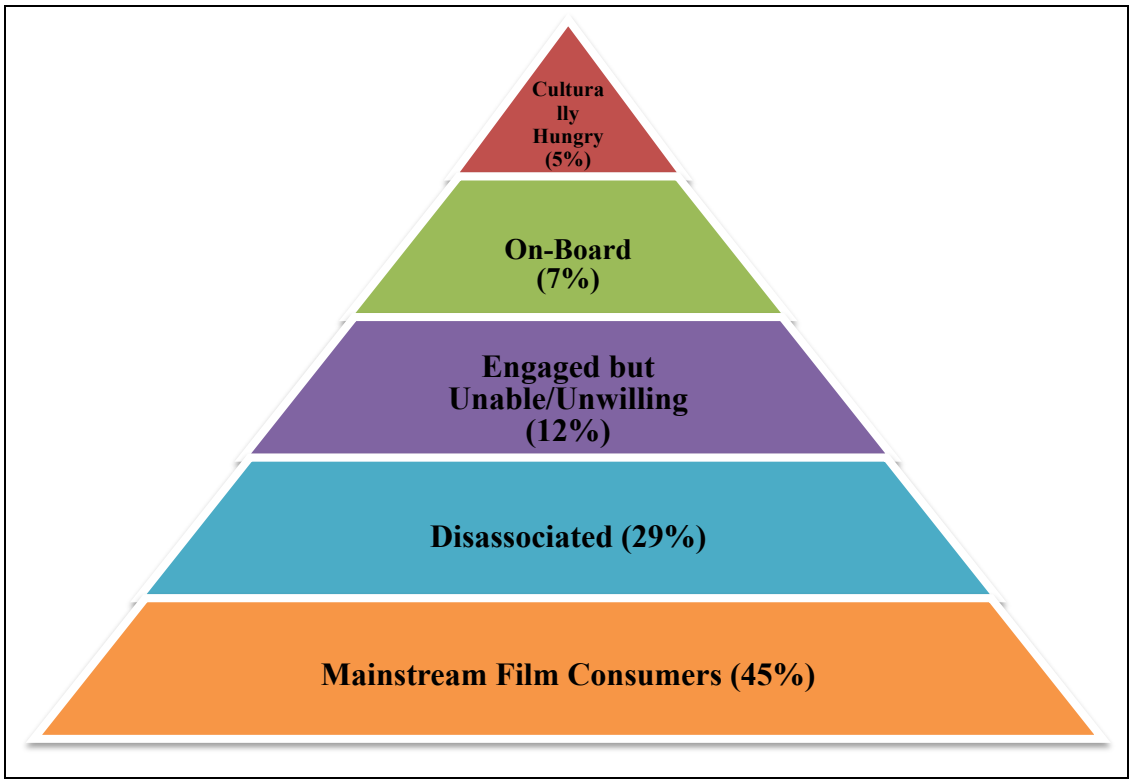
The only other individual engaged with specialised film was Suburbanite Michael, who was teaching himself about canonical films (of the 1930s to the 1950s) and accessing specialised films independently and via home entertainment formats (e.g. DVDs from car boot sales). Michael had in fact chosen to go and see *Jaws* (1975, Steven Spielberg) on the big screen at Cinema City. His carefully selected explanation for this choice was that there 'weren't any Alfred Hitchcock movies that were showing'; a statement that displayed his self-learned film culture knowledge. However, he had won vouchers to attend Cinema City in a raffle which was the main reason he chose this cinema. On the experience of seeing *Jaws* at the cinema, he had this to say:

> What I like about it is that since it's such a classic film, everyone knows when the jokes are coming up. So everyone's sort of preparing for when he says, "we're going to need a bigger boat" and things and then everyone laughs. A lot more than they would have with the original I think. It's just good to have such a big screen for it. It's very nice…and with the whole sound as well. Having surround sound is very good.
>
> Michael, 17

Michael foregrounds the audience response and therefore the sociality of the event. He went on to comment that Cinema City is 'more highbrow' than the other Norwich cinemas, using indicative language to describe the cultural legitimacy and symbolic value he prescribes the venue. Once more I put forward that as an autodidact he did not possess the same *ease* with the game of cultural legitimacy and capital as some of the participants from higher social groups. In Bourdieu's words; 'ease is so universally approved only because it represents the most visible assertion of freedom from the constraints which dominate ordinary people, the most indisputable affirmation of capital' [is] the authority which entitles one to ignore the demands of biological nature (Bourdieu, 2010 [1984]: 252 abridged).

I assessed each research participant according to the levels of knowledge, motivation, and actual engagement that they demonstrated in our focus groups or interviews in relation to attending a specialised cinema. As a result, I established a detailed model, made up of five categories of art-house cinema (non)engagement including: Mainstream, Disassociated, Engaged but Unable, Fully Engaged, and Culturally Hungry. I recognise that by establishing these categories I may be disregarding some nuance in taste variations, and I understand that it does discount the impact of non-theatrical film consumption. However, I trust that the context-setting and empirical analysis that has gone before has provided a depth of understanding that I am not attempting to condense within this model. Figure 7.3 depicts each category according to popularity in a pyramid formation; allowing a clear image as to the proportion of engagement, with Mainstream cinema-goers as a base, and Culturally Hungry at the top.

Figure 7.3 Specialised Film Consumption Categories (with %)



I now present further detail on the makeup and character of each group. These are presented in order of the group representing the most participants, to the least:

7.3.1 Mainstream Film Consumers and Multiplex-goers

The largest group of mainstream film consumers is constituted of those that only attended multiplex cinemas. It is made up of 19 out of my 42 participants, or 45% of the total. Members expressed preferences for mainstream film culture and cinemas, in that it was significantly intrinsic to their leisure time. Members came from all participant groups except for the Boarders and Urbanites who are entirely unrepresented here. This could be due to Boarders and Urbanites genuinely having more specialised tastes, or at least performing those tastes for me to demonstrate their cultural capital. The most represented group was the Squad Members (five of the six Squad Members), indicating that

the group mentality - in terms of large friendship formations and being part of squads of friends - could extend to their mostly mainstream film consumption tastes and practices. Four (of eight) Cultural Alternatives were categorised here too, implying that their 'Cultural Alternativeness' does not necessarily extend to their film tastes and practices.

7.3.2 Disassociated with Film

The next fairly sizeable group (12 out of the 42, representing 29%) of my participants expressed a relative apathy or lack of passion for cinema-going of any type. They appeared to be busy with other (inter)active and social pursuits such as gaming, playing music, playing football, socialising with friends in public spaces such as parks, or attending a youth club. There were five Estate Dwellers and tellingly, no Boarders and Urbanites in this category, implying that those young people on the lower end of the social scale had preferences for leisure-time activities that had a more active, or interactive element.

7.3.3 Engaged but Unable

This group is constituted of those that were engaged or interested in specialised film and cinemas, but were unable or uninterested in participating at present, unless with parents. It is made up of six out of the 42 participants, representing 14% of the whole. All six of these members are from the Boarders and Urbanites group. The reasons for this lack of will or ability can be attributed to some being time-poor due to the high demands of their education or feeling uncomfortable attending Cinema City with peers. They are all from relatively privileged socio-economic and educational backgrounds, but as previously discussed, some feel that the art-house cinema option is too expensive for them at this life stage or the multiplex is a more appropriate venue for cinema trips (with friends at least).

7.3.4 Fully Engaged

The three members in this group (representing 7%) were interested in specialised film and already regularly attending an art-house cinema or consuming at home. Urbanites Lila and Dominic, and Suburbanite Michael

made up this group. Dominic and Lila were regular attendees at Cinema City, where they used their Picturehouse Membership to get discounted tickets, and selected (in Lila's words) 'weird' films such as *The Lobster* (2015, Yorgos Lanthimos). Additionally they watched a broad range of films at Dominic's' parents' house together. This engagement can be attributed to the socialisation Dominic had received from his film-fan father and from their attendance at an elite state boarding school. The other member is Suburbanite Michael, who had a curiosity about classic films and a dedication to watching canonical texts, usually alone in the comfort of his own home, although he had ventured to Cinema City on occasion.

7.3.5 Culturally Hungry

Two out of the whole cohort (5%) were culturally hungry but not attending specialised cinema due to lack of funds, awkwardness or ease with a different cinema. Cultural Alternative Jamie and Estate Dweller Jack, both expressed interest in specialised films and Cinema City as a venue, but had only ever attended the Vue. Both attested to the Vue being convenient and familiar citing these as the main reasons for attending it. Their socio-economic backgrounds were fairly modest at social grade D and their educational experience was not at elite schools/colleges, instead however they were studying arts and cultural subjects (Creative Media and Theatre Performance) at City College. Jamie met me at Cinema City for a film event and was very enthusiastic about the experience describing it as 'much more pleasant than in Vue cinema…..I guess it's a more relaxed atmosphere…than a …'movie atmosphere''. Jack told me about how he wanted to see *Suffragette* (2015, Sarah Gavron), so I gave him a Cinema City programme (it was showing there at the time and it was on the front cover); he was so grateful that one of his friends teased him that he looked like he was going to cry. Jamie and Jack are further examples of the types of young people who again, in Bourdieusian terms, although keen to engage in cultural cinema, may not be able to succeed in the long term due to their lack of ease within the field and the rules of the game, unless some form of intervention is made.

Unclassifiable

Unfortunately, I did not obtain enough information from Urbanite Peter (2%) as to his engagement (or otherwise) with cultural cinema. Although tellingly, he fell asleep for a time whilst watching *The Lady in the Van* (2015, Nicholas Hytner) at Cinema City whilst on the visit there with myself and five of his Boarder and Urbanite schoolmates. Afterwards he did tell me he had enjoyed the film and the experience, regardless of his nap.

As expected, these groupings are not 'hermetically sealed' categories of social and cultural behaviour. A significant nuance to my model of specialised cinema-going is the case of the two Estate Dwellers that although generally exhibiting mainstream tastes, indicated an openness to more specialised films. Josh (17) and Mitch (17) both made the concession that they could be convinced to watch films from any genre if they thought the story telling was good enough. These comments were made with direct reference to Mitch's previous comments distinguishing his tastes with his girlfriend's, who preferred 'chickflicks and independent feel good films':

Josh	I like any film with a good premise really.
Mitch	Yeah I'm kind of the same really. Even if you do give me a chickflick or something, if it's decent enough story-wise and interesting then I probably would enjoy it.

This sentiment would imply that these young men would be open to specialised film if they deemed it interesting enough. Indeed for our cinema-trip, they chose to watch *Tales of Tales* (2015, Matteo Garrone), an Italian/French/UK fantasy film as opposed to US buddy-pastiche *The Nice Guys* (2016, Shane Black), Irish musical *Sing Street* (2016, John Carney) and Universal Studio's animation *The Secret Life of Pets* (2016, Chris Renaud). Josh explained that they chose this title because 'we just thought it was like a dark fantasy from Italy', and Mitch mentioned that he thought it would contrast with his girlfriend's tastes. However, in this process they inadvertently chose the most challenging film in terms of content and style. *Tale of Tales* was episodic in its narrative structure with three concurrent and loosely connected storylines of

dark, violent fantasy adapted from Italian literature. Following the film, Josh reviewed it as 'alright' but 'very odd', stating his frustration over the ambiguously linked storylines. Mitch similarly described it as 'alright', but 'weird' and 'strange', and referenced an HP Lovecraft compendium *Necronomicon: Book of the Dead* (1993, Christophe Gans, Shusuke Kaneko, Brian Yuzna) as being similar. He describes it as '… loads of different little stories which are all…. very…. different but are of the same universe'.

In summary, habitus dictated awkwardness for some at Cinema City. Furthermore, as evidenced by only the Boarders and Urbanites, investment in specialised cinema, can be attributed to acts of cultural reproduction both acquired in the home via parents and at their place of education. However, even within this social group, limited spending power and a discomfort in the art-house with peers at the teenage life stage dictates a preference for the mainstream and the multiplex. This indicates that socio-economic determinants connected with life stage habitus dictate cultural participation for the young.

Conclusion

To conclude, in this final chapter I have shown that the practices, roles and limitations of cinema-going for my cohort varied according to the sociocultural and economic determinants that differentiated my participant groups. Cinema preferences were affected by resources (price), geographic location (in terms of transport links), comfort of seats, and influence of parents (especially with Boarders and Urbanites). Additionally distinctions were made as to *not* attending certain cinemas in relation to their location in the city scape and the cultural geography of the environs. Proximity to certain run-down retail areas or streets with a lot of nightlife, were determining factors for non-attendance. The interior space of the cinemas were foregrounded for some with certain factors attracting (e.g. large and luxurious seats, light-up stairs). Cinema-going cultural capital was in evidence with Boarders and Urbanites and there were signs of these participants tentatively distinguishing art-house cinemas from multiplexes in acts of lifestyle expression. Some of the Cultural Alternatives reported discomfort at the art-house, experienced in a corporeal sense, and to

corroborate with this, others from this group indicated an embodied ease at the multiplex being felt physically at the level of habitus. Those that favoured the premium 18-screen Odeon (i.e. Squad Members) were only able to attend this cinema with money-off concessions. The down-market Hollywood was rejected by most due to its situation in a run-down shopping square, although a small number of participants defended it due to its affordability and proximity to other budget retailers.

Choice of cinema-going companions is again linked to their participant groups (e.g. Estate Dwellers and Squad Members often go in large peer groups, Boarders & Urbanites with families). Additionally there was evidence of gendered responses to the influence of romantic partners on film choices (female participants were willingly compliant with their boyfriends' tastes, but males were less publicly accepting of their girlfriends' tastes). The issue of solo cinema-going was contentious across the cohort with some actively rejecting it as unthinkable whereas others reported on the positive experiences of freedom and anonymity when attending alone. There was evidence of high-engagement with the film once it was on-screen, in that in-cinema behavior involved immersion, in line with socially accepted codes of spectatorship.

The main roles of cinema-going for young people were often connected with a sense of a special occasion, and of developing relationships with friends, family members or romantic dates. The event of cinema-going was appreciated by some as an experience that was distinctive in terms of visual and auditory gratifications as well as benefits of a social and exhilarating nature. Bourdieu's doxa and habitus plays a part in cinema and film choice, in that for those at the lower end of the social spectrum, specialised cinemas are disregarded as being 'not for the likes of us' and those at the upper end are more culturally omnivorous. This strongly indicates that there is still a class divide in the act of art-house cinema attendance at least. However, even within the upper-level social groups there was limited spending power and a discomfort in the art-house with peers, stemming from the teenage life stage. This dictated a preference for the mainstream and the multiplex, perhaps ensuring this type of cinema remains more of a democratised entertainment venue than the art-house. In a Bourdieusian sense, socio-economic

determinants connected with life stage habitus, continue to dictate cinematic cultural participation for the teenage audience members.

