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**English Language Arts and
Media Education--Making Links**

**by
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**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts**

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to advance existing Media Education theory by looking at similarities in English Language Arts (ELA) theory and Media Education theory. The study explores similarities and differences between the two areas of study creating a broader understanding of literacy, English Language Arts, Media Education and pedagogy.

In order to clarify the co-relation between English Language Arts theory and Media Education theory, I interviewed experts in both fields to shed light on how these two areas of study complement one another and where the points of difference lie. The information points to the development in theory and opportunities for research that may help teachers in training and classroom teachers integrate Media Education and ELA education.

Abrégé

L'objectif de cette étude est de faire avancer la théorie de l'éducation aux médias en examinant les similarités entre la théorie de *English Language Arts (ELA)** et la théorie de l'éducation aux médias. Cette étude examine les similarités et les différences entre ces deux champs d'études et propose une conceptualisation plus vaste de l'alphabétisation, de *English Language Arts (ELA)*, de l'éducation aux médias et de la pédagogie.

Afin de clarifier la corrélation entre la théorie des *English Language Arts (ELA)* et la théorie de l'éducation aux médias, j'ai questionné des experts dans chaque domaine. Mon objectif était d'éclaircir ce qui unifie et ce qui distingue les deux théories. Les résultats signalent des développements en théorie et des opportunités de recherche qui pourront assister aux enseignants en stage pédagogique. Cette information pourrait aussi aider les enseignants à intégrer l'éducation aux médias et l'éducation ELA dans la salle de classe.

*Un équivalent en français de l'expression *English Language Arts (ELA)* reste encore à trouver.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

As an English teacher, my personal preoccupation with Media Education and its role in the classroom long preceded my decision to formally address it in this study. In its earliest stages, I could not have predicted that my interest in the media would lead me to undertake formal research into the relationships between Media Education and English Language Arts and why English teachers do not incorporate Media Education into their teaching.

The two questions I attempt to answer in thesis are as follows: Is there a strong overlap in English Language Arts (ELA) theory and Media Education theory enabling English teachers to explore media texts in their classroom? If so, what are the barriers to implementing Media Education in ELA? Having answered the questions, I will propose future directions for research and ways to overcome barriers if they exist.

Before describing my research into these question, I would like to tell you how I came to ask them over the course of the twenty years I taught English at the secondary level in Quebec.

The Interest is Born

My earliest experience in Media Education developed in the late 70s. This was a time when many high schools in Quebec became interested in television as an educational technology and capital equipment budgets allowed for the purchase of television cameras, switchers and audio and video recording equipment. I was fortunate enough to be teaching in a school which was extremely well equipped at the time. I considered this to be a very exciting prospect, however it soon became evident that I was one of very few in the school who did. The large majority of my colleagues were quite indifferent to using that technology. Theirs was not a surprising reaction for despite sizable investments in equipment, policymakers did not consider the need to train teachers in the operation of this equipment nor to educate them in how to integrate it into their curricula. As a result the TV studio which was, for the time, "state of the art" was located in one of the most distant corners of the large comprehensive school where I taught and was very seldom used.

Perhaps ironically, another circumstance which influenced my research was the fact that a segment of the student population which was getting less and less attention during those years was the vocational stream, and plans to phase out the vocational program were gaining momentum. I had always asked to teach at least one "General English" class because I truly enjoyed the experience, and I was

apprehensive about how the decision to integrate these students into the regular stream would impact their learning. For example, books for this stream were not a priority for the English Department and it was a challenge to find material which would appeal to these students. Although their reading and writing skills were not at grade level, they were highly insightful young people and saw the lack of appropriate resources as a measure of their importance within the school.

All of the above prompted me to take advantage of the TV Studio. With the help of the Audio Visual Coordinator, my Grade 10 General English class studied the play "Nobody Waved Goodbye" by performing it on videotape. Nobody in the English Department paid any attention to us or questioned my approach to the study of the prescribed text. This afforded us a wonderful opportunity to explore TV as a medium in our own unsophisticated way. I watched as these previously often unmotivated students eagerly learnt how to operate a television camera and switcher. I observed that they needed no coaxing to take on acting roles, each reading his or her part from the text. The end result was not only that they "learned the play", but also that they learned a tremendous amount about television as a medium and about the complexities of producing another kind of meaningful text. At that time, it was too soon for me to attach the meaning I do now to what we had done in that studio, but I never forgot that

experience and I would venture to guess that many of those students also remembered it for many years.

The next year found me teaching the traditional English course to regular and enriched students again. The interest in television production as a subject soon ended at the Ministry of Education, and the TV Studio in my school was eventually dismantled and the equipment moved out to make room for another classroom or another lab--something "more important" than a TV studio. I thought little more about my experience until several years later when I took a one-year leave of absence to begin graduate work in Communication Studies at Concordia University. This is when my latent interest in the field began to surface in an acutely conscious manner.

In retrospect, I can see that my courses in Political Communication, Propaganda, TV Production and Media Forecast were key to my current interest in the media. It was through these courses that I began to recognize just how great the impact was of written and visual messages. Exercises in content analysis added a new dimension to my reading of newspapers and magazines; production of a Public Service Announcement opened my eyes to just how constructed television really was. I struggled with issues in my Propaganda course and had great difficulty writing my final assignment, as I had to

acknowledge that I had been so blind to the nature of propaganda for so long.

The greatest challenge for me was Media Forecast, a seminar course in which we explored the "new" world of technology and the role of the personal computer. The difficulty was not in the academic level of the course; it was far more complex than that. For me, the difficulty was in accepting that computers would have a place in my life. I resisted the notion of something so "technical" and inanimate having such an enormous influence on so many aspects of my life. I decried the loss of the human touch, the demise of traditional modes of conversation and most of all, the library as I knew it and the smell of books which permeated the stacks. I resisted relentlessly as I tried, at the same time, to understand the workings of the computer. Even though this course was the source of much discomfort for me, it was probably one of the most important academic experiences I ever had for it opened my mind to something which had previously been so foreign for me but which later became so natural to me.

After completing a Diploma in Communication Studies, I continued my studies in Educational Technology at Concordia University. I chose courses in designing media messages and formative evaluation of media which stimulated my appetite to learn more. As I continued learning, I continued bringing my new

knowledge to the classroom. One of my most exciting lessons evolved from my study of formative evaluation when I developed a lesson for students in my two Grade 10 classes. We were studying Macbeth at the time, and discussion led to a consideration of how different media influenced how audiences perceived characters in the play. As an experiment after both classes had done a reading of the play from their texts, one class looked at how a TV interpretation affected their reaction to Macbeth and the other listened to an audio-only interpretation of the play to react to him. This was followed by students in both classes completing a questionnaire related to their media experience of the play. The students participated enthusiastically and discussion following the experiment was rich in what it lent to how different media affect a given text.

Changes in the English Curriculum

At the same time I was developing my understanding about media, I began to gain more knowledge about the field of literacy. This was occasioned by changing approaches to the teaching of English which were reflected in new English Language Arts curricula being introduced in Quebec.

The Secondary Curriculum in the English Language Arts Program, which all teachers were to implement, had Language as its

focus, rather than the traditional teaching of Literature and Composition of previous curricula. The program document states two major purposes of Language: It is used for thinking and is a medium of communication.

Following from these premises the document sets out the principles of the Secondary Curriculum. There are six:

1. The student will show an understanding of the communication process:
 - a. by identifying, responding to, and employing the appropriate communication elements in a specific context.
 - b. by interrelating these elements to produce effective communication in a specific context.
2. The student will show an understanding of the nature and function of language:
 - a. by responding to and using in a specific context a language code reflective of the systematic and arbitrary characteristic of language
 - b. by responding to and using a dialect, a register and the usage conventions appropriate to a specific context
 - c. by responding to and using language with the degree of precision

and semantic awareness required by a specific context

d. by responding to and employing a function of language appropriate to a specific context

3. The student will show an understanding of the **types of discourse**:

- a. by responding to and employing the media (aural, visual, print and multi-media) related to a specific context
- b. by responding to and employing the modes of discourse related to a specific context

4. The student will show the ability to understand an **oral, written or visual discourse**:

- a. by following a process of responding appropriately to a specific context
- b. by responding to a specific discourse in terms of the communication process.

5. The student will show the ability to follow an appropriate process in composing an **oral, written, or visual discourse**:

- a. by applying appropriate rehearsal strategies to generate, clarify and expand ideas in a specific context.
- b. by using a **medium, mode, code, and an organizational strategy appropriate to the message and its purpose** in a specific context.

- c. by eliminating envisaged barriers to communication with the intended audience in a specific context.