Thesis Conclusion

This project began as an interrogation into the film consumption and cinema-going practices and values of young people. It is a response and continuation of other scholarly work around film and media audiences and the sociocultural contexts of their lifeworlds, in keeping with the approaches of new cinema history (Maltby et al., 2011; Biltereyst et al., 2019), and social practice theory (Couldry, 2012; Aveyard, 2016). The study is also an application of Bourdieu's 'thinking tools' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1989: 50) around cultural tastes and hierarchies in a contemporary UK context, with a specific audience segment. Additionally it provides answers to the question as to why teenagers are not engaging with non-mainstream film, or attending specialised cinemas under their own volition, in any great numbers.

A section of recent scholarship in the field of film audience studies has established the value of considering the sociocultural contexts of audiences, in order to reveal findings about practices and the places and spaces of cinema-going. This interdisciplinary approach, termed new cinema history, decentres the focus on film texts in favour of analyses of cinema as: place and space, an industry, an experience, and as a way of life (Biltereyst et al., 2019: 2). Adopting this focus helped shape my research design of qualitative empirical methods. Additionally, Bourdieu's concepts of distinction, habitus, cultural capital, field, and hierarchies of taste have assisted me in making sense of my cohort's discourse on film-watching and cinema-going, in relation to issues of sociocultural difference.

The particular ethnographic methods that I employed - focus groups, interviews, and participant observations – were chosen due to their open-ended and qualitative nature. They enabled the investigation of the sociocultural contexts of research participants and the acquisition of plentiful and valuable data for analysis. The fieldwork and sampling strategy was carefully designed in order to obtain a representative but concise cross-section of Norwich's diverse teenage population. The examination of the settings for my data collection presented information about the demographics and sociocultural

specifics of these venues and their locations. I outlined the ethical considerations particularly of working with minors and stated that researcher-reflexivity is key to assuaging issues of bias.

The 'cultural map' (Morley, 2006: 411) for my 42 research participants, aged between 13 and 18, reveals that they resided in a range of different types of residential areas ranging from council estates in Norwich, through to Norfolk rural villages or market towns, in the city suburbs, or in the urban centre. They came from a mix of social classes,[69] with 34% from the C1 (ABC1 category) of middle management, 25% from the AB group of higher management and professional occupations, 22% were C2 skilled manual jobs, and 19% were DE semi and unskilled or unemployed. Most of my teenagers were at college or sixth form undertaking A Levels or vocational courses, the remainder were mostly pre or current GCSE students, with one NEET individual and one apprentice. The six categories of participants – Estate Dwellers, Boarders and Urbanites, Squad Members, Cultural Alternatives, Suburbanites, and Rural Dwellers – were established as a short-hand reference to the whole cohort stratified in terms of their area of residence, media and cultural affiliations, or socialising practices.

Key Findings

In terms of the sociocultural, leisure, and media contexts of my participants' lifeworlds, I summarise the groups as follows. Estate Dwellers displayed a theme of low educational engagement, partially related to negative perceptions of their schools. This led to a relative abundance of their leisure time, with large amounts of this time spent gaming in their bedrooms. They had relatively low interaction with family members, but this is not to say that they were not sociable with friends, both in person and online. Contrastingly, Boarders and Urbanites reported high investment in their education, and a greater than average commitment to family life. The Boarders were restricted in their media use on campus on a technical level (controlled Wi-Fi access), and due to

[69] Social grade is based on the highest earning parent.

the public nature of media consumption in their computer room, also admitted to self-imposed peer pressured taste-making. The Cultural Alternatives were eclectic in terms of gender identities and family backgrounds, both within their group and across the cohort. There was relatively low educational commitment, but high engagement with digital (social) media, with some involved with YouTube vlogging and a cosplay subculture (on a national scale). The Suburbanites were mostly committed to their schooling and from extended and supportive families. They were heteronormative and relatively conventional in their identifications, with a reported desire to follow rather than lead. The final group of Rural Dwellers demonstrated high levels of film and media literacy, and were equally invested in both their families and their friendships. Television consumption was the most common act of media use across the cohort; undertaken mostly via SVoD platforms, with only a few mentioning broadcast TV. All in all, strong influencing factors on how and where young people spent their leisure-time were: economic resources, areas of residence, type and place of education and levels of engagement with schooling, as well as family and friends. This examination of my cohort's general leisure and media practices enabled a broader view of the social and cultural practices within which film consumption sits via the participant groups.

Turning to my participants' film consumption practices in non-cinema settings, this thesis has shown that my young people's domestic and mobile film habitus was again affected by sociocultural factors relating to the participant groups' characteristics. Parental influence on film tastes was stronger in some of the higher level social groups, whose members seemed to be more aware of the game of cultural legitimacy. Cultural omnivorousness was in evidence with the more socio-economically advantaged as well, with the display of wider tastes and less discomfort with either end of the cultural hierarchy. Squad Members and Suburbanites looked to culturally coalesce with peers, whereas Cultural Alternatives aimed for (sub)cultural distinction. Members of the lower end social groups exhibited high levels of accessing film texts through illicit means (i.e. via digital piracy). This was clearly stratified according to socio-economic resources and was a practice that participants were reproducing, having had it modelled by parents, making it a doxic experience. There were performances

of film tastes that demonstrated certain aspects of participants' identity, gender, cultural capital and maturity. Some participants were nostalgic about their childhood selves, and this had an impact on current conceptions of themselves and indeed their home and mobile viewing practices. Certain aspects of the young peoples' doxa of the field of film consumption had been affected by digital media developments; including the devaluation of published film critics for example. Some Suburban and Estate Dweller participants were enacting self-curation of their home film-viewing via Internet 'best of' lists and, in Bourdieu's terms, as autodidacts were positioned as never being able to truly win at the game of cultural legitimacy.

Finally, in a turn to cinema-going practices, distinctions, and roles for my participants; once more there were variations according to the sociocultural and economic determinants that differentiated my groups. Although there were some factors that unified my cohort in relation to cinema preferences, these were: price (unless older family members paid), location in the city scape (in terms of proximity to public transport links), size and comfort of seats, and influence of peers and parents (albeit in different ways). Cinema-going cultural capital was in evidence with Boarders and Urbanites and there were signs of these participants tentatively distinguishing art-house cinemas from multiplexes in acts of lifestyle expression. Some of the Cultural Alternatives reported discomfort at the art-house, experienced in a corporeal sense, and to corroborate with this, others from this group indicated an embodied sense of ease at the multiplex. Additionally, distinctions were made regarding the avoidance of certain cinemas in relation to their position in run-down retail areas or near areas of nightlife. The interior spaces and in-cinema facilities were foregrounded for quite a number of participants with certain factors acting as attractions. Examples were luxurious seats, eye-catching film promotional materials, light-up stairs, and specific ice-cream concession stands. Cinema-going companions were once more linked to participant groups (e.g. Boarders & Urbanites with families, Estate Dwellers and Squad Members often went with large groups of friends). Gendered responses to the influence of romantic partners on film choices were in evidence, whereby female participants were willingly compliant with their boyfriends' tastes, but

males were less acquiescent of their girlfriends' tastes. Solo cinema-going was rejected by most teenagers as undesirable whereas a few reported on the positive experiences of attending alone. In line with socially accepted codes of cinema spectatorship (phones off, no talking etc.), there was evidence of high-engagement with the film once it was on-screen.

The main roles of cinema-going for young people were often connected with a sense of tradition, and of cultivating relationships with friends, family members or romantic dates. The event of cinema-going was appreciated by some as an experience that was distinctive in terms of the technical visual and auditory benefits, as well as benefits of excitement and special occasion. There was evidence of anticipation of Young Adult book to film adaptations at the cinema, mostly from female teens and in relation to coming-of-age type stories in acts of self-identity affirmation and subcultural affiliation. Bourdieu's doxa and habitus played a part in cinema and film choice, in that for those at the lower end of the social spectrum, specialised cinemas were disregarded as being 'not for the likes of us', and those at the upper end were more culturally omnivorous and open to attending these venues. This indicates that there is still a class divide in the act of art-house cinema attendance. This comes with a caveat however, that even the teenagers who came from the middle or upper social classes experienced limited spending power and/or a discomfort with in attending a specialised cinema with peers. These two factors are symptomatic of the teenage life stage, and dictate an overall preference for the mainstream and the multiplex if attending with peers, at least for the adolescent years. In a Bourdieusian sense, socio-economic determinants connected with life stage habitus, continue to regulate cinematic cultural participation for teenage audience members.

Contributions and Implications

My study is the first to explicitly scrutinize the film consumption and film-going dispositions and practices of teenage cinema audiences in the UK using a Bourdieusian theoretical framework. The empirical work was undertaken via a suite of qualitative methods that are unique in their combination, in a specific physical location in the east of England, with a contemporariness that updates

and complements previous studies (such as Evans, 2011; Hollinshead, 2011). Indeed there have been more recent and similarly relevant pieces of research published (e.g. Corbett et al., 2015), but my study is the only one to home in on the adolescent life stage. The factors that define the originality of my project are then: the inter-disciplinary approach of film and media studies, sociology and cultural studies, combined with the specific synthesis of Bourdieu's concepts, social practice theory (and new cinema history), and the suite of qualitative methods applied to research a strategic mix of teenage participants in East Anglia from 2012-2019.

The implications of my findings for audience development strategies are briefly considered here. I appreciate that this is first and foremost an academic study, but audience research such as this can build bridges with the film exhibition and distribution industry, as well as with cinema outreach and engagement personnel, and become a developmental tool in itself. This bridging of academia with industry can be observed in similar projects (Pitts, 2016; Corbett et al., 2015; Hanchard, 2019). The model of specialised film consumption engagement presented in Chapter 7 (Section 7.3) provides a new paradigm of teenage audiences and their film and cinema-going tastes and practices. For the film distribution, exhibition, and education and engagement industry there may be lessons that can be learned in order to mitigate any barriers to participation, and encourage greater teenage engagement. The key is to attract and connect with the young people as represented in my 'culturally hungry' category (see Section 7.3.5). This could enable the socially disadvantaged lacking intrinsic cultural capital a wider experience of film consumption and cinema-going via increased opportunities. These opportunities may come in the form of interventions that cut across social and cultural barriers and help to engender a greater sense of ease for those whose habitus dictates awkwardness with non-mainstream films, or specialised cinemas. Of course in most cases there are practical and logistical (economic) considerations regarding specialised film consumption, and there are real challenges to encouraging younger audiences to venues whose core audiences are middle-class and aged 35+. The current cost of art-house tickets (in Norwich at least) are almost double those at the multiplexes since prices were

standardized to £5 every day for everyone, so reduced cost via vouchers or membership schemes are vital to attracting younger and economically disadvantaged audience members. There is an issue of teenagers simply not being aware or interested in viewing specialised titles, exemplified by those that reported on non-mainstream films as 'weird', 'random', or 'odd' in this study. This could be addressed through increased education and familiarity through formal routes at schools and colleges, but also through parents, film clubs, festivals, event cinema, or via online resources and social media engagement. Valerie Wee argues for a similar outcome, 'it remains increasingly crucial that young viewers and media consumers be trained and encouraged to critically interrogate, evaluate, and challenge the media they consume, love, and promote' (Wee, 2017: 139).

A conundrum that has arisen from this project is the issue of social change or mobility. There were research participants who came from disadvantaged backgrounds, or at least did not have embodied or institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986a). I have stated at several points in this study that the self-taught film fans, in Bourdieu's terms, would not ultimately succeed amongst the social or cultural elite. Indeed criticism has been levelled at Bourdieu in the past that his 'social universe ultimately remains one in which things happen to people, rather than a world in which they can intervene in their individual and collective destinies' (Jenkins, 1992: 91). Ultimately, Bourdieu's concepts have enlightened my data analysis and provided a structure which has proved fruitful. However, Bourdieu's research for *Distinction* was conducted within French society over 50 years ago. Taste cultures and social class in Britain in 2019 cannot be considered as directly comparable, therefore the Bourdieusian approach must be checked and countered accordingly. Indeed there is a current debate about the need for contemporary paradigms for new (digital) media, which operate in fundamentally different ways to traditional forms of high culture. In digital media landscapes, information proliferates and replicates itself in miniaturised forms, which can be viewed as the eradication of high culture or at least, its transformation (see Lash, 2002).

Further Research

There are a number of additional research questions and possible areas for future projects that have been revealed in the process of undertaking this study. The first area would be an expansion of the audience demographic in terms of age. There is a branch of youth theory that discusses 'emerging adulthood' as a new life phase (Bynner, 2005; Arnett, 2006). Harry Blatterer argues along similar lines that 'labour and commodity markets have 'liberated' youthfulness from its biological, age-determined delimitations and have recast select, desirable (i.e. profitable) characteristics of youth as necessary for the maximization of individuals' life chances' (Blatterer, 2010b: 63). This would imply that there are benefits to studying a wider age range, either to continue this study of young cinema-going (i.e. via emerging adulthood), or conversely a study of older film consumers and specialised cinema-goers. Indeed the idea of studying the film consumption and cinema-going practices of groups of people from other life stages appeals; perhaps parents of young families, or younger children.

A recent call for papers for an academic conference on film audiences stated that the 'understanding of audience dynamics within the (inter-)national public structures and private spheres of communication proves essential in keeping pace with and attempting to predict the most recent developments in the industry'.[70] Here is an example of academics and industry professionals working in partnership to attempt to garner new knowledge and solutions to problems. This kind of partnership is appealing to me as a researcher and I make mention once more (see Chapter 1) of a recent report by the British Independent Film Awards (BIFA) entitled *Under 30s and Film: Insights* (BIFA, 2019). They have a large bank of qualitative, quantitative, and social listening data that is available for researchers to use, explore, and analyse. As

[70] Extract from the Call for Papers for 'Film Audience Movements & Migrations: Across Borders & Screens' Conference (6-7 April 2020) – postponed to September 2020 and moved online due to COVID-19 lockdown.

such partners are invited to work with them to realise their ambition to 'make independent film a central part of the cultural life of young audiences in the UK' (BIFA, 2019: 2). BIFA's data could prove a useful source of material for further analysis of the themes revealed within this study.

A further area I will mention as a verdant ground for future research would be that of burgeoning digital media platforms. The potential upside of increased digital access is the profusion of opportunites to broaden film tastes and showcase a wider range of film via Internet platforms. Indeed there is an increase in diverse texts on platforms such as Netflix and Amazon Prime and there is a belief that cinema-going is not as vital as it once was in terms of broadening of tastes. It is no longer necessarily the 'lifeline' experienced by Donovan and Garey's research participants that opened up a broad range of films (2007: 15). Having said this, I concur with Charles Acland who has stated:

> the expansion of film culture to include the various television and computer-related technologies has not marked a demise of cinemagoing. Instead, we have seen, and continue to witness, a reformulation of what it means to go to the cinema, that is, *a reconfiguration of the practice of cinemagoing*.
>
> (Acland, 2003: 59 emphasis in original)

Indeed the rise of experiential cinema and participatory film audiences (i.e. Secret Cinema), as documented by Sarah Atkinson and Helen Kennedy (Atkinson, 2014; Atkinson and Kennedy, 2015; Atkinson, 2017; Atkinson and Kennedy, 2017), is a fascinating area of research that speaks to Acland's 'reconfiguration of the practice of cinemagoing'. I would add to this focus on experiential event cinema, the following areas of additional contemporary cinema-going trends: community cinema clubs (in rural and urban settings), the exhibition of film heritage (archive or classic films) for contemporary audiences, cinema nostalgia (the conservation of vintage venues), luxury and alternative cinemas (upping the comfort or repurposing unusual buildings or sites), outdoor cinema, and film festivals (niche and established).

The final point I will make on the subject of further research concerns the global lockdown as a result of the COVID-19 virus that began in March 2020. This has led to all cinemas closing for months, with no confirmed date of re-opening and the whole UK population (and many other nationalities) being instructed to remain within the confines of their own homes until further notice. I write this whilst editing before final submission in June 2020, and feel I could not omit to mention the vast and devasting effects of the pandemic on cinema-going and the huge implications concerning the inevitable and rapid rise in home film consumption. Unfortunately, I am not able to develop any ideas or observations concerning the significant consequences of this unprecedented alteration to film consumption here, as this happened after I submitted this thesis in December 2019. However, there is clearly great scope for researching cinema-going and film consumption in the post-COVID-19 era not least in relation to the profound economic, social, and cultural implications that are, as yet, not fully evident.

As a final summary, to this PhD thesis; it has investigated teenagers' film consumption and cinema-going in a new physical location, and with a contemporariness and a qualitative methodological specificity. The rich, deep qualitative data collected enabled me to argue that young people's socio-economic, geographic, familial, peer-grouping, and educational contexts remain a significant influence on film viewing practices, tastes, and gratifications albeit with exceptions. Main findings are that, in line with Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital and habitus, young peoples' socio-economic and educational backgrounds (relating to my participant groups) had a clear influence on their film consumption and cinema-going tastes and values. There were individuals that expressed their own agency and through practices of autodidacticism, demonstrated cultural capital that was disparate to their habitus. Most teenagers are mainstream in their tastes, with mostly young people from privileged socio-economic backgrounds demonstrating cultural omnivorousness (with a small number of exceptions), and a small minority (5% of my cohort) fully engaged and participating in specialised cinema. The

category of the ‘culturally hungry’ are the key audience group in relation to audience development strategies.

Finally I would reiterate that this research has enabled me to collect wide-ranging, valid and detailed qualitative data from a modestly sized cross-section of the film audience who are not often given voice. This thesis therefore presents discoveries on how different groups of young people attach diverse meanings and roles to film viewing practices, texts, and cinema venues.

I end this thesis with a quote from Bourdieu: ‘to those who expect sociology to “provide them with ‘visions’ what can one say, except, along with Max Weber, ‘that they should go to the cinema’? (Bourdieu, 1990 [1965]: 10).

Bibliography

(ONS) OfNS (2016) Families and households in the UK: 2016. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.

Abbott-Chapman J and Robertson M (2001) Youth, Leisure and Home: Space, Place and Identity. *Loisir et société/Society and Leisure* 24(2): 485-506.

Abbott-Chapman J and Robertson M (2009) Adolescents' Favourite Places: Redefining the Boundaries between Private and Public Space. *Space and Culture* 12(4): 419-434.

Academy B (2019) *Brussels Academy: Making the City Together*. Available at: https://brusselsacademyblog.wordpress.com/urbanite/.

Acland CR (2003) *Screen Traffic: Movies, Multiplexes, and Global Culture.* Durham, N.C. ; London: Duke University Press.

Adkins L and Skeggs B (2004) *Feminism after Bourdieu.* Blackwell Oxford.

Allen RC, Gomery D and Allen RC (1985) *Film History: Theory and Practice.* New York: Knopf.

Amin A and Thrift N (2002) *Cities: Reimagining the Urban.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Anderson B (2004 [1983]) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso.

Anderson L (2009) Postcards from the Edge: the Untidy Realities of Working with Older Cinema Audiences, Distant Memories and Newsreels. *Participations* 6(2): 180-198.

Ang I (1985) *Watching Dallas: Soap Opera and the Melodramatic Imagination.* London, UK: Methuen.

Ang I (2006) *Living Room wars: Rethinking Media Audiences.* Routledge.

Archer L, Hollingworth S and Halsall A (2007) "University's Not for Me - I'm a Nike Person": Urban, Working-Class Young People's Negotiations of Style', Identity and Educational Engagement. *Sociology* 41(2): 219-237.

Ariès P (1979) *Centuries of Childhood.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Arnett JJE, Tanner, Jennifer Lynn (Editor) (2006) *Emerging Adults in America: Coming of Age in the 21st Century.*

Astigarraga-Agirre I (2016) Active Audience?: Interaction of Young People with Television and Online Video Content. *Communication and Society* 29(3): 133-147.

Atkinson S (2014) *Beyond the Screen: Emerging Cinema and Engaging Audiences.* New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Atkinson S (2017) 'You Sure That's a Film, Man?': Audience Anticipation, Expectation and Engagement in Lost in London LIVE. *Participations* 14(2).

Atkinson S and Kennedy HW (2015) "Where We're Going, We Don't Need an Effective Online Audience Engagement Strategy": The Case of the Secret Cinema Viral Backlash. *Frames Cinema Journal* 8: 1-24.

Atkinson S and Kennedy HW (2016) Inside-the-Scenes: The Rise of Experiential Cinema. *Participations* 13(1): 139-151.

Atkinson S and Kennedy HW (2017) *Live Cinema: Cultures, Economies, Aesthetics.* Bloomsbury Publishing USA.

Atkinson W (2016) *Beyond Bourdieu: From Genetic Structuralism to Relational Phenomenology.* Cambridge, UK and Malden, USA: Polity Press.
Aveyard K (2012) Observation, Mediation and Intervention: An Account of Methodological Fusion in the Study of Rural Cinema Audiences in Australia. *Participations. Journal of Audience & Reception Studies* 9(2).
Aveyard K (2015) *Lure of the Big Screen: Cinema in Rural Australia and the United Kingdom.* Bristol, UK: Intellect.
Aveyard K (2016) Film Consumption in the 21st Century: Engaging with Non-Theatrical Viewing. *Media International Australia* 160(1): 140-149.
Aveyard K and Moran A (2013) *Watching Films: New perspectives on Movie-going, Exhibition and Reception.* Bristol: Intellect.
Barbour R (2013) *Introducing Qualitative Research.* Sage.
Barker M (1989) *Comics: Ideology, Power, and the Critics.* Manchester University Press.
Barker M (2001 [1997]) The Newson Report: A Case Study in 'Common Sense'. *Ill Effects: The Media/Violence Debate*. Routledge, pp.21-37.
Barker M (2006) I Have Seen the Future and It Is Not Here Yet …; or, On Being Ambitious for Audience Research. *The Communication Review* 9(2): 123-141.
Barker M (2013a) Finding Audiences for our Research: Rethinking the Issue of Ethical Challenges. *The Communication Review* 16(1-2): 70-80.
Barker M (2013b) *Live to your Local Cinema: The Remarkable Rise of Livecasting.* Springer.
Barker M and Brooks K (1998) *Knowing Audiences: Judge Dredd, its Friends, Fans, and Foes.* Luton: University of Luton Press.
Barker M, Egan K, Ralph S, et al. (2016) *Alien Audiences: Remembering and Evaluating a Classic Movie.* Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
Barker M and Mathijs E (2008) *Watching the Lord of the Rings: Tolkien's World Audiences.* Peter Lang.
Barker M and Petley J (2001 [1997]) *Ill Effects: The Media Violence Debate.* London and New York: Routledge.
Baudrillard J (1988) *Baudrillard: Selected Writings.* Cambridge: Polity Press.
Baudrillard J and Levin C (1981) *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign.* St. Louis: Telos Press
Bauman Z (2013) *Identity: Conversations With Benedetto Vecchi.* Cambridge: Polity.
Baumann S (2001) Intellectualization and Art World Development: Film in the United States. *American Sociological Review*: 404-426.
Becker HS (1967) Whose Side Are We On? *Social Problems* 14(3. (Winter, 1967)): pp. 239-247.
Bennett A (2000) *Popular Music and Youth Culture: Music, Identity and Place.* Macmillan Press Ltd.
Bennett A (2011a) The Continuing Importance of the 'Cultural' in the Study of Youth. *Youth Studies Australia* 30(3): 27.
Bennett A (2011b) The Post-Subcultural Turn: Some Reflections 10 Years On. *Journal of Youth Studies* 14:5: 493-506.

Bennett A and Kahn-Harris K (2004) *After Subculture: Critical Studies in Contemporary Youth Culture.* Macmillan Education UK.
Bennett T (2007) Habitus Clivé: Aesthetics and Politics in the work of Pierre Bourdieu. *New Literary History* 38(1): 201-228.
Bennett T, Emmison M and Frow J (1999) *Accounting for Tastes: Australian Everyday Cultures.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Bennett T, Savage M, Silva EB, et al. (2009) *Culture, Class, Distinction.* Abingdon: Routledge.
Benzecry CE (2011) *The Opera Fanatic: Ethnography of an Obsession.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
Berliner T (2018) Legally Independent: The Exhibition of Independent Art Films. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 38(no. 1): 54–72.
BFI (2018) BFI Statistical Yearbook 2018. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
BFI (2019) BFI Statistical Yearbook 2019.
BIFA (2019) Under 30s and Film: Insights. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
Big Local T (c. 2016) Catton Grove Big Local Community Profile. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
Biltereyst D, Maltby R and (eds.) MP (2019) *Routledge Companion to New Cinema History.*
Biltereyst D, Maltby R and Meers P (2013) *Cinema, Audiences and Modernity: New Perspectives on European Cinema History.* Routledge.
Biltereyst D, Mathijs E and Meers P (2008) An Avalanche of Attention: The Prefiguration and Reception of The Lord of the Rings. In: Barker M and Mathijs E (eds) *Watching the Lord of the Rings. Tolkien's World Audiences.*: Peter Lang, pp.37-58.
Blatterer H (2010a) Generations, Modernity and the Problem of Contemporary Adulthood. In: Burnett J (ed) *Contemporary Adulthood*. Springer, pp.10-23.
Blatterer H (2010b) The Changing Semantics of Youth and Adulthood. *Cultural Sociology* 4(1): 63-79.
Blatterer H (2013) Friendship's Freedom and Gendered Limits. *European Journal of Social Theory* 16(4): 435-456.
Blumler JG and Katz E (1974) *The Uses of Mass Communications: Current Perspectives on Gratifications Research.* Sage Publications, Inc.
Bourdieu P (1973) Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. In: Brown R (ed) *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change: Papers in the Sociology of Education*. London: Tavistock Publications.
Bourdieu P (1984) *Questions de Sociologie.* Paris:: Le marché linguistique.
Bourdieu P (1986a) The Forms of Capital. In: Richardson JGe (ed) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Macmillan.
Bourdieu P (1986b) The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods. In: Collins R, Curran J, Garnham N, et al. (eds) *Media, Culture & Society*. London: Sage, pp.261-293.
Bourdieu P (1990) *In Other Words: Essays towards a Reflexive Sociology.* Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu P (1990 [1965]) *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art.* Cambridge: Polity Press.
Bourdieu P (1990 [1980]) *The Logic of Practice.* Cambridge: Polity.
Bourdieu P (1993) *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature.* Cambridge: Polity Press.
Bourdieu P (1993 [1978]) 'Youth' is Just a Word. In: Nice Rt (ed) *Sociology in Question*. London: Sage Publications, pp.94-102.
Bourdieu P (2001a) *Contre-Feux 2: Pour un Mouvement Social Européen.* Liber/Raisons d'agir.
Bourdieu P (2001b) *Masculine Domination.* Stanford University Press.
Bourdieu P (2005 [2000]) *The Social Structures of the Economy.* Cambridge: Polity.
Bourdieu P (2010 [1984]) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* London and New York: Routledge Classics.
Bourdieu P (2013 [1977]) *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Bourdieu P and Passeron JC (1990 [1970]) *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture.* London; Newbury Park, California.: SAGE in association with Theory, Culture & Society, Dept. of Administrative and Social Studies, Teesside Polytechnic.
Bourdieu P, Thompson JB and Bourdieu P (1991 [1988]) *Language and Symbolic Power.* Cambridge: Polity in association with Basil Blackwell.
Bourdieu P and Wacquant LJ (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology. .* Chicago, IL: Univeristy of Chicago Press.
Bourdieu P and Wacquant LJD (1989) Towards a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu. *Sociological Theory* 7(1): 26-63.
boyd d (2014) *It's Complicated: The Social Lives of Networked Teens.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
Boyle K (2010) Watch with Baby: Cinema, Parenting and Community. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 13(3): 275-290.
Brooker W and Jermyn D (2003) *The Audience Studies Reader.* Psychology Press.
Bryman A (2016) *Social Research Methods.* Oxford University Press.
Buckingham D (1993) *Reading Audiences: Young People and the Media.* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
Buckingham D (2008) *Youth, Identity, and Digital Media.* Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) Press.
Buckingham D (2011) *The Material Child: Growing Up in Consumer Culture.* Cambridge, UK: Polity.
Buckingham D and Willett R (2013) *Digital Generations: Children, Young People, and the New Media.* Routledge.
Butler J (1988) Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory. *Theatre Journal* 40(4): 519-531.
Bynner J (2005) Rethinking the Youth Phase of the Life-course: The Case for Emerging Adulthood? *Journal of Youth Studies* 8(4): 367-384.
Byrne B (2012) Qualitative Interviewing. In: Seale C (ed) *Researching society and culture*. pp.206-226.

Cann V (2013) *Appropriate Articulations of Taste: The (Re) Production of Gender in Contemporary Youth Taste Cultures*. University of East Anglia.
Cann V (2014) The Limits of Masculinity: Boys, Taste and Cultural Consumption. In: Roberts S (ed) *Debating Modern Masculinities: Change, Continuity, Crisis?* : Springer, pp.17-34.
Cann V (2015) Girls and Cultural Consumption:'Typical Girls','Fangirls' and the Value of Femininity. In: Savigny H and Warner H (eds) *The Politics of Being a Woman*. Springer, pp.154-174.
Cann V (2018) *Girls Like This, Boys Like That: The Reproduction of Gender in Contemporary Youth Cultures.* IB Tauris.
Chan TW and Goldthorpe JH (2005) The Social Stratification of Theatre, Dance and Cinema Attendance. *Cultural Trends* 14(3): 193-212.
Chandler D and Munday R (2011) *A Dictionary of Media and Communication.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Chaney D (1983) The Department Store as a Cultural Form. *Theory, Culture & Society* 1(3): 22-31.
Chaney D (1990) Subtopia in Gateshead: The MetroCentre as a Cultural Form. *Theory, Culture & Society* 7(4): 49-68.
Chatterton P and Hollands R (2003) *Urban Nightscapes: Youth Cultures, Pleasure Spaces and Corporate Power.* London: Routledge.
Chen Y, Gao Q and Rau P-LP (2017) Watching a Movie Alone yet Together: Understanding Reasons for Watching Danmaku Videos. *International Journal of Human–Computer Interaction* 33(9): 731-743.
Cinema T (2013) *Tyneside Cinema Share Findings from Three Year Programme to Develop Younger Audiences for Specialised Film*. Available at: https://www.tynesidecinema.co.uk/about-us/news/tyneside-cinema-share-findings-from-three-year-programme-to-develop-younger-audiences-for-specialised-film (accessed 13/03/17).
Collins WA (2003) More than Myth: The Developmental Significance of Romantic Relationships during Adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 13(1): 1-24.
Corbett KJ (1998) Empty Seats: The Missing History of Movie-Watching. *Journal of Film and Video*: 34-48.
Corbett KJ (2001) The Big Picture: Theatrical Moviegoing, Digital Television, and Beyond the Substitution Effect. *Cinema Journal* 40(2): 17-34.
Corbett S, Wessels B, Forrest D, et al. (2015) How Audiences Form: Exploring Film Provision and Participation in the North of England. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
Couldry N (2012) *Media, Society, World: Social Theory and Digital Media Practice.* Polity.
Council NC (2012a) An Overview Picture of the Deprivation, Inequality and Welfare Issues that Norwich Residents Experience. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
Council NC (2012b) Health and Wellbeing Profile: Bowthorpe Electoral Division. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
Council NC (2014) Norwich Economic Barometer. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.