6. The student will show the ability to develop his/her own viewpoint through participation in the communication process:

- a. by assuming an individual voice in all communications.
- b. by responding in a specific context, to communications of others in an individual way.
- c. by accommodating the responses of others in the confirming or reshaping of his/her own expression and response in a specific communication context. (MEQ, 1982)

The curriculum is a spiral curriculum, the underlying premise being growth and expansion. It recognizes also that not all students enter any given year with the same skills and experiences; therefore, the curriculum is designed to accommodate individual differences and develop them.

Two years earlier, in anticipation of the appearance of this program, the Ministry had produced a set of four Communication Arts Guidebooks which addressed Print, Radio, Television and Film. The Program recommended that teachers use the four guides "...as part of the regular language arts program from Secondary III to Secondary V:

1. To promote students' awareness of the communication process and the media through which it occurs.
2. To develop the students' ability to read, listen and view analytically.
3. To develop in students an awareness of the range of language used in the media, and of its appropriateness to content.
4. To enable students to work together to produce statements which are clear, interesting, informed and appropriate to different media.
5. To develop in students an understanding of the effect of the media. (MEQ. 1981, p.6)

These Program Guides, however, were left largely unused; few teachers even knew of their existence because implementation of this aspect of the English program was not a priority. Evidence of this was clear to me when I noticed that I was the only one in my English Department who claimed a copy of each and soon discovered that the situation was not particular to my school. When attending provincial conferences, meetings and local workshops, the topic did not appear on any agenda. Nevertheless, my copies of the Print and Television Guides were tattered from use, as I relied heavily upon them for a number of years. In retrospect, it is clear that at least a handful of Quebec educators--the authors of the Communication Arts Guides--were true visionaries and well ahead of their time.

My Involvement in Curriculum - Media Files

In 1991 the MEQ strengthened its commitment to Media Education by establishing a Media Education Committee whose mandate it was to revise or rewrite the original Communication Arts Guides. This initiative once again situated Media Education in the Secondary English Language Arts Curriculum as a recommended context for study.

I was invited to be a member of this committee which produced the revised program guide, entitled *Media Files*. It offers activities which combine production and analysis and modules in Print, Radio, TV and Film and Popular Culture. As a result of my earlier activities in my ELA classes related to Media Education, I was invited to share my experiences. My contribution was the module on Journalism and in it, I present classroom activities which worked for me and my students. Examples of these lessons include one related to various kinds of newspapers and how the Tabloid differs from the Daily paper. Also included in the module is an activity dealing with headlines and editing. Another deals with angle in reporting and includes photo journalism. The discussion of magazines had often provoked much interest with my students, so activities related to creating various kinds of magazines are included in the Journalism module as well. I also include discussion and activities related to the role of advertising in the media.

The committee put a great deal of thought into the rationale of *Media Files. Notes to the Teacher*, which introduces each module and states:

"Language, in all its different modes and media, saturates our lives. Learning to differentiate our own words and meanings from all other meanings in the world is essential to achieving power and control over our individual lives. Without the opportunity to become fluent in the language of different media, of print or spoken word and image, human beings would never see themselves as active agents in the world.

(MEQ, 1995, p.2)

The Notes to the Teacher go on to question the degree to which we address the language of the media and the skill that many of us bring to the reading of media other than print:

This question becomes crucial to the classroom and particularly (though not exclusively) to the discipline of English language arts, especially when we consider the emphasis we place on language as a means of empowering persons, and of transforming society. The language of different media texts are influential in constructing values, social conventions and norms, opinions and attitudes, as well as new knowledge.... Given the enormous influence which the media hold in our lives, and in the lives of our students, it is essential that we bring the language of the media into our classrooms with the goal of

teaching the young how to become critical readers and writers.
(MEQ, 1995, p.3)

Media Files has, as its pedagogical goal:

To produce critical readers and writers, students who come to understand how the media work as they actively experiment with different media.

(MEQ, 1995, p.5)

Media Files was completed and became available to school boards in Quebec in August, 1995. English Language Arts Consultants across the province were asked to disseminate the *Media Files* and encourage their use among ELA teachers.

English Language Arts and Media Education--Similarities, Differences and Barriers to Implementation

The excerpts from *Media Files* Introduction reflect my understanding of how Media Education is a legitimate part of English Language Arts education. It seemed to me that there was ample evidence of the similarities between the two fields and I was able to combine education about the media in my own English classroom; however, as I've already observed in this narrative, many of my colleagues did not seem to see the connections I saw. Most of them did

not incorporate the media into their teaching--in fact, they resisted it. In the light of my own anecdotal evidence, I felt it was necessary to investigate whether there were leading theorists in ELA and Media Education who could support my understandings, whether the resistance of English teachers to teaching about the media I observed was widespread and if so, what were the barriers that caused this resistance.

Therefore, I planned to review the literature of English Language Arts theory and Media Education theory and to conduct a series of interviews with some English Language Arts/Media Education experts and triangulate these with my own findings and experiences. In doing so, I hope to be able to point the way to further research and make suggestions as to what needs to be done to overcome the resistance I have observed. In Chapter 2, I will review the literature in English Language Arts as it relates to Media Education and look at the one study that investigates the extent to which English teachers teach Media Education in their English classes.

In Chapter 3, I will describe the methodology I used in setting up and conducting the interviews with the experts. In Chapter 4, I will discuss what the experts had to say about the relationships between ELA education and Media Education and what their observations were about whether there were "barriers" and the possible reasons for these

barriers. Finally, in Chapter 5 I will suggest a possible course of action and further research.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

While exploring the media in my English classes and studying about the media and communication, I was able to make several observations about the study of English and the media, about teachers' reactions to change and about policies which did and did not contribute to more realistic and relevant practices in the classroom. These, however, were simply personal observations and remained anecdotal. I recognized that in order to establish their validity I needed to go to the literature in English and Media Education to find support for my own thesis that the two were alike. There is perhaps some irony to the fact that although I had taught English throughout my teaching career, it was Media Education which led me to the research on the study of English.

A Notion of English Language Arts (ELA): Allowing for the Media

A number of authors have written about the changes in English education since the late 19th century (see, for eg. Applebee, 1974). A major turning point in thinking about the nature of English studies and teaching in the schools occurred in the late 1960s and early '70s as a result of the Dartmouth Conference reported on by, among others, Dixon (1970). A group of British and American educators presented the

notion that instead of being about the analysis of Literature and the writing of Compositions--considered by most English teachers to be two separate (and often unrelated) subjects, English education ought to be about Language; instead of the purpose of English studies being the delivery to students of the cultural heritage of English Literature and the modelling of excellent expression, English studies ought to be about enabling students to understand the world in which they live and developing their abilities to communicate these understandings to others; instead of being fixed, universal skills or information that students learned or practised until they were able to imitate successfully, English studies were developmental, involved students experimenting, inventing and trying a variety of different forms of language intended for different groups of people in different situations. In short, this change in thinking marks the emergence of English Language Arts as the latest iteration of English education. It is this conceptualization that allows for Media Education to be considered as English education.

Rather than document in detail the evolution of English Language Arts education, I will highlight some of the aspects of theory that enable ELA and Media Education to be linked.

Language as a Process

Britton (1970) states that we construct a representation of the world as we experience it and generate from this representation expectations of the future. The primary task for speech, he says, is to symbolize reality, and through communication with others our representations are affected by the representations of others. It is through combining ways of using language--the oral, visual and written modes--to represent our worlds, that we communicate. When we use language, what is organized is more than words; included are images which draw from all the senses, as well as ideas and beliefs (Dixon, 1970).

Mellon (1981) discusses the notion of "wholeness" as he comments on the acquisition of discourse skills. He defines this as the ability to acquire the complex mental structures which allow readers and writers to connect sentences into larger linguistic wholes, sometimes called "blocks" or "chunks." This is simply an extension of what occurs as a sequence of words takes on new meaning when it is read as a sentence. When it occurs with a series of sentences, our discourse skills allow us to understand the sequence of sentences that would mean something different if viewed as something other than a "chunk" or as a single piece of discourse.

Mellon (1981) also points out that while the acquisition of discourse skills is mostly unconscious, the rate and extent of learning can differ from one student to another at any given time. When students read, write, talk and discuss, they are exercising and developing their discourse skills.

In a discussion of language competence, Mellon (1981) refers to a long list of educational goals which include: grade-level reading ability; listening skills; critical reading; writing for self-expression; an introductory acquaintance with the literature, rhetoric, grammar and visual studies. He states the importance of our knowledge of the wholeness of language competence and the skills associated with this competence. Mellon's research (1981) also supports that central to this discussion is the distinction between the linguistics' approach to language learning and that of the educator.

The linguistic and psychological approaches see the process as independent of which particular language a person learns in infancy; language competency is acquired innately and from the environment during the first three or four years of life, so that by the time children begin school, they already possess language competence. The teacher, however, stresses the importance of performance--language skills acquired throughout the school years.