Council NC (2017) The State of Norwich: People, Place, Economy, Well-being. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
Crisp V (2014) To Name a Thief: Constructing the Deviant Pirate. *Piracy: Leakages from Modernity.* Litwin Books in association with GSE Research, 39-54.
Crisp V (2015) *Film Distribution in the Digital Age: Pirates and Professionals.* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
Crompton R (2008) *Class and Stratification.* Polity.
Crossley N (2001) *The Social Body: Habit, Identity and Desire.* Sage.
Cuadrado M and Frasquet M (1999) Segmentation of Cinema Audiences: An Exploratory Study Applied to Young Consumers. *Journal of Cultural Economics* (4): 257.
Cuadrado M and Mollà A (2000) Grouping Performing Arts Consumers According to Attendance Goals. *International Journal of Arts Management*: 54-60.
Davies C and Eynon R (2013) *Teenagers and Technology.* Routledge.
Day G (2006) *Community and Everyday Life.* Taylor and Francis.
Delanty G (2010) *Community.* London ; New York: Routledge.
Devine F, Savage M, Scott J, et al. (2005) *Rethinking Class: Culture, Identities and Lifestyles.* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
Dickson L-A (2014) *Film Festival and Cinema Audiences: A Study of Exhibition Practice and Audience Reception at Glasgow Film Festival*. University of Glasgow, Scotland.
DiMaggio P (1982) Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America. *Media, Culture & Society* 4(1): 33-50.
DiMaggio P (1992) Cultural Boundaries and Structural Change: The Extension of the High Culture Model to Theater, Opera, and the Dance, 1900-1940. In: Lamont M and Fournier Me (eds) *Cultivating differences: Symbolic boundaries and the making of inequality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.21-57.
Dobson MC and Pitts SE (2011) Classical Cult or Learning Community? Exploring New Audience Members' Social and Musical Responses to First-Time Concert Attendance. *Ethnomusicology Forum* 20(3): 353-383.
Donovan M and Garey E (2007) A Qualitative Study of Avid Cinema-Goers. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
Dovey K (2009) *Becoming Places: Urbanism/Architecture/Identity/Power.* Routledge.
Doyle G, Schlesinger P, Boyle R, et al. (2015) *The Rise and Fall of the UK Film Council.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Ellis J (1992) *Visible Fictions: Cinema: Television: Video.* London: Routledge.
Enns CBA (2012) Rethinking Theories of Television Sound. *Journal of Sonic Studies* 3(1).
Erikson EH (1994 [1968]) *Identity: Youth and Crisis.* WW Norton & Company.
Evans EJ (2011) Superman vs Shrödinger's Cat: Taste, Etiquette and Independent Cinema Audiences as Indirect Communities.

Participations: Journal of Audience and Reception Studies 8(2): 327-349.
Featherstone M (2007 [1991]) *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism.* Sage.
Fine GA and Sandstrom K (1988) *Knowing Children: Participant Observation Among Minors.* London: Sage.
Fish SE (1980) *Is there a Text in this Class?: The Authority of Interpretive Communities.* Harvard University Press.
Fiske J (1992) Cultural Studies and the Culture of Everyday Life. In: Grossberg L, Nelson C and Treichler PA (eds) *Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge.
Fritzsche DJ (1981) An Analysis of Energy Consumption Patterns by Stage of Family Life Cycle. *Journal of Marketing Research*: 227-232.
Gabriel F (2014) Sexting, Selfies and Self-Harm: Young People, Social Media and the Performance of Self-Development. *Media International Australia* 151(1): 104-112.
Garnham N (1986) Extended Review: Bourdieu's Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.
Gayo-Cal M (2006) Leisure and Participation in Britain. *Cultural Trends* 15(2-3): 175-192.
Gelder K (2007) *Subcultures: Cultural histories and Social Practice.* Routledge.
Gillespie M (2005) *Media Audiences.* Open University Press.
Glaser B and Strauss A (1967) Grounded Theory: The Discovery of Grounded Theory. *Sociology the journal of the British sociological association* 12(1): 27-49.
Goffman E (1990 [1959]) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* London: Penguin.
Gomery D (1992) *Shared Pleasures: A History of Movie Presentation in the United States.* Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
Government DfCaL (2015) The English Indices of Deprivation 2015 Statistical Release. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
Gray J (2003) New Audiences, New Textualities: Anti-Fans and Non-Fans. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 6(1): 64-81.
Gray R (1996) *Cinemas in Britain: One Hundred Years of Cinema Architecture.* London: Lund Humphries produced in collaboration with the Cinema Theatre Association.
Greene K and Krcmar M (2005) Predicting Exposure to and Liking of Media Violence: A Uses and Gratifications Approach. *Communication Studies* 56(1): 71-93.
Greenleaf BK (1979) *Children Through the Ages: A History of Childhood.* New York : Barnes & Noble, 1979.
Grenfell M (2010) Working with Habitus and Field: The Logic of Bourdieu's Practice. In: Silva E and Warde A (eds) *Cultural Analysis and Bourdieu's Legacy*. Routledge, pp.26-39 (or pp. 14-27?).
Grenfell Me (2012 [2008]) *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts.* Abingdon, Oxfordshire. New York.: Routledge.
Grundström H (2018) What Digital Revolution? Cinema-Going as Practice. *Participations*.

Hall S (2001 [1980]) Encoding/Decoding. In: Durham MG and Kellner DM (eds) *Media and cultural studies: Keyworks*. USA, UK, Australia: Blackwell Publishing, pp.163-173.
Hall T, Coffey A and Williamson H (1999) Self, Space and Place: Youth Identities and Citizenship. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 20(4): 501-513.
Hanchard M (2019) Beyond the Multiplex Newsletter November 2019. University of Glasgow: Beyond the Multiplex Project Team.
Hanich J (2014) Watching a Film with Others: Towards a Theory of Collective Spectatorship. *Screen* 55(3): 338-359.
Hanich J (2017) *The Audience Effect on the Collective Cinema Experience.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press (forthcoming).
Hanich J (2019) An Invention with a Future: Collective Viewing, Joint Deep Attention and the Ongoing Value of the Cinema. In: Stevens K (ed) *Oxford Handbook of Film Theory (forthcoming)*.
Hanson S (2019 [2007]) *From Silent Screen to Multi-Screen: A History of Cinema Exhibition in Britain since 1896.*
Hargrave AM (2003) How Children Interpret Screen Violence. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
Heidegger M (1992 [1985]) *History of the Concept of Time.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
Hendry LB, Shucksmith J, Love JG, et al. (1993) *Young People's Leisure and Lifestyles.* London and New York: Routledge.
Hesmondhalgh D (2007) Audiences and Everyday Aesthetics:Talking about Good and Bad Music. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 10(4): 507-527.
Hill J (2004) UK Film Policy, Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion. *Cultural Trends* 13(2): 29-39.
Hills M (2002) *Fan Cultures.* London & New York: Routledge.
Hills M (2018) An Extended Foreword: From Fan Doxa to Toxic Fan Practices? *Participations* 15(1).
Hjorth L, Burgess J and Richardson I (2012) *Studying Mobile Media: Cultural Technologies, Mobile Communication, and the iPhone.* Routledge.
Hodge R and Tripp D (1986) *Children and Television: A Semiotic Approach.* Stanford University Press.
Holbrook MB and Schindler RM (1994) Age, Sex, and Attitude Toward the Past as Predictors of Consumers' Aesthetic Tastes for Cultural Products. *Journal of Marketing Research*: 412-422.
Hollands R (2002) Divisions in the Dark: Youth Cultures, Transitions and Segmented Consumption Spaces in the Night-time Economy. *Journal of Youth Studies* 5(2): 153-171.
Hollinshead A (2011) “And I felt quite posh!” Art-house cinema and the Absent Audience – The Exclusions of Choice. *Participations: International Journal of Audience Studies* 8(2).
Hubbard P (2002) Screen-Shifting: Consumption,‘Riskless risks’ and the Changing Geographies of Cinema. *Environment and Planning A* 34(7): 1239-1258.
Hubbard P (2003a) A Good Night Out? Multiplex Cinemas as Sites of Embodied Leisure. *Leisure Studies* 22(3): 255-272.

Hubbard P (2003b) Fear and Loathing at the Multiplex: Everyday Anxiety in the Post-Industrial City. *Capital & Class* 27(2): 51-75.
Hubbard P (2004) Going Out (of Town): New Geographies of Cinema-Going in the UK. *Scope: An Online journal of film and TV studies* (February).
Hubbard P (2016) *The Battle for The High Street: Retail Gentrification, Class and Disgust.* Springer.
Hubbard P and Kitchin R (2011) *Key Thinkers on Space and Place.* Sage.
Jain SC (1975) Life Cycle Revisited: Applications in Consumer Research. *NA-Advances in Consumer Research Volume 02*.
Jancovich M (2002a) Cult fictions: Cult movies, Subcultural Capital and the Production of Cultural Distinctions. *Cultural Studies* 16(2): 306-322.
Jancovich M (2002b) Regional Film Theatres Need Clear Local Role. *Urban Environment Today* 146: 6-7.
Jancovich M (2011) Time, Scheduling and Cinema-Going. *Media International Australia* 139(1): 88-95.
Jancovich M, Faire L and Stubbings S (2003) *The Place of the Audience: Cultural Geographies of Film Consumption.* London: BFI Publishing.
Jancovich M and Snelson T (2010) Horror at the Crossroads: Class, Gender and Taste at the Rialto Cinema (Times Square) in the 1940s. In: Cline J and Weiner RG (eds) *From the Grindhouse to the Arthouse: Highbrow and Lowbrow Transgression in Cinema's First Century*. pp.109-125.
Jenkins H (2006) *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide.* NYU press.
Jenkins R (1992) *Pierre Bourdieu.* London and New York: Routledge.
Jones G (2009) *Youth.* Polity.
Jones J (2001) Finding a Place at the Downtown Picture Palace: The Tampa Theater, Florida. In: Shiel M and Fitzmaurice T (eds) *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context*. Blackwell, pp.122-133.
Jones J (2011) 'When the movie started, we all got along': Generation Y Remembers Movie Night. *Media International Australia* 139(1): 96-102.
Jones J (2013) The VHS Generation and their Movie Experiences. In: Aveyard K and Moran A (eds) *Watching films: new perspectives on movie-going, exhibition and reception*. Intellect Ltd., pp.387-385.
Katz E, Blumler JG and Gurevitch M (1973) Uses and Gratifications Research. *The public opinion quarterly* 37(4): 509-523.
Katz E and Foulkes D (1962) On the Use of the Mass Media as "Escape": Clarification of a Concept. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 26(3): pp.377-388.
Katz E, Lazarsfeld PF and Roper E (2017 [1955]) *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications.* New York: Routledge.
Kerins M (2010) *Beyond Dolby (stereo): Cinema in the Digital Sound Age.* Indiana University Press.
Kermode M (2001) I Was a Teenage Horror Fan: Or, 'How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love Linda Blair'. In: Barker M and Petley J (eds) *Ill Effects: The Media/Violence Debate*. Second ed. London & New York: Routledge, pp.48.

Klinger B (2006) *Beyond the Multiplex: Cinema, New Technologies, and the Home.* USA: Univ of California Press.
Kruse H (1993) Subcultural Identity in Alternative Music Culture. *Popular Music* 12: 33-41.
Lahire B (2003) From the Habitus to an Individual Heritage of Dispositions. Towards a Sociology at the Level of the Individual. *Poetics* 31(5-6): 329-355.
Lahire B (2004) *La Culture des Individus: Dissonances Culturelles et Distinction de Soi.* La découverte.
Lamont M (1992) *Money Morals and Manners: The Culture of the French and the American Upper-Middle Class.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Lash S (2002) *Critique of information.* Sage.
Lazarsfeld P, Berelson B and Gaudet H (1944) *The People's Choice.*
Leitch VB (2001) Bourdieu Against the Evils of Globalization: A Review of Bourdieu, P., 2001. *Contre-feux 2: Pour un mouvement social européen* (Vol. 2). Liber/Raisons d'agir. *symploke* 9(1): 161-164.
Levine LW (1988) *Highbrow/Lowbrow: the Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America.* Cambridge, Mass. ; London: Harvard University Press.
Lewis C and Fabos B (2005) Instant Messaging, Literacies, and Social Identities. *Reading Research Quarterly* 40(4): 470-501.
Lila M, van Aken M, Musitu G, et al. (2006) Families and Adolescents. In: Jackson S and Goossens L (eds) *Handbook of Adolescent Development*. Hove and New York: Psychology Press, pp.154-174.
Livingstone S (1999) New Media, New Audiences? *New Media & Society* 1(1): 59-66.
Livingstone S (2002a) SUMMARY REPORT Young People and New Media: Childhood and the Changing Media Environment. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
Livingstone S (2002b) *Young People and New Media: Childhood and the Changing Media Environment.* SAGE.
Livingstone S (2007) From Family Television to Bedroom Culture: Young People's Media at Home. *Media studies: Key Issues and Debates*. London: Sage, pp.302-321.
Livingstone SM (1988) Why People Watch Soap Opera: An Analysis of the Explanations of British Viewers. *European Journal of Communication* 3(1): 55-80.
Lomas J (2011) Norwich Health Picture. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
Lowry PB, Zhang J and Wu T (2017) Nature or Nurture? A Meta-Analysis of the Factors that Maximize the Prediction of Digital Piracy. *Computers in Human Behavior* 68: 104-120.
Maltby R (2013) Foreword. In: Aveyard K and Moran A (eds) *Watching films: new perspectives on movie-going, exhibition and reception*. Bristol, UK; Chicago, USA: Intellect.
Maltby R, Biltereyst D and Meers P (2011) *Explorations in New Cinema History: Approaches and Case Studies.* Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
Maltby R, Stokes M and Allen RC (2007) *Going to the Movies: Hollywood and the Social Experience of Cinema.* Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

Marshall J and da Rimini F (2014) Piracy is Normal, Piracy is Boring: Systematic Disruption as Everyday Life. In: Fredriksson M and Arvanitakis J (eds) *Piracy: Leakages from Modernity*. pp.323-353.
Massey D (1994) *Space, Place and Gender.* John Wiley & Sons.
Massey D (1998) The Spatial Construction of Youth Cultures. In: Skelton T and Valentine G (eds) *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures*. pp.121-129.
Matrix S (2014) The Netflix Effect: Teens, Binge Watching, and On-Demand Digital Media Trends. *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures* 6(1): 119-138.
McCall GJ and Simmons JL (1969) *Issues in Participant Observation: A text and Reader.* Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.
McCracken A (2017) Tumblr Youth Subcultures and Media Engagement. *Cinema Journal* 57(1): 151-161.
McDonald K and Smith-Rowsey D (2016) *The Netflix Effect: Technology and Entertainment in the 21st Century.* Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
McIntyre MH (2014) Seeing the World Differently: An Evaluation of the Young Tyneside Scheme at Tyneside Cinema. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
McNabb G (2018) 'If movies disappeared overnight, I wouldn't care': David Cronenberg on the Death of Cinema. *The Independent*, 18 July 2018.
McQuail D (1997) *Audience Analysis.* Sage.
McQuail D, Blumler JG and Brown JR (1972) The Television Audience: A Revised Perspective. In: McQuail D (ed) *Sociology of Mass Communications*. Harmonsdworth: Penguin, pp.135-165.
Meers P (2004) "'It's the Language of Film!': Young Film Audiences on Hollywood and Europe". In: Stokes M and Maltby R (eds) *Hollywood Abroad: Audiences and Cultural Exchange*. London: BFI, pp.158-175.
Meers P and Biltereyst D (2012) Film Audiences in Perspective: The Social Practices of Cinemagoing. In: Bilandzic H, Patriarche G and Traudt PJ (eds) *The Social Use of Media: Cultural and Social Scientific Perspectives on Audience Research*. Bristol, UK. Chicago, USA.: Intellect/University of Chicago Press, pp.85-96.
Michelle C, Davis CH, Hardy AL, et al. (2017) Pleasure, Disaffection,'Conversion'or Rejection? The (Limited) Role of Prefiguration in Shaping Audience Engagement and Response. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 20(1): 65-82.
Midkiff E (2016) Growing Out of It: The Hobbit films and Young People. *Participations*.
Miles S (2000) *Youth Lifestyles in a Changing World.* McGraw-Hill Education (UK).
Moores S (1993) *Interpreting Audiences: The Ethnography of Media Consumption.* Sage.
Morley D (1986) *Family Television: Cultural Power and Domestic Leisure.* Routledge.
Morley D (2000) *Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity.* Routledge.
Morley D (2006) Unanswered Questions in Audience Research. *The Communication Review* 9(2): 101-121.

Morley D (2007 [1974]) Reconceptualising the Media Audience: Towards an Ethnography of Audiences. In: Gray A, Campbell J, Erickson M, et al. (eds) *CCCS Selected Working Papers*. Routledge.
Morley D and Brunsdon C (1980) *The 'Nationwide' Audience: Structure and Decoding.* London: British Film Institute.
Morley D and Robins K (1995) *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries.* London and New York: Routledge.
Muggleton D (2000) *Inside Subcultures: The Postmodern Meaning of Style.* Oxford: Berg.
Mulvey L (2003 [1975]) Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema. In: Brooker W and Jermyn D (eds) *The Audience Studies Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, pp.14-26.
Nightingale V (2008) Why Observing Matters. In: Pickering M (ed) *Research Methods for Cultural Studies*. pp.105-122.
Olson CJ and Reinhard CD (2017) *Heroes, Heroines, and Everything in Between: Challenging Gender and Sexuality Stereotypes in Children's Entertainment Media.* Maryland, USA: Lexington Books.
Pain R (2001) Gender, Race, Age and Fear in the City. *Urban Studies* 38(5-6): 899-913.
Palfrey JG and Gasser U (2011) *Born Digital: Understanding the First Generation of Digital Natives.* ReadHowYouWant. com.
Peterson RA (2005) Problems in Comparative Research: The Example of Omnivorousness. *Poetics* 33(5): 257-282.
Peterson RA and Kern RM (1996) Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore. *American Sociological Review*: 900-907.
Pittman M and Sheehan K (2015) Sprinting a Media Marathon: Uses and gratifications of Binge-Watching Television through Netflix. *First Monday* 20(10).
Pitts SE (2016) On the Edge of their Seats: Comparing First Impressions and Regular Attendance in Arts Audiences. *Psychology of Music* 44(5): 1175-1192.
Prensky M (2001) Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants Part 1. *On the horizon* 9(5): 1-6.
Radway JA (2009 [1984]) *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature.* Univ of North Carolina Press.
Reay D (2000) A Useful Extension of Bourdieu's Conceptual Framework?: Emotional Capital as a Way of Understanding Mothers' Involvement in their Children's Education? *The Sociological Review* 48(4): 568-585.
Richards J (2010 [1984]) *The Age of the Dream Palace: Cinema and Society in 1930s Britain.* I.D Tauris.
Richardson JM (2014) Powerful Devices: How Teens' Smartphones Disrupt Power in the Theatre, Classroom and Beyond. *Learning, Media and Technology* 39(3): 368-385.
Richardson JM (2015) Live Theatre in the Age of Digital Technology: 'Digital Habitus' and the Youth Live Theatre Audience. *Participation Journal of Audience and Reception Studies* 12(1): 206-219.
Rimmer M (2006) *Songs in the Key of Life: The Musical Habitus and Young People's Community Music Participation*. University of Newcastle Upon Tyne.

Rimmer M (2012) Beyond Omnivores and Univores: The promise of a Concept of Musical Habitus. *Cultural Sociology* 6(3): 299-318.
Robinson C (2009) 'Nightscapes and Leisure spaces': An Ethnographic Study of Young People's Use of Free Space. *Journal of Youth Studies* 12(5): 501-514.
Schoenbach K (2001) Myths of Media and Audiences: Inaugural Lecture as Professor of General Communication Science, University of Amsterdam. *European Journal of Communication* 16(3): 361-376.
Schramm WL, Parker EB and Lylē J (1961) *Television in the Lives of Children.* USA: Stanford University Press.
Schrøder KC, Drotner K, Kline S, et al. (2003) *Researching Audiences.* London: Hodder Arnold.
Seiter E, Borchers H, Kreutzner G, et al. (2013 [1989]) *Remote Control: Television, Audiences, and Cultural Power.* London: Routledge.
Severin WJ and Tankard JW (1992) *Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, and Uses in the Mass Media.* Tehran.
Shand PM (1930) *The Artichitecure of Pleasure: Modern theatres and cinemas.* London: BT Batsford.
Sibley D (1995) *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West.* London: Routledge.
Silva EB (2000) *The Politics of Consumption at Home: Practices and Dispositions in the Uses of Technologies.* Milton Keynes, UK: Pavis Centre for Social and Cultural Research.
Silva EB (2005) Gender, Home and Family in Cultural Capital Theory. *The British Journal of Sociology* 56(1): 83-103.
Silva EB and Wright D (2005) The Judgement of Taste and Social Position in Focus Group Research. *Sociologia e Ricerca Sociale* n. 76-77: pp. 241–253.
Simpson D (2017) *Multiplex Cinema Introduction*. Available at: http://cinema-theatre.org.uk/uk-cinemas/uk-multiplexes/ (accessed 28/09/17).
Skeggs B (2004) *Class, Self, Culture.* London & New York: Routledge.
Skelton T and Valentine G (1998) *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures.* London: Routledge.
Snelson T (2017) 'They'll Be Dancing in the Aisles!': Youth Audiences, Cinema Exhibition and the Mid-1930s Swing Boom. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 37(3): 455-474.
Snelson T and Jancovich M (2011) Exhibition, Cultural Distinctions and Cult Audiences at the Rialto Cinema in the 1930s and 1940s. In: Maltby R, Biltereyst D and Meers P (eds) *Explorations in New Cinema History: Approaches and Case Studies*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, pp.199.
Stacey J (1994) *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship.* London and New York: Routledge.
Statistics OfN (2016) Norfolk Insight: People and Place. Reportno. Report Number|, Date. Place Published|: Institution|.
Sternheimer K (2007) Do Video Games Kill? *contexts* 6(1): 13-17.
Stewart DW and Shamdasani PN (2014) *Focus Groups: Theory and Practice.* Sage Publications.
Stokes M and Maltby Re (1999) *Identifying Hollywood's Audiences: Cultural Identity and the Movies.* London: British Film Institute.

Strauss A and Corbin J (1990) *Basics of Qualitative Research.* Sage Publications.
Thomas CJ and Bromley RD (2000) City-Centre Revitalisation: Problems of Fragmentation and Fear in the Evening and Night-Time City. *Urban Studies* 37(8): 1403-1429.
Thomson P (2012) Field. In: Grenfell M (ed) *Pierre Bourdieu Key Concepts*. pp.67-.
Thornton S (1995) *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital.* Cambridge: Polity Press.
Threadgold S (2018) *Youth, Class and Everyday Struggles.* Oxfordshire and New York: Routledge.
Threadgold S and Nilan P (2009) Reflexivity of Contemporary Youth, Risk and Cultural Capital. *Current sociology* 57(1): 47-68.
Tudor A (2006) The Rise and Fall of the Art (House) Movie. In: Inglis D and Hughson J (eds) *The Sociology of Art: Ways of Seeing*. pp.125-138.
Twomey JE (1956) Some Considerations on the Rise of the Art-Film Theater. *The Quarterly of Film Radio and Television* 10(3): 239-247.
Usai PC (2001) *Death of Cinema: History, Cultural Memory and the Digital Dark Age* British Film Institute.
Valkenburg PM, Schouten AP and Peter J (2005) Adolescents' Identity Experiments on the Internet. *New Media & Society* 7(3): 383-402.
Van de Vijver L (2017) The Cinema is Dead, Long Live the Cinema!: Understanding the Social Experience of Cinema-Going Today. *Participations - Journal of Audience and Reception Studies* 14(1): 129-144.
Van de Vijver L (2019) Why Young People still go to the Movies: Historical and Contemporary Cinemagoing Audiences in Belgium. In: Biltereyst D, Maltby R and Meers P (eds) *The Routledge Companion to New Cinema History*. London and New York: Routledge pp.378-386.
Van de Vijver L and Biltereyst D (2013) Cinema-Going as a Conditional Part of Everyday Life. *Cultural Studies* 27(4): 561-584.
Vandevelde I, Meers P, Van Bauwel S, et al. (2015) Sharing the Silver Screen: The Social Experience of Cinemagoing in the Indian Diaspora. *BioScope: South Asian Screen Studies* 6(1): 88-106.
Veenstra A (2016) *Screening Audiences: Thesis Project Summary*. Available at: http://aleit.nl/screening-audiences.
Veenstra A (2017) *Screen(ing) Audiences: Digital Screen Culture to the Test: A Large Scale Study on Young Film Audiences in Flanders*. University of Antwerp, Antwerp.
Verhoeven D (2013) What is a Cinema? Death, Closure and the Database. In: Aveyard K and Moran A (eds) *Watching films: new perspectives on movie-going, exhibition and reception*. UK and USA: Intellect, pp.33-51.
Warde A and Gayo-Cal M (2009) The Anatomy of Cultural Omnivorousness: The Case of the United Kingdom. *Poetics* 37(2): 119-145.
Wasko J (2008) The Lord of the Rings: Selling the Franchise. In: Barker M and Mathijs E (eds) *Watching The Lord of the Rings: Tolkien's World Audiences* New York: Peter Lang, pp.21-36.

Watson JC (2006) The Film Preference Scale: The Effect of Preference and Cultural Capital on Film Going Behavior. *Advances in Consumer Research* 33: 325.
Wee V (2010) *Teen Media: Hollywood and the Youth Market in the Digital Age.* McFarland.
Wee V (2017) Youth Audiences and the Media in the Digital Era: The Intensification of Multimedia Engagement and Interaction. *Cinema Journal* 57(1): 133-139.
Wertham F (1955) *Seduction of the Innocent: The Influence of Comic Books on Today's Youth.* London: Museum Press.
Wilinsky B (2001) *Sure Seaters: The Emergence of Art House Cinema.* Minneapolis, USA. London, UK.: University of Minnesota Press.
Williams JP (2006) Authentic Identities: Straightedge Subculture, Music, and the Internet *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35(2): 173-2000.
Willis PE (1978) *Profane Culture.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
Willis PE (1990) *Common Culture: Symbolic Work at Play in the Everyday Cultures of the Young.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
Wu AX (2013) Broadening the Scope of Cultural Preferences: Movie Talk and Chinese Pirate Film Consumption from the Mid-1980s to 2005. *PIRACY CULTURES: How a Growing Portion of the Global Population is Building Media Relationships Through Alternate Channels of Obtaining Content*: 501-529.
Wyness MG (2012) *Childhood and Society.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Filmography

2001: A Space Odyssey (1968, Stanley Kubrick)

Alien (1979. Ridley Scott)

Avengers: Age of Ultron (2015, Joss Whedon)

Beauty and the Beast (1991, Gary Trousdale and Kirk Wise) and

A Bigger Splash (2015, Luca Guadagnino)

Blue Story (2019, Rapman)

The Cat (2011, Byun Seung-wook)

Creed (2015, Ryan Coogler)

Cursed (2004, Yoshihiro Hoshino)

Deadpool (2016, Tim Miller)

Deck the Halls (2006, John Whitesell)

Despicable Me (2010, Pierre Coffin, Chris Renaud)

Die Hard (1988, John McTiernan)

Dirty Dancing (1987, Emile Ardolino)

Dirty Grandpa (2016, Dan Mazer)

The Fault in our Stars (2014, Josh Boone)

Fast and Furious franchise (8 films 2001-2019)

Fame (1980, Alan Parker)

Footloose (1984, Herbert Ross)

Ghost (1990, Jerry Zucker)

The Grudge (2004. Takashi Shimizu)

The *Harry Potter* franchise (8 films 2001-2011)

The Hateful Eight (2015, Quentin Tarantino)

The Hobbit Trilogy (2012-2014, Peter Jackson)

The Hunger Games: Mockingjay Part 2 (2015, Francis Lawrence)

It's a Wonderful Life (1946, Frank Capra)

Jaws (1975, Steven Spielberg)

Leon (1994, Luc Besson)

Lady in the Van (2015, Nicholas Hytner)

The Lobster (2015, Yorgos Lanthimos)

The Lord of the Rings trilogy (2001-2003, Peter Jackson)

Let Me In (2010, Matt Reeves)

Minions (2015, Pierre Coffin, Kyle Balda)

Necronomicon: Book of the Dead (1993, Christophe Gans, Shusuke Kaneko, Brian Yuzna)

The Nice Guys (2016, Shane Black)

Our Kind of Traitor (2016, Susanna White)

The Perks of Being a Wallflower (2012, Stephen Chbosky)

Pocahontas (1995, Mike Gabriel and Eric Goldberg)

Pride (2014, Matthew Warchus)

Primer (2004, Shane Carruth)

Rear Window (1954, Alfred Hitchcock)