Moffett and Wagner (1976) see discourse as a term that covers all four of the basic language arts—speaking, listening, reading and writing, all of which are grounded in the activity of thinking. Discourse, they state, describes the four-way nature of verbal communication. A single instance of discourse is any complete communication having a sender, receiver and message bound by a purpose. According to them, discourse encourages us to deal with comprehension and communication which vary with the kind of discourse.

Understanding Language--Part of the Process

The work of British researchers, Doughty, Pearce and Thornton (1971) illustrates their concern not only with students' uses of language, but also with what they understand about how their oral and written language function and how much they are actually able to control their own use of it. These researchers state that what sets our relationship with our mother tongue apart from our relationship with other areas of study is the fact that no matter how unsophisticated and perhaps inadequate we may be in the command of that language, our knowledge of it is extensive and instinctive. Children begin their relationships with their language long before they began their formal educations, a critical point too often overlooked by teachers and parents (Doughty et al 1971).

During the years when children are learning to speak, they explore what *makes* language and how it functions for them as they use it in different situations. Dixon (1970) posits that language is a highly-organized systematic means of representing experience and it assists us to organize all other ways of representing. He expands on this to say that the ability to use language has grown from the overlap of experiences of the word in use as applied to the user's own familiar experience.

This supports Doughty's position that to a large extent, children's use of language develops intuitively so that by the time they attend school, they are certainly fluent speakers whose social and emotional lives have also developed, making them well aware that they can use language in different ways to achieve certain results (Doughty et al 1971). They learn on their own that they can use their language to express and serve their emotions (Doughty et al, 1971).

Moffett and Wagner (1976) also look at the process of using language and point to experience as an important factor in the communication process. They identify conceptualization as the first level at which we encode experience; verbalization as the second and literacy as the third. They define these three levels of coding as follows:

Coding

1. conceptualization	experience into thought	non-verbal
2. verbalization	thought into speech	oral
3. literacy	speech into print	written

Moffett and Wagner (1976) have developed eight communication goals which can interrelate media, subject areas, language arts and other arts to a create a common ground for an interdisciplinary curriculum:

1. **Heed signals from all sources.**
2. **Gain access to all sources of information, inside and outside oneself.**
3. **Overcome the amnesia toward the past and the anesthesia toward the present caused by pain and socialization and open all channels to memory, perception and feeling.**
4. **Find out what the environment shows, what other people know, what records store and what media convey.**
5. **Discriminate different sources and abstraction levels of information and understand what each is worth.**
6. **Enlarge to its fullest, the range of what one can conceive, transmit and respond to how one can conceive, transmit and respond.**
7. **Find out what various media can and cannot do—language, body expression, graphic arts, movies and television competing with and complimenting each other.**

8. Become familiar with all roles--sender, receiver, subject--and with the varying distances and relations among them--communicating to oneself, to known individuals, remote audiences, for example, or communicating about oneself, firsthand subjects, abstract subjects and so on. (Moffat and Wagner, 1976).

Language and Culture

Sola & Bennett (1985) illustrate that children bring to school not only an intuitive awareness of language based on how it is used in society, but also a broad foundation of experiences which reflect society. As they use their knowledge of language to express themselves in writing, there are strong connections between what they think and what they write. These connections are shaped by social, political, economic and ideological dimensions of their social realities. Teachers need to use this foundation rather than try to replace it with a contrived body of knowledge which often sheds too little light on what is real to their students.

Language should be used in school very much as it is used in students' worlds outside of school, and bridging the gap between these two worlds is one way of increasing students' competence with all texts (Doughty et al, 1971). Language extends beyond the English class, for people must understand the way that language functions in all texts as

well as how to use it for various purposes in various situations (Doughty et al, 1972; Medway, 1991). Although teachers themselves may do this, they tend not to see it as an important part of what they teach their students about language (Doughty et al, 1972).

There is a general assumption about language that because we are so familiar with it, we have a complete understanding of it. However, this familiarity may suggest simply competence and not full knowledge about the language. It is through exploring language and its uses that learners acquire an ability to interpret cultural experiences (Doughty et al, 1972).

Language and Experience

Because students have various attitudes about language and its uses, teachers need to consider the nature and function of language outside their own experiences and recognize the language experiences of their students (Doughty et al, 1972). It is important to recognize that the "nonstandard" dialects spoken by most children do not reflect deficiencies in their language competence, but are merely differences from the so-called standard. They are of no consequence informationally in the communication process except that they are considered stigmatizing by middle and upper social status persons (Mellon, 1981).

The relationship between the students' worlds and the world of the school should, and can, be nurtured in school if teachers encourage their students to respond honestly to texts. However, the teacher's role must accommodate this honesty and acknowledge that social, economic and cultural realities produce a variety of responses to any given text. This reaction reflects and reinforces the deconstructionalist argument that no work can have a fixed meaning, based on the complexity of language and usage. Nurturing children's relationships with their emotions and experiences requires that teachers respect these responses and experiences, which is very different from earlier approaches which required that teachers concern themselves with what their students knew *about* language rather than what they knew about the function of that language (Doughty et al, 1971).

Many of the previous observations lead to a new awareness about the importance of the student and what he/she brings to the experience of learning. The whole notion of personal experience and cultural influences become relevant to the discussion as does the realization that people read and write in a variety of ways for a variety of reasons. This awareness leads to looking at different models of teaching about texts as well as expanded notions of texts.

Reading Language: The Transactional Model and the Relationship Between Audience and Text

Louise Rosenblatt's work (1978) examines the roles of both reader and text, stressing the importance of each. The readers' experiences become part of how they negotiate meaning from the text, making the relationship between reader and text an event in a particular time and place and creating the transactional process in which various elements become aspects of a total situation. These include the experience the reader brings to the text, cultural influences and social influences. Margaret Meek (1988) explores the written word and reinforces this point, for she states that there is no such thing as a neutral text. Reading does not happen in a vacuum; rather, the reading process relies on the reader's involvement with what she/he reads and with what she/he can share and transfer from one experience to another.

Kathleen McCormick, Gary Waller with Linda Flower (1992) explore the concept of texts and offer what they call a New Model for reading. The "old" model calls upon the reader to find the meaning contained in the text; the "new" model allows for readers to combine their knowledge of the language and literary conventions with their general assumptions about the world at large and other cues in the text to then make sense of what they have read. This is very much an extension of Rosenblatt's research for like her, McCormick, Waller and

Flower consider reading to be an active response by which readers create their own versions of the text. The new model described by McCormick, Waller and Flower (1992) emphasizes the following three points:

- No one-to-one correspondence exists between signifiers and signifieds; that is, words have multiple meanings, no one of which can be said to be "correct."
- Different readers attach different signifieds to the signifiers in a text, and thereby readers help to create the texts they read.
- The relationship between signifiers and signifieds is cultural (and the existence of different signifieds in different languages can lead to marked differences in ways different language users perceive the world.)

Language and Ideology

In observing the role of audience in the school situation, Britton, Burgess, Martin, McLeod and Rosen (1975) note that pupils operate within a culture which exerts an influence not only on the values they express, but also in how they express them. It will also lead them to construct their audiences largely in the way their culture constructs them. To some extent, they note, pupils and teachers will share the culture of the classroom. However, there will also be frequent

diversions which result from class differences, varying home situations and differences in lifestyles and values.

Language is often thought of only in the context of words, in isolation from their occurrence in the way that they are written and/or spoken. This view does not consider the role of cultural and/or historical perspectives so that many teachers assess their students' writing by looking at how these students' experience of language coincides with their own (Doughty et al 1972). Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily in the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is overpopulated with the intentions of others (Sola & Bennett, 1985).

Anderson (1988) sees the cultural focus as an important one in a discussion of education, for the media are part of the apparatus by which the culture is produced. In his discussion of the effects of enculturation, he points out that children experience a socialization process which shapes their values and generates the filters through which reality passes. Texts become an agent in this process and making meaning is a very individual response so that the culture of one's society is experienced and reproduced by each individual.

McCormick, Waller and Flower (1992) state that language is always value laden and carries deep ideological precepts. They refer

specifically to newspapers, television and radio as contexts where language may seem at first to be a simple means for communication, but in fact may really be value-laden purveyors of ideology.

Therefore, it follows that students create their own ideologies of the media by combining many texts--the text of the TV screen, the text of the magazines they read, the text of the billboards they see, and most important, the texts of their own life experiences. Anderson (1988) observes how texts are perceived in the author/creator-audience relationship. The author/creator of any text may well perceive the experiences embedded in that text in one way while each reader may perceive them very differently, making the notion of one "correct" meaning elusive. Anderson points out that the media are very much a part our environments, and there are a number of media which provide many different principles of reality. The text cannot exist without the reader, and true "reading" is not simply decoding symbols; it is decoding and making meaning of the symbols.

Linking English Studies and Media Education

As a result of British and American researchers' work into the study of English and the acceptance of new notions of discourse, communication, language and audience, there came a new awareness also that media texts were natural contexts for these facets of learning.

It soon became evident that media texts could be a legitimate part of English studies. This notion was complemented by the work of a group of English educators from Britain, Canada and Australia who were exploring and developing how the media might be studied. As a result of their interest in both English and media, they concurred that the English curriculum was a natural place for Media Education.

In fact, Marland (1977) outlines some of the objectives and the policy of England's Bullock Report of 1975 which did, in fact, attempt to address the study of TV. Although it clearly stated: "Any policy concerned with language must include reference to the dominant entertainment and art form of our age, television." and went on to recognize TV as a part of contemporary culture and recommended "...a legitimate study for schools," it misses the mark on its recommendations. It defines the school's role in "...promoting a discriminating approach to it (TV)..." Despite having acknowledged the above, the Report places discussion of TV at the end of Chapter 22, entitled "Technological Aids and Broadcasting" rather than including it with discussion on talk, reading and literature early in the Report (1975).

Marland (1977) points out that study of TV is misplaced in the Bullock Report; however, he goes on to state that when dealing with TV in the classroom, emphasis should definitely *not* be on criticism.

This, he says, will drive the enjoyment out of pupils' lives; something to be avoided at all costs. He explains, "The sharing of enthusiasm is more educative than the attempt to persuade to see the faults in certain programs." This is one example of where The Bullock report and some later Media Education theory do not share common ground. The former continues to use the media to look at a literary text in a different way; Media Education provides the opportunity for teachers and students to identify some of the characteristics of the languages of different media so that they may be used with precision and semantic awareness. Media Education considers this aspect of its theory to be crucial if it is to be anything more than an adjunct to the traditional print literary text (Media Files, 1995).

The difference between the theories of ELA and Media Education is further illustrated by the following recommendations of the Bullock Report with regard to three complementary approaches to including study of TV across the curriculum:

- a) the group study of TV programs, extracts and scripts alongside other media dealing with the same theme;
- b) the study of a full-length TV work in its own right, with associated discussion and writing;

- c) the study of TV as a medium, with some exploration of production methods, comparison with other media and analysis of the output of programs.

Marland proposes that the group study of TV programs, extracts and scripts alongside other media dealing with the same theme would be best suited to the Humanities while the study of a full-length TV work in its own right, is likely to "...the province of English when plays or dramatizations will be the main fare...." Once again, TV becomes very incidental and useful as a means for studying other content rather than the texts of the media being used as a context for study. It also presumes that TV is primarily a leisure activity rather than a context for serious study.

Marland's above-stated position has been greatly altered more recently as a result of the ubiquitous nature of television and other forms of mass media as well as the proliferation of discussion of newer technologies. The Kingman Report (Cox, 1991) states, "To the language of books is added the language of television and radio...the proceeded codes of the computer. As the shapes of literacy multiply, so our dependence on language increases."

In his work in language and learning, Dixon (1970) observed that change in the classroom is critical and that the process of school learning must merge into processes of learning that begin at birth and

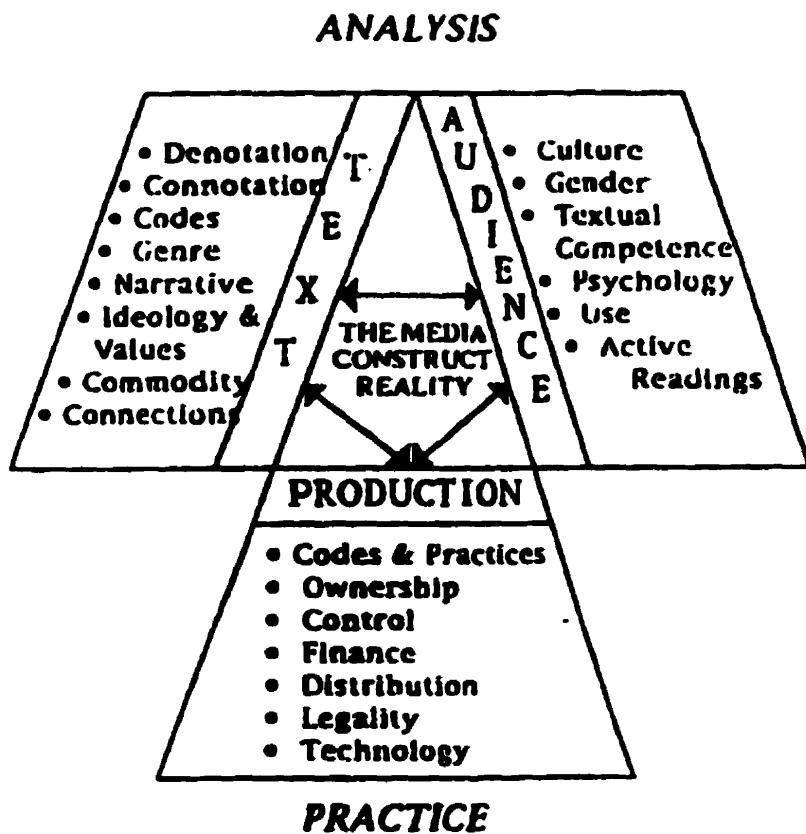
are life long. He cautioned teachers against struggling to preserve their own standards and pointed toward recognizing the media as sources of children's experiences, specifically film, television and stage plays. He predicted that it was a matter of time before this realization affects the school curriculum.

Models for the Study of Media

Emery (1997) observes that over the past decade the work of a number of media educators including Masterman, Buckingham McMahon, Quin, Bazelgette and Duncan has resulted in a set of concepts which form the basis of a Media Education framework. The central premise of this framework serves as the basis of this study and may be summarized as follows:

All media texts are constructions. The media are involved in a process of constructing reality rather than simply transmitting or reflecting it. (p. 136)

Eddie Dick of Scotland elaborates on this premise with the following conceptual framework for media education (Emery, 1997).



Courtesy of Eddie Dick, Scottish Film Council

Emery (1997) summarizes the fundamental premise about the definition of Media Education by extending the popular notion that the media are "windows on the world" or "mirrors" which reflect reality totally. For Emery the underlying principle of all media education is the notion that all media texts are constructions, and the media are involved in a process of constructing reality rather than transmitting

or reflecting it. He expands on the concept and suggests that the kind of Media Education which devolves from a deeper study of the media would enable people to:

- Develop knowledge and awareness of the social, cultural, political and economic implications of media messages in order to interpret the ways in which the media actively construct reality;
- Deconstruct media products in order to identify and examine not only the variety of techniques and rhetorical strategies used to create them, but also the cultural practices, ideas and values invested in them;
- Develop an awareness of the multiplicity of motivations, controls, and constraints that those who construct media products are subject to, and the sources--economic, political, technical and social--of these influences;
- Develop an understanding that the meaning of these constructed messages resides as much in the individuals who read media texts as they do in the texts themselves, that the process of interpretation of media messages is highly selective and contingent on cultural, historical, environmental and psychological factors. (Emery, 1997).

Dick's graphic representation is also summarized by Emery (1997) so as to consider the three elements: Production, Text, Audience. On Production, Emery states that for a better understanding of the intricacies of the media, students must investigate a number of questions about how the media are produced, who produces them and for what reason. On Text, he notes that a true understanding of media texts can be achieved only by addressing media rhetoric which is the ensemble of knowledge and skills used by the media to construct meaning, to produce their effects. This leads to an assumption that an understanding of media rhetoric should be acquired through both the production and deconstruction of media texts.

Finally, on the element of Audience, Emery corrects the unfortunate but widely held belief that media audiences are passive receivers of information. Instead, he cites evidence which indicates that meaning is produced by the transaction between reader (audience) and text (Rosenblatt, McCormack, Waller and Flower, 1978). The conclusion is that audiences can be highly actively involved in interacting with media texts.

Masterman, (1985) a principal theorist of the field, makes an assessment of how Media Education should be taught which complements Dick's model.

Masterman states:

Teaching effectively about media demands non-hierarchical teaching modes and a methodology which will promote reflection and critical thinking whilst being as lively, democratic, group-focused and action-oriented as the teacher can make it (*Teaching the Media* p. 27).

Much of the work of Masterman (1980, 1985) into Media Education is related to the English curriculum. He considers the role of the audience in both the media and English programs, noting that despite the reality that the audience is so crucial to the text, it has been largely neglected in both subject areas. This is, in part, an extension of the literary tradition which tends to subordinate the reader in favor of the authority of authorship and the text itself; the former gaining importance for its claim to "creativity," the latter for its claim to "meaning" (Masterman, 1985). There is an obvious absence of consideration of the audience's potential interpretive or ideological contribution to the text, thus reinforcing the belief that the reader is passive and simply absorbs the intended meaning of the text. Once again this points to the belief that the audience simply decodes symbols rather than going beyond to actually *make meaning* of these symbols.