The Revenant (2015, Alejandro G. Iñárritu)

Rocky Horror Picture Show (1975. Jim Sharman)

Save the Last Dance (2001, Thomas Carter)

Se7en (1995, David Fincher)

The Secret Life of Pets (2016, Chris Renaud)

Sing Street (2016, John Carney)

Southpaw (2015, Antoine Fuqua)

Spectre (2015, Sam Mendes)

Star Trek into Darkness (2013, J.J. Abrams)

Star Wars: The Force Awakens (2015, J.J. Abrams)

Suffragette (2015, Sarah Gavron)

Tale of Tales (2015, Matteo Garrone)

Texas Chainsaw Massacre (1974 Tobe Hooper)

Toy Story films (1995-2019)

The Twilight Saga (2008-2012)

World's End (2013, Edgar Wright)

World War Z (2013, Marc Forster)

Teleography

Adventure Time (2010-2018) Cartoon Network / HBO Max

American Horror Story (2011-Present) 20th Century Fox

Game of Thrones (2011- 2019) HBO

Hannibal (2013-2015) NBC

Made in Chelsea (2001-Present) E4

Orange is the New Black (2013-2019) Netflix

Pretty Little Liars (2010-2017) ABC Family

Stargate SG1 (1997-2007) Showtime/Sci Fi

Supernatural (2005-Present) The WB / The CW

True Blood (2008-2014) HBO

The Walking Dead (2010-Present) AMC

X-Factor (2004-Present) ITV

Appendices

Appendix A – General Focus Group Question Schedule

1. What is your name and age?
2. Where are you studying and which subjects?
3. Where do you live (first three digits of postcode)?
4. Tell me about your families – who do you live with?
5. What kinds of activities do you do in your free time?
6. Do you have a part-time job?
7. Do your parents give you 'pocket money'?
8. What do your parents do (occupations)?
9. Did either of your parents go to university?
10. What kinds of social media do you prefer?
11. What kinds of films do you like to watch? (Collect examples)
12. How else do you watch films if not at the cinema?
13. Do you ever have family film nights? Can you describe what you usually do if so?
14. How often do you go to the cinema?
15. Which cinema do you prefer to go to? Why?
16. Why do you go to the cinema?
17. Where and how do you find out about cinemas and films showing? (Show some examples (e.g. film posters, websites), gauge responses.)
18. What kind of online engagement do you have with cinema and film (e.g. cinema websites, online reviews, Twitter, Facebook etc)?
19. What are the different cinemas in Norwich?
20. Have you ever been to Cinema City? Why? Why not?
21. What other facilities/offerings do you want near your cinema of choice? e.g. shops (mall), clubs, bars, car parking
22. How important is the actual building/space of the cinema? Do you want to eat and drink at the cinema? What kinds of food/drink?
23. How important is the cost of cinema tickets and food etc to you? Would you use a loyalty card scheme if there were one?
24. Do your parents ever go to the cinema? Which ones?

25. If you were given £50 for a night out (at the cinema), where would you go? Who would you take? What would you see?
26. Do you think there will be cinemas in the future? What will they be like?

Appendix B – Informed Consent Form

RESEARCH PROJECT PARTICIPATION CONSENT (for under 18s)

Thesis Title:
Teen's Screen: The Places, Values, and Roles of Film Consumption and Cinema-Going for Young Audiences

Anna Blagrove - School of Film, Television and Media, UEA

Your child has been asked to participate in a research study I am undertaking for my Doctoral Thesis at the School of Film, Television and Media Studies at the University of East Anglia (UEA). The purpose of the study is to explore youth engagement with UK cinema-going, with a focus on art-house and quality mainstream cinema. Please read the information below, and feel free to contact me with any questions you may have.

- The project involves your child participating in a couple of focus groups with one or more other students. These interviews are entirely voluntary. Your child has the right not to answer any question, and to stop the interview at any time or for any reason. The interviews will take about one hour. They will not be compensated for this participation.

- All participants will have their names changed in order to anonymise contributions.

- I would like to record interviews using audio recording software so that I can use it for reference whilst proceeding with this study. I will not record this interview without your permission. If you do grant permission for this conversation to be recorded, you/your child have the right to revoke recording permission and/or end the interview at any time. Following completion of this interview, you can be provided with a transcript for your review and consultation, if requested.

- It is possible that I may ask to accompany your child, along with other students, to a Norwich cinema to observe behavior in situ. This would only be undertaken with the consent of you and your child.

- This project should be completed by December 2019. At your request, at this time, you can be provided with a copy of the sections of the final research concerning your child's involvement.

- I am solely responsible for the design and conduct of this research. If at any time you feel you have been treated unfairly, or you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, queries may be forwarded to the University Research Ethics Committee (UREC).

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact me:
a.blagrove@uea.ac.uk

I understand the procedures described above. I have been given the opportunity to ask any questions and these have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree for my child to participate in this study. *Please select all that apply*.

( ) I give consent for the interview to be recorded.

I give consent for the following information to be included in the thesis and publications resulting from this study:

( ) direct quotes from interviews

Name of Subject _____

Signature of Subject's Parent/Guardian

_____Date _____

Signature of Researcher

_____Date _____

Once this form is signed please either return it to Anna Blagrove / your teacher or youth worker in person or scan it and email it to: a.blagrove@uea.ac.uk

Appendix C - Focus Group Transcript

Sprowston Teen Café Group

Tuesday 13 October 2015, 7pm

at St Cuthbert's Church, Sprowston c/o Clare Lincoln, Youth Worker.

43:16 mins duration

Anna = Anna Blagrove, Interviewer

Notes: They were friends and I interrupted them playing Uno with other friends. I targeted them as they were more in the age range that I'm looking at. They both have slightly Norfolk accents and seem quite mature and studious. They were family friends and seemed quite close (platonically).

Michael (real name XXXX), 17 = interviewee (white, a bit geeky)

Mandy (real name XXXX), 16 = interviewee (white, long hair)

Transcribed by AB – cleaned (deleting ums and errs)

Speaker	**Quote**
Anna	Recording. So you could chose a name that you like, or I could just make up a name for you?
Michael	I like the background music for this. <He's referring to the choir rehearsing in the next room>
Mandy	This is too much pressure. Can I just be unnamed?
Anna	Or I could just make up a name for you?
Michael	I will go for….a name I've always liked is Michael.
Anna	Do you want to be Michael?
Mandy	You pick a name for me.
Anna	Why don't we name you something beginning with M?
Mandy	If you wish.
Michael	Mandy. After Barry Manilow's song. <chuckles>
Mandy	OK do that. That's funny.
Anna	<choir singing clearly in background> Do you know this song?
Michael	California Dreaming…<sings quietly> "stopped into a church…I passed along the way…"
Anna	So this is the first thing that would be quite good if….you don't have to fill it out yourself, we could talk through it.. You could write some answers as we talk?
Mandy	I take it that means fake name?
Michael	Pseudonym? Yes.
Anna	It does, but you can write your real name.

Mandy	I'll write my fake name. I'm owning it now. It's the 9th. No it's the 10th!
Michael	It's the 13th of the 10th.
Mandy	Shhhoot. I'm just going to write as we go along. I can multitask.
Anna	So generally, what do you both do when you're not….are you both at school?
Michael	Sixth Form yeah.
Mandy	Does coursework count? <said wryly>
Anna	Sprowston High?
Michael	We're both at Sprowston yeah.
Anna	So what are you studying at Sixth Form?
Michael	I'm studying Maths, Physics and Law.
Anna	A Levels?
Michael	Yeah. Upper Sixth. She's Lower Sixth.
Anna	Uhuh. So you know each other from school?
Mandy	Yeah.
Michael	Yeah and outside….
Mandy	…family friends.
Michael	Our mums work together.
Anna	OK so you've known each other quite a while?
Michael	Yeah.
Anna	So would you….say you were friends?
Michael	Yeah. <Mandy snorts with derision>
Anna	Does that sound weird?
Mandy	Yeah.
Michael	I'd say we were friends.
Anna	So you know each other quite well?
Mandy	Yeah.
Anna	I wonder if you'll learn anything new about each other over the course of the next 40 minutes or so. <to Mandy> You doing A Levels then?
Mandy	Yeah. Sociology, Psychology, History, and Photography.
Anna	Four of them.
Mandy	They're AS at the minute.
Anna	Of course.
Michael	What do you think you'll drop?
Mandy	I won't.
Anna	That's a lot of work.
Michael	But no EPU?
Mandy	What?
Michael	No extended project?
Mandy	No.
Anna	What's it like at Sprowston Sixth Form?
Mandy	Good.

Michael Yeah I would say so. Good. For the teachers that I have. The ones I have are good. Because they're all quite passionate about their subjects. When they're teaching something that they're passionate about – especially with Physics – it's good to have a teacher who really likes Physics.

Anna Tell me their names cause I used to go there – years ago.

Michael The only teacher I have that might have been there when you were there is Miss XXXX?

Anna Miss XXXX?

Michael Yeah. English teacher.

Anna I was at Sprowston High between 1988 and 1992.

Michael She could have been. I think she's worked there for a very long time. But then a lot of teachers have left now. There's been quite an overhaul.

Anna I remember Madame XXX.

Michael She retired. I think one of the teachers I do miss is Mr XXXX. He was the Science teacher. He retired I think. Or went to Yarmouth. He was one of the older breed. And now they've got really young ones in who are approaching it differently as well.

Anna OK. It's not a name I remember. But I was more into artsy subjects than sciency ones.

Michael Yeah.

Anna So let's see what you've written…..you watch TV and old films?

Michael Yeah. From the Internet Movie Database – the top 250 but more the older ones – the 50s and 60s ones.

Anna Yeah?

Michael The one I watched recently was *Mr Smith Goes to Washington*.

Anna Jimmy Stewart?

Michael Yeah, I've never seen that film before. I watched it and it really was good. But one of my all-time favourite films is *12 Angry Men*. It's considered a classic. I watched it and I just really enjoyed it.

Anna Yeah? So how do you access these films?

Michael I find a lot of old DVDs at car boot sales.

Anna Oh do you?

Michael Like *12 Angry Men*. When I found that, I was over the moon. It was laying there and I was like, 'that's the film I've been looking for for ages!'.But I hadn't been able to see it. Other films, hopefully Sky will have them on. But I'm more into older films that newer ones. They're not my cup of tea (newer films).

Anna Do you go online and try and find them that way?

Michael Occasionally I stream. I must admit. And I use Netflix but I think their films are quite insufficient. It's good for current TV programmes.

Anna I'm assuming you both live at home with your..families?
Both Uhuh.
Anna So do your parents pay the subscription for…
Michael …for Netflix yeah.
Anna And do you have cable TV? Most people do these days? Like Virgin or…?
Michael We have Sky. We've just changed. Terrible Broadband. Really bad.
Anna Is Broadband important? What do you use it for at home?
Michael It's mainly for streaming. And for live streaming you need to have very good…so I can't…between 6 and 9pm there's no chance I'll be able to watch any streaming things. It will buffer constantly.
Mandy Everyone's on the internet.
Michael It's peak time.
Anna Oh no. That's frustrating.
Michael There's no chance. Absolutely no chance.
Anna So that would be on your laptop would it?
Michael Yeah on my laptop but on my PlayStation as well. Cause on Netflix there's a streaming service.
Anna You need the internet to use that?
Michael Yeah. There are some newer programmes I'm watching just because they're a craze and I'm not really enjoying it…
Anna Like what?
Michael *Pretty Little Liars*. Which I'm quite embarrassed to admit. <Mandy chuckles> It's a very girly programme. And I'm not enjoying it to be honest.
Anna Right. But you're watching it anyway.
Michael And it's the Disney films as well. The animated classics, I'm trying to watch them all in order. I'm up to…I think the next one is *The Aristocats*.
Anna So when you say in order, do you mean chronological?
Michael Yeah.
Anna So have you got a list?
Michael Yeah I went on Wikipedia and everytime I watched one, I'm like, right so I've just watched *The Jungle Book*…
Anna Wow!
Michael It's a challenge. A lot of people at school seem to like Disney now. Because of *Frozen* I assume.
Anna Hmmmm?
Michael And you like *Frozen* don't you <to Mandy>?
Mandy I like *Tangled*.
Anna So tell me…oh you've written quite a lot. Tell me what you've written in that free time box.
Mandy Knitting!
Anna Really? That's quite old skool.

Mandy Loving it! Loving it. My Nan taught me last year and I've just been hooked.

Anna Yeah? What kind of things do you knit?

Mandy I knitted a little bunny. You knit a square and then you fold it and stuff it and it has little ears. That was cute. And I think everything just turns into a scarf to be honest. <Anna and Mandy chuckle>

Anna Do you have any friends that knit?

Mandy I have one. I bring it in to school sometimes when I have a study period. Everyone looks at me like I'm kind of sad but it's fun. It's a good activity. I like it.

Anna Does anyone want a polo? <I had left the popcorn in the main hall>

Mandy I'm well equipped on the polo front.

Michael I'm fine thanks.

Anna What else have you got on there?

Mandy Playing guitar and singing.

Anna Yeah? Do you do that on your own or are you in a band or something like that?

Mandy No just as a hobby. Sitting in the bedroom to pass the time.

Anna Right. Do you write songs?

Mandy Sometimes. They're not amazing. They're not very good.

Anna <my phone vibrates> Excuse me, do you mind if I….?

Michael That's absolutely fine. <break while take call>

Anna Sorry about that. Husband's on his way home.

So DISNEY capital letters. So what are your favourites?

Mandy *The Aristocats*.

Michael I haven't seen it.

Mandy Oh it's good. And *Tangled*. With Rapunzel. I love *Tangled*.

Anna Ah. I watched it last week with my daughter.

Mandy It's my absolute favourite. And *Sleeping Beauty* I love. And the new one they did – *Maleficent*. You know the evil queen from Sleeping Beauty?

Anna Yeah.

Mandy I love that one. So it's a mix of old and new.

Anna Hmmm. Have you seen the new *Cinderell*a?

Mandy Yeah. I liked it. It was funny. That was good.

Anna What's your favourite favourite?

Mandy What Disney?

Anna …yeah.

Mandy *Tangled*.

Anna Do you think it's a load of fuss about nothing with *Frozen* then?

Mandy I like *Frozen*. Although I feel like it's had such…

Michael I think it's a load of fuss about nothing.

Anna Do you?

Mandy But it's so…like, big. And it shouldn't be. It's a good film but there are better films. But just because a lot of money has been made from it.

Michael I watched it…because everyone went on about the songs….and I watched it and not one song stuck with me. Is it Let it Go?

Mandy Yeah.

Michael (12:23) That was one that was insignificant when I watched the film. It was just another one of the songs that all seemed like a ballad then went nowhere. And I don't think the snowman got enough air time. <Mandy giggles> He was too funny to just leave in the corner.

Anna Olaf. Alright, when did you last go to the cinema? Meg….I'm going to call you by your real names.

Mandy OK.

Anna So it's Mandy right? So tell me what you saw?

Mandy *Paper Towns*.

Anna What's *Paper Towns*?