In their work in media studies, McMahon and Quin (1994) extend the importance of the audience/text relationship to practices in

Media Education. They stress the importance of paying attention to what readers bring to the text-- in this case, the media texts--noting that instead, teachers may often concentrate too much on the text's imminent meaning. Quin (1994) elaborates and refers to audience research by Morley, Radway and Livingstone (1984) who demonstrate "...the *polysemy* of texts, their potentiality for many meanings, and furthermore that the audience are active participants in the production of meaning."

McCormick, Waller and Flower (1992) use much the same argument in defending the new model of reading texts. They maintain that the notion of a single or true meaning intended by an author is problematic. Literature, they state, is *polyvalent*; it can have many meanings which are produced by social and cultural forces that change over time.

In considering the importance of meaning as it relates to Media Education, Anderson's position (1988) corresponds to the above notion of audience/text relationship. Anderson contends that meaning is often believed to be the result of a delivery system incorporated in the text so that the meaning is contained in the text and delivered to the audience. He presents an alternative construction of this idea and like Rosenblatt, (1978) and McCormick, Waller and Flower (1992), he contends that meaning is something which we work to achieve with

the context of the social action of interpretation. This applies to the text, whether it appears in a book, in a newspaper, on a television monitor or on a billboard. Anderson talks about "meaning making," describing meaning as the process by which an individual sees a sign and ascribes meaning to it according to what it means to him/her at that time in that place.

Ideological Differences

The above-mentioned response to meaning supports the fact that there is more than the one "real" world which classrooms have traditionally contrived, and more than one mode of expression. Golay (1988) expands on the notion of influences of the social environment and in commenting on the necessity of Media Education, he warns against underestimating children's and teenagers' aptitudes to master an environment that is natural, familiar and in which they are comfortable.

Masterman and Abbott (1997) explore the issues of access marked by the growth of the information technologies and their relationship to the teaching of English. Because these technologies are so widespread and accessible, it raises questions about the implications of these technologies for large numbers of people.. They observe how these technologies change the role of the teacher, pointing out that

while much English teaching in the past has been devoted to the defence of minority culture, the new technologies encourage the development of more pluralistic and diverse perspectives.

It follows, then, that there is a need to expand definitions and concepts of texts and how they are read. Quin & McMahon (1996) and Quin (1996) make the connection very concrete as they point out that the principles involved in teaching reading and in teaching viewing have much in common. They also state that as a corollary, the belief that many of the understandings and skills which teachers already possess about teaching reading are directly applicable to teaching about visual texts and visual language.

The process of making meaning is largely influenced by each reader's own reality. Anderson (1988) states that text exists in the form of its interpretation which is emergent, prolific and an ongoing process. So, he claims, the text gets constituted and reconstituted each time it appears for the reader; it is only when we cannot reconstitute it that the content dies for us.

Golay (1988) grounds much of his discussion of Media Education in the broader context of the communication process which is at the core of any discussion of interacting with text. Golay sees the process of understanding communication as too vast to undertake all at once and

suggests aiming at one component at a time. Media Education, he suggests, has to be a collection of co-ordinated educational activities which need to be well-planned in order to be effective. These activities, although grounded in the communication process, are useful in a number of subject areas in addition to Media Education. Using a Communications model, Golay emphasizes that acts of communication process mental images (regardless of the message being communicated) as well as objective reality. The producer conveys his/her perception of reality, not reality itself; the receiver processes the image of an image. This approach is yet another reflection of Rosenblatt's (1978) and Meek's (1988) theories concerning the audience-text relationship and the process of negotiating meaning.

Like reading and writing, Media Education is a culturally-specific activity. Because issues vary from culture to culture, it is important to remember that particular meanings are anchored to particular images and situations. It is also important to acknowledge the impact and influence of social phenomena like the family, peer group, and opinion leaders when considering how audiences do make meaning from text. These influences, however, have been largely ignored in audience research (Masterman, 1992). A discussion of visual images is, in effect, a discussion of the reading process, linking Media Education and traditional concepts of reading. In the case of visual text, we read images; as with print, the process becomes problematic because of the

ambiguity of the text and what the reader brings to it (Masterman, 1992).

In further considering the relationship between reader, text and reality, Fiske (1987) points to the notion that Structuralism denies the possibility of a true consciousness, for reality can only be given sensible meaning through language or other cultural meaning systems and must always be understood in terms of how it is made. In the audience-text discussion, a familiar concept to educators involved in ELA, is the concept that TV programs are relatively open texts which can be read in different ways by different people (Hall, 1987). Once again, both Masterman's and Rosenblatt's claims are reinforced. Hall, like Rosenblatt, Anderson and Masterman, reminds us that there is a necessary co-relation between people's social situations and the meanings they generate from a text, in this case, a TV program.

The research of McMahon and Quin (1992) is relevant to this point. In assessing the aims, course content and strategies of Western Australia's Media Education Continuum, they found that while most students demonstrated a solid foundation in analysis skills, they lacked sufficient ability to recognize the cultural content and social impact of the mass media.

The "Right" Place for Media Education

Buckingham (1991) like Masterman (1980, 1985) and Masterman and Abbott (1997), has written about the relationship between media studies and English in the British curriculum. Although Buckingham supports the notion that there are similarities, he sees differences between the two. These differences, he contends, must be considered when the two subjects are being embedded in the same curriculum. He adds another dimension to the discussion by stating that there ought to be differences in the approach the teacher adopts to dealing with each—even when that teacher teaches both.

Buckingham (1991) illustrates what he calls a paradoxical relationship between English and media studies by stating that many teachers consider Media Education as simply an element of English. On the other hand, he goes on to say that advocates of media studies readily emphasize its differences from English in terms of pedagogy and fundamental principals. He defines the differences in the following manner:

- the two areas are concerned with different kinds of texts.
- English is predominantly concerned with written texts, books in particular.
- the media are considered to use "modern" or electronic technologies and are produced to reach very large audiences.

In considering these differences, Buckingham points out that the distinctions teachers make are not between two subject areas; rather they are judgments about what they consider "high culture" (the English curriculum) and "low or popular culture" (the media), the latter being less valuable and the former describing the received canon of texts which merit the label, "literature." Masterman and Abbott (1997) comment on this, noting that the notion of "high quality" media needs to be considered or one is left with the impression that the media are, for the most part, unworthy of serious considerations apart from a few "high quality" texts which may be admitted to the canon of acceptable work. They also agree that Media Education as well as information technologies raise fundamental questions of values and point to the fact that the teaching of English has had as its moral centre the notion of literary value. The newer technologies, they contend, raise equally fundamental questions about the preservation of democratic and humane values in an Information Society.

The Teacher's Approach

Buckingham (1994) puts forth an important proposition about the likelihood of teachers to use different approaches to the study of English and the Media and also indicates that they bring very different assumptions to these approaches. "Literature" is seen to have broadly 'humanizing' effects on the reader; it encourages the development of

sensitivity to language, culture and human relationships. The media, on the other hand, are often seen to have predominantly negative effects. They are often believed to manipulate and deceive readers into accepting false values in ways which readers themselves may be powerless to resist. Added to that is the general assumption that the media, especially TV, are only a means of entertainment.

Bianculli (1992) points out that a blanket condemnation of television by what he calls "anti-TV elitists" rejects works of art, music, literature and drama which that same critic would embrace in any form *other than* television. Bianculli says, "...when you begin discussing individual worth instead of total worthlessness, you're talking criticism rather than condemnation. You're talking value judgments about things that can, and often do, have value."

A research project by Hart and Benson (1994) entitled, *The Models of Media Education*, was the only study that I could find which was conducted amongst English teachers and looked at links between English and Media Education. This study was conducted with teachers at the secondary level in the UK and explored some critical questions about uncertainties about Media Education. Although Hart and Benson acknowledged the importance of what and how children learn, their research was more concerned with understanding how teachers teach when they teach Media Education. Hart and Benson observed

eleven lessons and reported on their findings. These findings, although based on teaching practices and curricula in the U.K., are important to my study for they are relevant to what some of the experts later said in my conversations with them.

The following questions were addressed by Hart and Benson in their study:

- What are English teachers in the UK doing when they claim to be teaching Media as part of the English curriculum?
- Do they see the study of the media as important in its own right or as a means of achieving more traditional English goals?
- On what body of theory are they drawing?
- What are their basic purposes and methods?

Some of the main findings of this survey indicate that Awareness of Audience as a concept is probably the element of Media Education most enthusiastically embraced by English teachers in the study. While most of these teachers believed that Media Education should be part of students' secondary education, none of the schools concerned had yet developed a policy for Media Education. Interestingly, some of the teachers expressed anxiety about attitudes of colleagues in their own department and feared some disapproval of what was sometimes seen as "study of ephemera." Some teachers had

difficulty bridging the gap between their own experience of the media and their students' experiences. (Hart and Benson, 1994).

Another interesting but not surprising finding of the Hart and Benson study (1994) was that even those teachers with the most positive attitudes towards Media Education tended to value it initially for its insights into and new approaches to the study of language and literary texts.

Bazelgette (1996) points to what she considers to be a central crisis facing the study of English and media today. She suggests that in practice, many teachers in Great Britain cannot agree that moving image texts are part of English. She posits that many of these teachers do not yet recognize what such an agreement would really mean. Hart and Benson (1994) explore the same issue. They note that there is confusion amongst teachers in Britain over whether Media Education means that the media are a convenient way of bolstering traditional English teaching or whether it entails specifically studying the media themselves.

Bazelgette (1996) points out that presumably English teachers are in the business of understanding how texts work and how meaning is created. They should, therefore, understand that there are differences between the static texts of the page and/or computer screen and time-

based texts like film and television, and these differences are important. She concludes, however, that despite claims that English is not in the verbal language business anymore but in the vastly wider field of any and every kind of communication, no real revolution has taken place (1966).

Coghill (1993) identifies a diversity of attitudes and common sense understanding of media literacy as key issues in the introduction of Media Education in Ontario until 1989. At that time, the English Curriculum Guidelines in that province provided little elaboration of theory linking traditional views of composing and reading to the media. The introduction of The Media Literacy Resource Guide: Intermediate and Senior Divisions improved on this deficit. However, Coghill refers to the implementation of Media Education in Ontario as uneven and fragmented, citing the absence of in-service opportunities for teachers and little local introduction to the new Guide as key factors. Other major issues identified by Coghill are individual teachers' personal histories, interests and training.

Anderson's research (1988) reveals similar attitudes in his discussion of indirect effects in curriculum design and the tendency to assume that if teachers include Media Education in many settings, those teachers are not teaching something "culturally significant." This is especially applicable to TV, a common focus in Media

Education. Because it is generally considered to be merely a source of entertainment at best as a society, Anderson claims we do not value it nor are we very interested in it. Bianculli (1992) quotes Robert Thompson, associate professor and specialist in media studies at Syracuse University as he supports the study of television: "Because you're arguing in defense of television," he says, "they think you're therefore arguing for the abolition of study of the classics." Thompson indicates that in some academic circles, support of television as a subject worthy of scholarly scrutiny is often misconstrued as an assault on reading and literacy.

Even where Media Education and/or visual literacy appears to be addressed, Bazelgette (1996) argues that the deliberately all-inclusive rhetoric used has been preoccupied with maintaining an opposition to exclusive and limited versions of culture as exemplified in the literary canon. However, she notes that this rhetoric fails to offer teachers a proper taxonomy of texts. This failure creates the impression that there is little involved in teaching about the media. It suggests that every kind of media text can be taught in the same way.

Aptitude Plus Attitude

Buckingham (1994) points out that some assumptions about the media lead to different kinds of approaches to the reading process influenced by teachers' receptiveness to literature, something they perceive as "good" and Media Education, which many see as encouraging students to see through something they consider to be fundamentally "bad." Therefore, it is very important to consider how the two objects of study are defined, for this could strongly influence how Media Education is presented not only in terms of the different strategies that may be employed, but also in terms of underlying messages the pedagogy carries. This point is supported by the argument that the written texts children are taught to produce in US schools today are used to carry certain kinds of social relationships and to construct certain kinds of cultural knowledge (Sola & Bennett, 1985). Golay (1988) provides an enlightened and informed model to consider:

"...let us imagine that we give up the attempt to substitute programs officially labeled as "cultural" for programs spontaneously chosen by consumers. Let us imagine that Media Education, at least in a first step, would limit its ambition to helping consumers make the most intelligent and profitable use of programs they had chosen. While doing so, attention is no longer directed towards content; one gives up the idea of opposing productions labeled as mediocre in favor of productions belonging to a healthy corpus known as "the culture."

Attention and education are then directed toward the aptitude of getting information, of increasing, developing and of maturing through contact with the environment. Then culture is no longer the corpus of privileged productions, but an attitude that allows everyone to mature through encounters.

Bianculli (1992) comments on the issue of aptitude too, and refers to the fact that this century has introduced people to media which did not require them to "read" texts in the traditional sense in order to be appreciated. Eyes and ears became increasingly important as radio, film and TV became increasingly popular. When people quote from these media with accuracy and enthusiasm, Bianculli maintains that they are demonstrating a fluency--a literacy--in that medium which does not suggest a relative illiteracy in the print medium.

Other factors are significant to the communication process. Sola & Bennett (1985) point out that many classrooms are microcosms of the world and are culturally and ethnically mixed. Here, language and discourse take two forms--the official (governed by teachers and administrators) and the unofficial (more covert and governed by students). The latter could involve a variety of materials that anthropologists would call "cultural artifacts": comic books, teen magazines, computer games and the like, which are sometimes confiscated by teachers. An attribute of the skilled teacher, however, is

the ability to deal effectively with this unofficial discourse while still maintaining instructional discourse rather than to deem it illegitimate. Bennett & Sola (1984) suggest that much of students' awareness of how to construct the dramatic form which is considered part of the "official" discourse may come from their experience with TV soap operas, sitcoms and other popular dramatic forms (Sola & Bennett, 1985).

The Cultural Studies Influence

Anderson (1988) considers this concept and points to the influence of cultural studies in discussing ideology and hegemony, indicating that the terms can be observed in two ways. Hegemony as a broad term, can encompass ideology and is usually based on class, race or gender. In this model the social structure is kept in place and implies managing a number of ideologies while still maintaining the dominant one. Ideology, when not placed within the context of hegemony, refers to a set of beliefs which enable or empower a particular social structure. Anderson elaborates on the issue of power, stating that culture contains a set of power relationships which govern the status and conduct of individuals.

These relationships are significant in a discussion of Media Education for they shed light on the interdependence of institutions. Giroux (1990) calls into question the general belief that US schools are

relatively neutral institutions whose language and social relations mirror principals of equal opportunity. Giroux holds that the power/language relationship needs to be analyzed with attention to historical contexts and conflicts central to its purpose and meaning. His contention, as well as Anderson's attention to relationships between institutions, are significant in showing that the education system influences whether or not the media will be admitted.

Teacher Training and Media Education

Considine (1990) has made several observations about barriers to Media Education in the US noting that by their very natures, schools tend to be "change-resistant organizations." He cites a number of factors which contribute to this situation, several of which relate to teacher training. As Considine points out, teacher training in the US has not always developed at the same pace as the technologies in the schools. Specifically in the area of Media Education, most teacher-training programs have ignored concepts such as visual literacy, critical viewing skills and Media Education. Many teachers, he suggests, do not even effectively utilize the equipment. In considering why teacher training programs have failed to address Media Education, he cites what he calls academic elitism as one reason. He points to a lingering suspicion of instructional media and educational technology and contends that many educators remain unconvinced of the power of the

media. Most of these people have achieved success through their skill with traditional print and words. Because the media did not figure prominently in their own educations, they have no model for using it to teach.

The issue of teacher training for Media Education elicits growing concern in Quebec as well. Many Media Education enthusiasts and some parents decry the lack of attention it receives in Faculties of Education. As lines between technologies become increasingly less distinct, their impact on education is heightened, raising crucial questions about curriculum design and the role of the teacher (Brandeis, 1995).

Teacher training is also an issue in England and despite the dramatic growth of Media Education in that country, there has not been a corresponding expansion of training and development opportunities for teachers. The lack of formal training in Media Education for teachers results in a wide variation in theoretical understanding and classroom practice (Hart and Benson, 1994).

The High Culture/Low Culture Debate

Coghill (1993) points out that media has not been institutionalized as a subject discipline in secondary schools, thus it

does not have a rigid set of pedagogical protocols associated with it in Ontario schools. She questions whether it ever should, stating that the immediate effect of this reality is that Media Education remains a site of struggle as various discourses compete for prominence.

Traditional methods of teaching define what has become an educational and cultural elite, and by virtue of this definition popular culture is most often dismissed as "low brow" despite the major role it plays in young people's cultures. Anderson (1988) reinforces this position as he traces the disappearance of Media Education in the US to the manner in which the "media" of Media Education has been conceptualized. He observes that "...Media Education is trapped inside the attitude that it is a television show, that it is a movie, that it is a radio or a record." And consequently it is trivialized by being seen as "...television, radio, records, instead of a way of conceptualizing the world." To illustrate this concept, Golay (1988) points to the difficulty some teachers have in their willingness to recognize the presence of myths in any part of subcultures they do not share with their students, even if these subcultures express some of the same durable truths which are expressed in well-recognized forms of art.