Mandy It's a John Green book adaptation. Yeah so he wrote…

Anna Ah is that quite recent?

Mandy Yeah. Did you see *The Fault in our Stars*?

Anna Yeah.

Mandy That was his book, and then they made a film and this is his other book. And I was excited as I really like the book, but the film was quite disappointing. They cut a lot out of the book, like, fighting scenes. And they shortened it so that the book was really interesting and detailed whereas the film was predictable. And you just knew what was happening – not just cause you'd read the book but you could just work it out from watching it. So it was a bit of a let-down.

Anna Yeah? Who did you go with?

Mandy One of my friends.

Anna And you went to Vue? Why did you choose the Vue?

Mandy Cause she had gift vouchers <laughs>.

Anna Oh right. <to Michael> You're nodding?

Michael I hate to sound very samey but I went to see *Jaws*. It was the original. They were showing it at Cinema City.

Anna Oh yeah?

Michael But the other reason I had was that I had a gift certificate to go to Cinema City. I like that they are into the classics.

Anna Right.

Michael And also there weren't any Alfred Hitchcock movies that they were showing soon. But *Jaws* stuck out at me and I thought I'd go and see that. It's brilliant to watch it on the big screen.

Anna When was that?

Michael It was quite a while ago..I think it was maybe last year (2014) or two years ago?

Anna So was it a digital…print of it?

Michael Yeah I believe so. What I like about it is that since it's such a classic film, everyone knows when the jokes are coming up. So everyone's sort of preparing for when he says, "we're going to need a bigger boat" and things and then everyone laughs. A lot more than they would have with the original I think. It's just good to have such a big screen for it. It's very nice.

Anna Did it scare you?

Michael No. No. It's good to see it on the big screen and with the whole sound as well. Having surround sound is very good.

Anna <Referring to the choral sounds of 'When a child is born'> Isn't this heavenly? <they chuckle> It's a Christmas song by Johnny Mathis.

So was it a present? Somebody brought you a voucher?

Michael No it was from…..

Mandy Did you get it from school?

Michael No it was from the Beat the Street walking activity that me and my sister did to get money for the youth club. And because we got quite into it, the people that ran it gave us a Cinema City voucher.

Anna Ah right.

Michael It was very good.

Anna Who were the people that ran it?

Michael I think Walk Norwich. I think it's to try and get people more active in the area.

Anna Oh ok. So did you just go the once and use up your voucher at Cinema City?

Michael Yeah that was it. I think it was £20 or £15 or something like that and it was enough for me to take mum as well. My mum likes the film as well. I don't think my sister likes it very much. I don't think that's her sort of thing. She'd rather go see *The Hunger Games* or something.

Anna Right. Is she younger?

Michael No same age. She's my twin.

Anna Oh right.

Michael She's more into current films.

Anna She's not here tonight is she?

Michael No she isn't. She's working.

Anna Do either of you two have jobs?

Mandy Not as of yet.

Michael I have a paper round but that's just to keep me busy if anything.

Anna So when you went to Cinema City, did you get any drinks or snacks?

Michael No. Because I do not like the prices! I hate to be one of those but…

Mandy No!

Anna What about you Mandy?

Mandy They do a lot of promotional events and they did a midnight viewing of *Rocky Horror* and I went with your mum and sister and my mum. And the drinks…

Anna You are quite close families then?

Michael Exactly.

Mandy The drinks were like…two quid for a Tropicana when I went. For a Tropicana orange juice. They don't have like, Slushy machines going or anything. Yeah they're pricey.

Michael They're more high-brow.

Anna So you went for a midnight screening?

Mandy Yes.

Anna And did people dress up?

Mandy Yes.

Anna And did you dress up?

Mandy No we were the only ones who weren't! We didn't think people would but yes they did.

Michael I would have liked to go I must admit. I do like the film.

Anna Specifically *Rocky Horror*?

Mandy I'd never seen the film before.

Michael You hadn't? Oh it's good.

Anna So did people interact with that one?

Mandy Yeah it was really friendly. They were all cheering and laughing and clapping.

Anna And saying the lines and things?

Mandy Yeah and singing songs.

Michael I would like to go..

Mandy Ohhh..we didn't invite you I'm sorry.

Anna OK. So what else we got <referring to Identity page>. Your favourite cinema is Hollywood huh?

Michael Yes because I personally believe the price outweighs the quality. I mean you can be in the most comfortable seat but it's all about the movie in my opinion. I mean it's all about the film you're watching. So if you go to a really good cinema and see a bad film, then it was a bad experience. If you go to a bad cinema and see a really good film, therefore it was a good experience. So I think as long as you see a good film, you might as well…go cheap on everything else.

Mandy And Hollywood aren't that bad. I feel like they get a lot of stick for not being like, Odeon who've got these things hanging from the ceiling and Ben and Jerry's stall. But Hollywood the seats aren't uncomfortable, the screens aren't terrible, the sound is not….awful.

Michael I would just say it's got a bad rap. Its location is unfortunate.

Mandy It's not the best.

Michael I think if it was more in the city it would get a much nicer reputation.

Anna Is price really important to you?

Mandy Yeah. Especially at our age.

Michael I would say money is the most important…I'm not a fan of spending money on an experience. I don't know why, I'm not a big fan of spending money on services. I'm more of a goods person. <Mandy chuckles> And I think most films come out on DVD or on Sky that's the one that I hear a lot..

Mandy That's what we do normally in our family. We wait till it comes out on Sky or on DVD. Or Hollywood do Kids' Club but it's not always kid's films. It's 99p on a weekend to see a film that's been on a bit earlier. So *Frozen*, I didn't see it when it first came out, I saw it a couple of months later in February.

Anna Yeah? For 99p?

Mandy For 99p. And it's in the little screen, but it doesn't matter.

Michael That's cheaper than the food that's what amazes me!

Mandy Exactly and it's not like, aged or anything, there's no limit. It's really good. That's why I like them. So I just wait till then. It's so cheap.

Anna Yeah? And how do you get to Anglia Square? Do you both live in Sprowston?

Michael We do.

Anna Do you get the bus?

Michael Yeah.

Anna And where do you get your spending money from then?

Mandy <small voice> My dad.

Anna Is it called pocket money or something else?

Michael It's just whenever you need it.

Mandy Well I get a certain amount a month but I help out a lot around the house. Cause we're a big family…

Anna Right.

Mandy I earn it in respect. I feel like I do. Mum probably would say different <both laugh>.

Anna And what about you Michael?

Michael Mine's from the paper round. But also I'm quite tight with money. I don't really spend it. So last year for Christmas and my birthday – it's roughly a month after Christmas – so I've got quite a bit of money by that point. I've slowly siphoned it away but because I get £15 each week, it tops up what I spend.

Anna Is that pocket money?

Michael No that's the paper round. It just cushions what I've spent. So far this year (it's October) I think I've haemorrhaged maybe £50.

Anna That's not much <chuckles>.

Michael But I've spent quite a lot that's the thing. But I just don't like…spending money.

Anna That's an interesting word you use to explain..

Michael Haemorrhage?

Anna Yes. It's quite extreme.

Mandy Nice.

Michael I don't like to haemorrhage money.

Mandy You think your birthday's close to Christmas!

Anna Is your birthday on Christmas?

Mandy 25th yeah <deadpan voice>. Yeah. It's great.

Anna Is it?

Mandy No! I have to do it early December.

Anna Does it get shoved to one side a bit?

Mandy No one remembers my actual birthday. We have it the first week of December – the actual celebration – which is not actually the age I am. And then my dad's like, the only that remembers on Christmas Day. It's not even "Happy Birthday!", it's like "oh yeah happy birthday".

Anna Ahhhh….

Mandy It's really sad.

Michael First World problem but…

Mandy I know.

Anna Right let's see what else you've got….films you like…"old dramas relying on suspense to set a scene".

Michael Which is contrasting with the ones I don't like.

Anna Which is?

Michael Horror movies relying on jump scares.

Anna Ok. But *Jaws* is a little but jump scary.

Michael Well it's also like, you can't see it until a long way through the film – you never see the shark. It all builds up with the theme tune and I think that's all quite good with setting the scene. Whereas then you get films like, *The Woman in Black*, which is just reliant on that bit where she screams at the window…..

Mandy <Groans> Nothing's scary about it!

Michael That seems to be the only bit that anyone remembers. *Like Nightmare on Elm Street* – not really scary now as it's quite outdated. The original. But the idea of someone killing you in your dreams is quite an authentic horror story basis. I think it's just a cleverer way of making a movie is to build more psychological horror rather than combining an essentially scary part of the film with a loud sound effect.

Mandy You are brutal.

Anna So what examples can you give me of psychological horror?

Mandy *Mama* <2013>.

Michael Oh I haven't seen that. Too recent. *The Omen* is quite good about a child that….have you seen it?

Mandy No.

Michael The child's the anti-christ.

Mandy Oh.

Michael Yeah it's quite good. It's one of these that was released quite close to *The Exorcist*. Which is also quite good but it's quite…graphic I think. It's a good horror film. But what I liked about *The Omen* is that it's quite creepy them more you think about it. The child is the one who's killing everyone off. They made sequels about it which was not a good idea. I don't think it's a good idea for many films to make a sequel but that one – two sequels…..bad. One when he's a teenager and one when he's a grown man. They lost it. They got too cocky….

Anna You watched them all?

Michael I did. I must admit. <Mandy laughs> Same with *Psycho*. I watched the first, second, third and fourth *Psycho* films. I watched those and the first one is still the best. Especially when I watched it, I didn't know the end. So when you find out I was like <gasp> "oh my God she's dead" and you try to piece it together in those seconds and you're like "I don't quite understand what just happened". And again that lost it with the second, third and fourth. It was successful once, let's keep the story going.

Mandy It's like *Saw*. I sat through the first one. I enjoyed Saw but then you just know don't you? You know what's happening. It's not exciting anymore. He's popping up on the screen but it's not scary because you know who he is.

Michael (24:38) It's good to have a twist in a film. I must admit. That's what I liked about the *Saw* films. They're really watchable once in my opinion. But when you get to the twist at the end it just throws you a little. I do like a good twist in a film. But once the twist is known then it loses that effect on the second watch – like with *Psycho*. I still like the film, but it loses that real good power it had over me. The last time I watched it, it's just a bit ineffective now.

Anna OK so would you say that you don't go to the cinema too often?

Mandy Nah.

Michael Very rarely.

Anna So is it just a special occasion when you would?

Mandy Yeah if it's a film that I've seen the trailer and I've known about for a while – something like *Paper Towns* because it was a book I'd read…

Anna So was that your idea to go to that?

Mandy Yeah. So if it's a book I've read and I'm excited about it, then I'll go see it. But if not, I can happily wait until it comes out.

Anna OK. So if there's a film like *Paper Towns* that you want to see, how would you find out about where to go and the times and all that business?

Mandy Internet. Their website.

Michael I go straight to Google. Cause when you type into Google it gives you showing times for each cinema.

Anna Do you just put the film title in?

Michael Yeah. I believe it's very very convenient. All in a very single location. I don't know about anyone paying to be the first one. I don't need to go into that detail of the way they…..I think it's the easiest way. I think I couldn't go on to Hollywood or…

Mandy See I do.

Michael Do you?

Mandy Because if I can I'll always go to Hollywood because it's convenient and it's cheap. So I'll go on their website and their website is really easy to look at so….

Anna So do you just get the information that you need and then you show up and you get your tickets? Or…do you ever book online or…?

Mandy Well if it's a big thing, like when *The Fault in our Stars* – the other John Green film came out, it was a really big thing and they did a pre-showing. An early showing a few months before so we booked tickets for that as it was quite busy and you don't want to wait too long. But that's the only time I would. Even for something like *Paper Towns* that I was excited about, I wouldn't go as far as booking tickets.

Anna Right. So you just showed up and hoped that there were some available?

Mandy Yeah because I'm not too fussed.

Michael Yeah I would say because I'm not really into….recently I haven't seen a film that I'd really like to see. Because if I read a book, an old Sci-Fi book usually, and often there's already a film made of it – so it kind of becomes unlikely for them to release a film. But if I were, if it was available to book online then I would. But it's more likely I'd just pop up when I know when the showing is. And if the worst thing would happen then I would maybe just wait until another showing and hope that there were seats. Just book for them then, and just wait – go into the city or something. I wouldn't book over the telephone. I don't like calling people up. I don't know if I'm….I think it's quite a current thing now I hate calling people…

Mandy I can't ring people up.

Michael I really hate it. It's so embarrassing. There's something about it..

Anna Really? Do you think that's quite common for people your age?

Mandy Yeah.

Michael I would say so. Very common.

Mandy It's not too bad though. If no one else will, I will.

Michael For most things in a group, when it requires you to go out of your comfort zone. Let's say in a shop when you <indistinct>…, there's always got to be one person that says, "I'll try it". What if it doesn't work or something? So I don't like picking up my phone. My phone rang today when I was in my free period and I just hung up. I just refused to listen. It said 0845 and I thought, I'm not even going to risk that.

Mandy Yeah. I'm one of those people who, on the home phone – I let it go to answer machine to see if I like or know the person.

Anna Yeah? Right……did you ever go on a school trip to the cinema?

Mandy No.

Michael I have. I've definitely done so. Not very recently at all. The last time would have been….

Mandy Primary School?

Michael ….Year 5 or Year 4. So about 7 or 8 years ago. <He would have been aged 8 or 9>.

Anna Was this Sprowston…Junior?

Michael Year 4 would have been Catton Grove. I think we went to see some animal documentary. It was a documentary at Cinema City oddly enough. But I believe at some point we've been to see something that was more entertainment at like, Hollywood. It escapes me.

Anna You don't remember much about the…

Michael I can remember about the educational one but I can't remember about the entertaining one.

Anna Was there anyone that talked on stage before or after the film?

Michael No.

Anna You don't remember that?

Michael I don't believe so.

Mandy We did a….the only time we've done something like that is when we did an animation project when I was in Year 6…

Anna Yeah? What school was that?

Mandy Sprowston Junior. And we all made little films and they played them at Hollywood cinema and it was presented and things like that. But I've never been on a school trip for an actual film.

Anna Right. What was that like, seeing your own film on the screen?

Mandy Pretty cool. 10 year old me was pretty excited about it.

Michael You made it.

Anna Did you get to keep a copy?

Mandy Yeah. I got a DVD it's still on the shelf.

Michael That's quite good.

Anna Was it stop-motion animation?

Mandy Yeah. It was good.