The notion that visual texts have the same importance as print text is highly problematic as seen by Schaeffer (1984). He addresses the issue and points to the resistance to change attitudes towards visual

texts as the development of a "...quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns as depicted by McLuhan's galaxies;" which, Schaeffer contends, is nothing more than a conflict between text and pictures. By extension, he claims, this rivalry is manifested in the institutional setting and then further manifested amongst professional groups within that setting. He says, "No one takes the trouble to develop co-operation that is so essential between ideas and men, between institutions and networks, and even between different kinds of equipment." There is a universal preoccupation with the printed word and fear of its obsolescence, and Schaeffer (1984) cites the cause of this fear to be the "video culture." Yet, despite the fact that people fear the disappearance of the printed word, Schaeffer points out that in the years between 1974-1984 world book production has almost doubled.

Ely (1988) observes that the nature of the media and technology throughout the world have greatly altered the process of communication. It is the media-saturated society which prompted McLuhan to observe that despite the media's influence in shaping and restructuring life in the information society, education remains relatively unchanged. In *Media Education*, Ely quotes McLuhan:

"There is a world of difference between the modern home environment of integrated electronic information and the classroom. Today's television child is attuned to up-to-the-minute 'adult' news--inflation, rioting, war, taxes, crime,

bathing beauties—and is bewildered when he enters the nineteenth-century environment that still characterizes the educational establishment where information is scarce but ordered and structured by fragmented, classified patterns, subjects and scales." (McLuhan, 1967)

Extending the Definition of Literacy

Ely (1988) stresses the importance of change and sees the problem not simply as one of bringing media into the educational setting, but also of bringing about educational reform. The role of teachers cannot be underestimated in this process, and Ely observes that if change is to come about, teachers will need to learn how to use the media to enrich the classroom experience. By learning to "use" the media, he means more than simply learning to operate the equipment. Ely emphasizes the necessity for teachers to understand the media content and contexts in order to be able to make them an integral part of their instructional plans. He qualifies this position by stressing the need to stretch definitions of "literacy" so as to adopt new approaches without eliminating existing definitions of the word and reminds us that: "A literate person today is one who is able to understand, interpret and use myriad stimuli that are present in a given environment." This definition certainly includes the printed word as an integral part of that stimuli, but Ely cautions against schools which tend to limit teaching to the traditional skills and, it could be added, traditional texts.

The work of Considine and Haley (1992) extend the belief that schools struggling with traditional literacy can find the time to address the other literacies. Considine and Haley believe strongly that media literacy can be integrated into the existing curriculum and that properly implemented, it can strengthen traditional literacy.

Resistance to Change

In commenting on most curriculum development around us, Anderson (1988) states that it is being challenged by the more recent "interpretivist" and "social action" theories which call on us to release our authority as owners of meaning and guardians of right thinking. These theories advocate that we focus our explorations on how children find enjoyment and satisfaction in their lives and adapt our teaching to respond to this. Even as teaching English began to shift away from literary appreciation to include a limited range of "new" media, in terms of the texts the emphasis was on "discriminating within" the mass media rather than simply against it (Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 1994).

Buckingham and Sefton-Green (1994) argue that a broadly defensive approach to popular culture is still quite common among English teachers. They maintain that whether explicitly or implicitly, most teaching about popular culture seeks to wean children off things

that are seen as essentially "bad" for them. They note that an attempt to counteract ideological effects of the media is outwardly very different from the call to preserve cultural heritage which tends to mark the teaching of English. Yet, the former positions teachers and students in similar ways for essentially, the teacher is seen to be in possession of the "truth." Masterman (1980) shows that the criteria for evaluation continue to derive from "high culture." The notion of teaching about popular culture as a matter of inoculation persists largely because it provides teachers with a positive justification of their own power (Buckingham, Sefton-Green, 1994).

Considine's research (1990) advances the theory as he suggests that US schools are lacking in enthusiastic teachers who have the autonomy to undertake new initiatives in Media Education. He goes on to identify academic fragmentation and specialization as conditions which have created barriers between disciplines. As he illustrates, most work in the mass media done at the university level tends to take place in schools of Journalism or Departments of Communication Studies with the result that few Education majors have the opportunity to take courses in this area. The findings of Hart and Benson (1994) confirm Considine's research, as Hart and Benson find that some teachers' tendency to value Media Education initially for its insights into and new approaches to, language study and literary texts.

These teachers brought with them to the study of media texts habits learned from teaching literature.

Willensky (1991) challenges resistance to change by arguing for postmodern literacy and sees that there is something of educational value in this cultural movement. The postmodern inquiry into literacy reveals that writing does not so much reflect a given reality, but how it begins to constitute it. In his discussion, Willinsky refers to several principles of postmodern literacy and notes that the postmodern inquiry into literacy reveals the ways in which writing does not so much mirror or reflect a given reality, but how it begins to constitute it. He points out that at the heart of visual messages remains the written draft and argues that Post modernism is post-literate only in the sense of the word written larger and beyond the page.

Directions for Media Education and English Education

Situating Media Education in the English classroom requires that we acknowledge that there are implications to such an approach. Buckingham and Sefton-Green (1994) state the importance of noting that there are a number of different versions of English and that these versions define the teaching of it. How these versions of English are defined underscores the complexity of the issue. They point out that as

the discussion must now include Media Education and the new technologies, notions of literacy must be expanded. These conversations must continue so that networks of people with different and like ideas about Media Education and English can be established. These networks must then be given opportunities to come together to agree and disagree on definitions of education, technology, the media and culture (Brandeis, 1995).

The Literature: A Synopsis

In reviewing the literature I discovered much to confirm my own assumptions about the role of Media Education in the classroom and teachers' perceptions of the media. The literature affirmed that there are definite similarities between the study of English and study of the media. Central to both areas of study are language, audience, reading and producing texts. Although approaches to these elements may differ somewhat, the literature shows that much of the theory of Media Education does, in fact, evolve from the theory of English studies. Therefore, there is an almost unavoidable overlap of these two areas of study making the similarities difficult to ignore.

The literature also confirmed that despite the similarities, there is resistance among many teachers to the teaching of media in their English classes. The literature indicates that this resistance, where it

exists, often leads to barriers to the study of the media along with the study of English due to:

- Some teachers' apprehensions about new models of learning which calls upon the reader to interact and make his/her meaning from the text.
- Some teachers' tendencies to overlook the role of cultural and/or historical perspectives which influence how their students learn.
- Some teachers' ideological approaches which are biased against the media and favour the traditional literary texts.
- Some teachers' fear of the new technologies.

Having the confirmation of the literature, I needed to round out that knowledge with my own research in the field and in Chapter 3, I report on how I set out to do that.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In embarking upon this study, I considered several factors when deciding on a research approach. My questions were: Is there a strong overlap in English Language Arts (ELA) theory and Media Education theory enabling English teachers to explore media texts in their classroom? If so, what are the barriers to implementing Media Education in ELA? These questions were instrumental in my choice of a research model.

My research is qualitative. It explores an issue of Media Education in depth and detail. It seems to me to fit the perspectives of "phenomenology" and "heuristics" identified by Patton (1990). As someone who saw studying and doing media production work as an important part of teaching English Language Arts and who was mystified by the fact that many of my colleagues did not see these relationships and avoided teaching media in their classes, I wanted to explore the reasons why.

Triangulation

In Chapter 1, I described my own experience and the understandings I developed about English Language Arts and Media Education which led me to my questions. In other words, I tried to explain the phenomenon as I experienced it (Van Manen, 1990).

In Chapter 2, I reviewed the pertinent ELA and Media Education literature and found support and extension for my understanding of the relationships between ELA and Media Education. The review also enabled me to elaborate on some of the reasons why teachers of ELA might not see how Media Education would be considered part of their repertoire of curriculum and teaching. Some of the theorists in ELA/Media Education referred to these reasons in their writings and only one study (Hart and Benson, 1994) investigated the extent to which English teachers actually incorporated Media Education concepts and principles into their teaching.

But my understanding of the elaboration of the relationships between ELA and Media Education and of the barriers to teaching Media Education within ELA was lacking in richness of description (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992), and I wondered what other issues might emerge from asking my questions to people who had taught and theorized about Media Education from an ELA perspective. So, I decided to conduct in-depth interviews with several experienced and

expert media educators (Patton, 1990) to elucidate my findings more thoroughly.