Michael	<chuckles> Your own critic, "it was good"…
Mandy	I'll burn you a copy.
Anna	So tell me a bit about your families. <to Mandy> You said you had a big family.
Mandy	Well…it is at the minute. I suppose it's just me and my parents and my two older brothers. One of them is just about to move out with his girlfriend who lives with us as well. So it's practically six adults.
Anna	Uhuh.
Mandy	Yeah. And one shower. <laughs>
Anna	Right. OK.
Mandy	And we like to do stuff together. So we watch films together in the living room…
Anna	…I was gonna ask…
Mandy	..So that's why we won't go to the cinema. Unless like we've got a deal, like a two for one or something, or we've each got one. If not it just amounts to too much if we can just get something on Sky Demand or a DVD.
Anna	So who chooses when you're at home? Who chooses the film?
Mandy	Probably my dad or my brother.
Anna	What kind of things do they like?
Mandy	Comedies. I think the last thing we watched was…*Bad Neighbours*. Have you seen it?
Michael	Zac Efron one?
Mandy	Yeah.
Michael	I've seen it unfortunately. <Anna laughs>. That was not good.
Mandy	We're big Adam Sandler fans. My brother has literally all his DVDs.
Anna	And when you watch a film like that all together, do you make special conditions in your lounge?
Mandy	We don't talk throughout the film.
Anna	You don't? And what about phones. Do you have a rule about that?
Mandy	I think my dad would like to make a rule about that! <Michael snorts>. But no. If he did, I probably wouldn't join in.
Anna	What about popcorn, curtains closed that sort of thing?
Mandy	Curtains closed, lights off. Yeah. Sound bar on. <?>
Anna	And what about pausing it? Do you ever pause it?
Mandy	Ah. Only if mum wants to go and make a cup of tea or something. Or like, mum will go to the toilet, like ten times during a film. <Michael giggles> As soon as you press play, she'll get up to do something. And it's like, "Mum you wanted to watch the film, where are you going?". And she's like, "no you can carry on playing it", and we're like, "stop, no."
Anna	<to Michael> Is this familiar? Do you do this at home?

Michael I have an older brother. Who's three years older than me. He often sleeps round his girlfriends or sometimes they sleep round here. So in our house, the maximum - if my brother has his girlfriend around – seven of us. And I'm the youngest at 17. It's all adults. But we don't really watch films as a whole family. Often it'll just be me, my mum, and my dad cause my sister will be working. So most recently we watched *Pixels*. Which wasn't good. But again it we go by what's the most popular on the Internet Movie Database so it's not really genre or anything.

Anna So it's the IMDB website you mean?

Michael Yeah.

Anna Oh right, they have a popular film list?

Michael They have a top 250 what's on people's watch lists. What's handy is if you look for a film you like, and it will say what's like it. Or 'you might be interested in' and it will give you a collection of films. And it's good when you watch a film that you like and you look down the list and there are films that you've already seen. Cause that way you can see that it's quite a good recommendation. Cause they do that quite well. I have to admit. When I'm watching a film I always go on the Internet Movie Database.

Mandy They have an app don't they?

Michael I look at the trivia always. I don't know why. I go, "ooh! This and this happened!".

Mandy I look it up so read the synopsis. I'm terrible. If I'm watching the film I have to have the synopsis up. Especially horror. I'm awful.

Anna Right. You wanna know all the twists?

Mandy Literally. I want to know all the surprises, secrets. I can't deal with it. If someone is with me who's seen the film and I haven't, I'll be like, "Who's he? What's he up to? What's happening?"

Michael I think with a film that's scary, especially if it's jump scares – you sit there and you don't quite know what's going on and you listen more? You pay more attention, so if something scares you it just hits you that bit more.

Mandy Yeah and I need to know the ending as well.

Michael *The Crazies* was a good one. You liked *The Crazies* didn't you?

Mandy That was a good film.

Michael It was sort of like quite modern. It was a remake of another film <by George Romero>. It's one of those instances when the remake was much better than the original. The original was a bit…it's just a bit outdated now.

Mandy But you don't get freaked out as easily as I do?

Michael No.

Mandy I watched that at your house.
Michael Yeah.
Mandy And it was like we were having a family gathering and we watched it at like, 1 or 2 in the morning and I had to walk home alone in the mist and pitch black <Michael laughs> after watching this horror film about…
Anna Oh no!
Michael It was close to Christmas or something wasn't it? And it was cold…
Mandy I get so paranoid. I love horror films but if I watch them at night…I have to watch them in the daytime because then I'll forget them by the time I go to bed. But watching that then, I was up all night.
Michael I used to like watching horror films. I really used to like horror films. But I've gone off them now. I think the rush I used to get is gone.
Mandy It's as you get older.
Michael Now I prefer more of a story to be honest or character development or something. Not just something that's a bit creepy.
Anna Yeah. So do you two want to go to university do you think?
Mandy Yeah.
Michael I'm not. I was going to and now I've changed my mind. I'm going to do an apprenticeship in accounting.
Anna Yeah?
Michael I was going to go to university but there were certain things that changed my mind. Like finance, which one to go to, and some of the requirements…I think it just adds too much pressure on to me. And I think last year when I didn't have much pressure, I did quite well, but I still found the pressure quite overbearing. And I think if I also had the idea of going to university and a future sort of relying on it, it would increase the burden too much. So I'm not going to.
Anna <To Mandy> What would you like to do at university?
Mandy I would like to do psychotherapy.
Anna Oh ok?
Mandy Cause I'm doing sociology and psychology at the minute and it interests me. Like, human behaviour and the causes of it and all that. I want to get into all that – the social sciences. I love it. It's something I really want to do. I find it really interesting.
Anna Good. You have enthusiasm. It gets you a long way. What do your parents do?
Mandy Well mum's a…
Michael ..they're on the pastoral side at Sprowston Junior school. So looking after…
Anna Oh ok. Is that Mandy's mum?

Michael Both our mums. That's how we know each other.
Anna Ahhh. So they both have the same job?
Mandy Yeah they work with children that move up from the infant's school that maybe have a rougher background they settle them and do a bit more pastoral.
Anna Right. So that's kind of related to what you want to get into?
Mandy Yeah a little bit yeah.
Anna And what about your dad?
Mandy <in a small voice> He manages a Wholesalers.
Anna Oh ok.
Mandy Which is not…inspirational at all! <laughs>
Anna Is he happy?
Mandy Yeah he loves it.
Anna Well there you go.
Mandy He does it. It's fine for him.
Anna That's the main thing.
Michael My dad's a post man. In Wroxham. And he likes it. He's done it for a long time. For over 40 years.
Anna Wow.
Michael And he's retiring or he can retire whenever he wants now. So he's very happy. He'll start getting a pension. Which is sort of like extra money, for the same work he's always done. So he's enjoying it. But my sister isn't going to university. My older brother didn't go to university. I'm thinking of maybe going to university after my accounting apprenticeship. Get the AAT qualification and then go on after that. I believe one of my half-brothers went on to university and did Law I believe. So he would have been first generation for that.
Anna So none of your parents have been to university?
Michael No.
Mandy Or my brothers. I'll be the first. If I go.
Michael You'll be first generation. Will you get a scholarship for that? Or some money for being first generation?
Anna Do you?
Michael I think so.
Anna Oh that's good!
Michael There is some sort of incentive. It might come in the form of some sort of bursary or some grant.
Mandy I shall have to have a look into that. Thank you brothers!
Michael You were not paying attention in the assembly were you?
Mandy No.
Michael Cause they did mention that.
Anna That is interesting. OK we're nearly done. We'll go back through in a minute. But just quickly, do you use social media sites? And what do you use most?
Mandy Twitter.

Anna Twitter? <and looking at Michael>

Mathew I'm not really a big fan of them…I'm more of <laughs>…I'm more of someone who follows people. I like to see what's going on.

Mandy You just keep up.

Anna You're a lurker.

Michael I'm not on there for people to find out about me. I'm more interested in what other people are doing. Sometimes people talk about arguments on Twitter and I'll be like "ooh". Cause I have an account so I'll be able to flick through what's going on. And I've never uploaded anything. It's more like some way that I can find out what's going on in people's lives. Which sounds odd now that I've said that out loud. <laughs>

Mandy It's how our generation communicates. It's how we find out about things. Sadly <laughs>. We don't talk!

Anna What about websites? You talked about IMDB.

Michael IMDB yeah. I use Russia Today for my news. It's really the only website I like to use is Russia Today.

Anna Russia Today?

Michael It's my favourite news station. I don't know why. It might be because of Miss Steele <Mandy laughs>, she's a big fan of Russia Today. I just like it because, doing Law, we have a lot of discussions about the media in this country and it's quite insufficient.

Anna Is it..do they have a TV…programme?

Michael They do have a TV channel.

Mandy I assume it's in Russian?

Anna Oh and the website as well.

Michael And then there's an app as well, and a website, and a radio.

Anna So is that world news then?

Michael Yeah. They've gotten awards. It's not as biased as one might expect.

Anna Is it in English?

Michael It is. But it's good to have the Russian side of stories. So to have the Russian side of bombing in Syria. Cause the BBC we get all our information from the Pentagon and that's going to be very anti-Russia. Whereas the one you get from there is quite pro-Russia but it's nice to at least see the other side. So it's things like how Assad invited the Russians in, unlike the Americans. It's just that thing that's it's a good third view because it's good to cross-reference sources. And to just rely on American's sources of information is not the best.

Anna So you do watch a bit of…do you watch any BBC?

Michael ……unfortunately I watch ITV and I don't know why. It's more because my parents watch ITV. And so I'm not a big fan of the BBC any more.

Anna	OK final question: do you think that there's a place for cinemas in the future? And if so, how do you think they'll be different?
Mandy	……I think it's going to go downhill in the future - with the amount..with how easy it is to stream, like Netflix and things like that..
Michael	I think price comparison as well. It's a bit like how pubs are closing down. It's cheaper to do something else now. The pubs are closing down because it's cheaper to drink in other places. The thing with cinemas is they're closing down because it's quite expensive…
Mandy	It's cheaper to wait and buy the film.
Michael	Yeah with Netflix or even with Amazon Prime that I hadn't really thought about until now, I think it's £80 a year and you get next day delivery on Amazon products and also access to their Prime television as well. Which is incredibly cheap.
Mandy	But it is sad, because cinemas are such a…experience. I think there'll still be around in the future but not…..
Michael	I think it'll be more of a novelty. I think it might become a bit more of an occasion so more of an "ooh we're going to the cinema". Cause I mean they've been around for a very long time.
Anna	Yeah.
Michael	So I think as they've been around for such a long time, they'll still be there it's just they'll be less of them and so just a low supply. Or low demand.
	<one of the choir members: "Is there someone else in the building?">
Anna	Oh I think we'd better go.
Mandy	Oh yeah we're going to be locked up.
Anna	We're gonna leave! Sorry don't want to be locked in. Thanks guys.
43:16	*End.*

Focus Group Notes

Immediate Post-Focus Group Observations

- My contact was Clare Lincoln, the youth worker.
- Mandy and Michael seemed a little reluctant to talk to me at first. They were rather absorbed in their Uno game.
- We moved next door into the church and sat at the same table as I'd used with the first group – next to the choir practice room.
- Michael was more assertive than Mandy. Although she was a bit quieter, she still opened up.

Lessons

- Add more questions about behaviours for future interviews. e.g. on phone use, talking in the auditorium, responses to films, group size, dating.
- Don't try and use pseudonyms in the focus group as it's confusing for everyone and not very personal to them – not engendering trust.

Impressions post-transcription

- Michael was very keen for me to know that he preferred older films. Although he did talk about more contemporary films that he's seen, he didn't seem too keen on them. Wanted to evidence his cultural capital.
- Both of them seemed to want to talk about horror films a fair bit. Michael analysed his own tastes for me in terms of preferring character-development and psychological horror/tension building. He also stated that he'd grown out of liking 'jump scare' horror films (at age 17).

Follow-up Questions for Michael

- Where has his interest in classic films come from? Parents?
- Invite his twin sister? How similar/different are they in their tastes?
- P.7 he says CC is more high-brow. Can he elaborate on this?

Contacted them again on Fri 8 Jan 2016 to try to arrange a follow-up. At this, hopefully, we'll plan a cinema trip.

Appendix D – NVivo Nodes (Codes)

Appendix E – Participant List

Name*	Age	Identifying Description	Social Grade	Group
Callum	17	Suburban Academy A Level Student	E	Estate Dweller
Charlie	16	City Youth Club/College Dance Student	C2	Estate Dweller
Emile	14	Estate Youth Club/Suburban Academy Y9	D	Estate Dweller
Jack	17	City Youth Club / College Performance Student	Not known.	Estate Dweller
Josh	17	Childcare Apprentice	C2	Estate Dweller
Lakeisha	13	Suburban Youth Club / Suburban Academy Y9	D	Estate Dweller
Mitch	17	College GCSE Student	C1	Estate Dweller
Nemo	16	State Academy Y11 Pupil	D	Estate Dweller
Wes	14	Estate Youth Club / Suburban Academy Y10	C2	Estate Dweller
Archie	17	City Sixth Form Academy A Level Student	Not known.	Boarder/Urbanite
Camilla	16	State Boarding School A Level Student	B	Boarder/Urbanite
Dominic	18	State Boarding School A Level Student	Not known.	Boarder/Urbanite
Ethan	16	City Sixth Form Academy A Level Student	Not known.	Boarder/Urbanite
George	17	City Sixth Form Academy A Level Student	Not known.	Boarder/Urbanite
Grace	17	State Boarding School A Level Student	B	Boarder/Urbanite
Lila	18	State Boarding School A Level Student	B	Boarder/Urbanite
Peter	18	State Boarding School A Level Student	Not known.	Boarder/Urbanite
Sasha	17	State Boarding School A Level Student	C1	Boarder/Urbanite
Cherry	15	City Youth Club/Village High School Y10	B	Cultural Alternative
Cory	15	City Youth Club/Market Town Academy Y10	Not known.	Cultural Alternative
Emma	16	City Youth Club/Suburban Academy Y11	C1	Cultural Alternative
Erika	17	City Youth Club/College Media Student	B	Cultural Alternative
Harry	17	City Youth Club/NEET	D	Cultural Alternative
Jamie	18	College Media Student	D	Cultural Alternative
Jayke	16	City Youth Club/Technical College Science & Engineering Student	Not known.	Cultural Alternative
Rebecca	16	City Sixth Form Academy A Level Student	Not known.	Cultural Alternative
Abigail	14	Suburban Youth Club/Suburban Academy Y9	B	Squad Member
Bonnie	14	Suburban Youth Club/Suburban Academy Y9	C1	Squad Member
Danielle	16	Suburban Academy A Level Student	C2	Squad Member
Gabby	13	Suburban Youth Club/Suburban Academy Y9	C2	Squad Member
Isabel	13	Suburban Youth Club/Suburban Academy Y9	B	Squad Member
Liam	16	Suburban Academy A Level Student	C1	Squad Member
Amber	16	City Youth Club/College Supported Learning Dept Student	C1	Suburbanite
Hannah	17	City Youth Club/College Health & Social Care Student	C1	Suburbanite
James	17	College Media Student	C1	Suburbanite
JJ	16	City Youth Club/City 6th Form Academy A Level	Not known.	Suburbanite
Mandy	16	Suburban Youth Club/ Academy A Level	C1	Suburbanite
Michael	17	Suburban Youth Club/Academy A Level	C1	Suburbanite
Atticus	17	College A Level Student	C1	Rural Dweller
Ellie	16	College A Level Student	B	Rural Dweller
Jenson	14	City Youth Club/Market Town Academy Y10	C2	Rural Dweller
Milo	17	College A Level Student	C2	Rural Dweller
42 participants.		**26 Sessions**		
* Names are anonymised.				