My Role as Researcher: Insider Knowledge

My experience as a teacher of English Language Arts and curriculum developer in this field and my more recent experience in Media Education have allowed me many opportunities to interact regularly with knowledgeable people in both fields. In particular, my work as Media Associate at The Centre for Literacy in Montreal has provided me with more than naive interest in the questions I am exploring in this study. As Media Associate, I have established a collection of theoretical writings in the field of Media Literacy and model curricula and teaching approaches for the subject for the Centre's library. As editor of *Media Focus*, the Media Education Supplement of the Centre's newsletter/journal, *Literacy Across the Curriculum*, I established links with experts in the field of Media Education worldwide. I have had direct correspondence and have met with many of these experts from such countries as England, Australia, Scotland, the Philippines, the United States and Israel.

In selecting the experts for my research, I drew on what I already knew about the development of ELA in Quebec and Media Education and identified a number of countries which were leaders in the field.

While much work has been done in the last decade in the US, the pioneers of Media Education at the primary and secondary levels have been from Great Britain, Australia and Canada. With this in mind, I felt my research would be best served if I could draw from experts in these countries and I chose to interview five leaders in the field who could provide a perspective from each of those countries. However, my choices were also very strongly influenced by my own teaching experiences as well as my reading in the field and to what I understood these five individuals' approaches to be. I was drawn to each because I related very strongly to their concepts and philosophies of Media Education and ELA. Many of my own practical experiences with Media Education in the classroom as well as my later research had been shaped by the work of these people.

Thus, while the questions I identified for the study are naive, I as the researcher am not. Instead, I brought to the work some definite biases and beliefs which have been developed and shaped by my ongoing interest and my experience in both fields which I gained before and during the time I embarked upon this study. At the same time, I believe that my expertise and knowledge enabled a more sophisticated understanding of the literature I read and the interviews I conducted with the experts. My insider knowledge and experiences were also likely reasons why I was exploring my questions. In representing what

the experts had to say, in this study I will endeavour to be faithful to the tenet of the Qualitative paradigm and allow the experts to speak.

The Experts

I chose to interview a group of expert theoreticians and practitioners in the field of Media Education rather than to interview and observe teachers. My principal reason for doing so was that each of these experts has done considerable work with teachers and I could benefit from their observations of teachers' understandings and beliefs about the nature of ELA and Media Education and their practices. By interviewing people from different countries, I hoped to gain insight about the universality of the problem in a way I would not be able to do from local interviews alone -- the only logically feasible type I could manage.

All of the people I interviewed have done extensive work in Media Education in their respective countries and are major influences in the field. All but one, Considine, come out of the English Language Arts field and have moved into Media Education, while continuing their associations with the ELA community by keeping abreast of its evolution. All of them have attended to both theory and practice, having developed curriculum materials and worked with teachers in conducting research and in implementing curricula.

David Buckingham:

One of the experts I chose to speak with was David Buckingham who teaches at the Institute of Education, London, England. In addition to his teaching, Buckingham has authored and co-authored five books on Media Education. I looked to him for this work in Media Education as well as for his knowledge and experience in English studies in Britain, where he has spent a number of years looking at new definitions of media studies as well as at trying to find the most suitable place for it in the curriculum. In the process, he has had experience in curriculum development in Britain. His research focuses largely on how children interact with media texts and what they make of them. His ethnographic approach gives his work a very real and rich quality. In addition to writing on the subject, Buckingham has traveled widely to speak about his findings and experiences. He has also been involved in curriculum development work, giving workshops and co-producing Media Education curriculum materials through the Media Education Centre in London.

Robyn Quin and Barrie McMahon:

Robyn Quin, professor at Edith Cowan University, Western Australia and Barrie McMahon of the Ministry of Education, Curriculum Development Branch, Perth, Western Australia, are best known for their work in Media Education curriculum development and evaluation in Australia. The two have been active in developing

policy and curriculum in the changing educational landscape in Western Australia. They have also written a number of textbooks on the subject of Media Education and have traveled widely speaking on the subject and giving numerous workshops.

David Considine:

David Considine provides the American perspective to the discussion. Although he currently teaches Media and Technology at Appalachian State University in Boone, North Carolina, he is originally from Australia and brings that country's influence to the work he has been doing in the US. Considine is renowned for his work in Media Education, teacher training and curriculum development, and he has written and spoken extensively in the US and abroad on the subject. He has also published a textbook in the field and has influenced the development of Media Education programs across the US.

Winston Emery:

The Canadian voice is an important one in Media Education research and practice, and it is quite common for this country to be cited as one of the leaders in the field. The movement got its impetus in Ontario in the late 1970s, and interest spread slowly across the country. Because Canada is currently so highly respected amongst media educators, I felt that a Canadian perspective was crucial to my

research. For this perspective, I spoke with Winston Emery, Associate Professor, Department of Educational Studies, McGill University. Emery has had experience in all aspects of professional media production as well as wide experience in ELA. He currently teaches ELA Curriculum and Instruction and Media Education to both pre-service and graduate teachers. Emery has written a number of articles on Media Education and ELA and has been actively involved in curriculum development both at The Department of Educational Studies of McGill University and at the Ministry of Education of Quebec.

Interview Contexts

The success of an interview relies heavily on effective communication between interviewer and interviewee which requires a degree of trust between the two. In accomplishing this trust, it is helpful if the interviewer and interviewee share a common background of age, education, social class, employment status and manner of speech (Anderson, 1990). Whereas I knew that my subjects had far more experience and expertise in Media Education and ELA than I, we also shared many common characteristics like age, manner of speech, education and social class. We were similar enough in those areas so as to allow for much common ground as we proceeded with the interviews. It is important not to overlook, however, that subtle

differences of lifestyles and customs in Australia, Britain and North America do exist. However given the universality of film, television and popular culture, experts' responses were not compromised by these possible differences. All made references to texts that are easily recognized and understood in North America, Great Britain and Australia.

The individuals I chose to interview were spread across the globe. Clearly, David Buckingham, Robyn Quin and Barrie McMahon and David Considine are not local residents and interviewing them could have been quite problematic. However, I was very fortunate in that in 1994 Buckingham was in Montreal for one week as a guest lecturer at The Department of Educational Studies, McGill University. During that time he graciously agreed to meet me at The Centre for Literacy where we spent nearly two hours together while I interviewed him on audio tape.

I had not anticipated a second encounter, but there was one as the result of every researcher's nightmare---a recording problem. As I drove home following the interview at The Centre for Literacy, I was eager to listen to Buckingham's comments and placed the cassette into the car tape deck. When I pressed the "Play" button, I heard only the hum of the tape running. After nearly 10 minutes of silence, I realized in horror, that I had not recorded the interview after all. Knowing that

the following day was to be Buckingham's last in Montreal, I had no choice but to sheepishly call and explain the situation. He was extraordinarily understanding and agreed to meet again the following morning. This time I went to his office at McGill where we repeated the session--this time successfully. I later transcribed the interview.

In the case of Quin and McMahon, I took the opportunity to interview them when they were in Montreal to speak at an evening session at The Centre for Literacy in 1994. The day of their presentation we had lunch together then went to a quiet office at The Centre for Literacy where I spent nearly two hours interviewing them. This interview was also audio taped and transcribed. This situation differed from the other three in that this was the only one which involved two subjects. I had no preconceived notions about if and how this would affect the interview but observed that each had his and her own very specific area of expertise and experience. Both tended to comment most when we touched on their particular area of expertise rather than to both elaborate on all topics.

For my interview with Considine, I was again fortunate to be attending a Media Education conference in North Carolina which he chaired in 1995. In the weeks before the conference I spoke to him by telephone and arranged to have an interview with him at the conference, and we met for one hour in a break out room at the

conference centre. That interview was also audio taped and transcribed. Of all the interviews this was the shortest and the only one during which we had to be aware of the time. However, the fact that Considine was taking one hour out of his hectic schedule in the middle of a conference which he was chairing is a testament to his commitment to Media Education. While this could have compromised the quality of his comments, it certainly did not.

The interview with Emery was carried out somewhat differently. Although easier to schedule because we are both in Montreal, our regular meetings and discussions about this study made our interaction different from my interaction with the other experts. Emery, being involved in my research as Advisor, was acutely aware of my approach and of my interview protocol. In this situation it was simply more practical for him to tape his comments when and where it was most convenient for him and then to hand me the tape. When I got the tape, I transcribed the interview which was approximately 90 minutes long.

Interview Protocol

Bogdan & Biklen (1992) state that when interviewing is the major technique in a study, using a tape recorder is recommended. With this in mind, I taped all interviews using a hand-held Sony

recorder, Model TCM S65, with both a cue and review function which were useful during transcription. As I prepared my interview protocol, my approach combined two types of Interviews proposed by Patton (1990). The first was the Interview Guide approach to discuss the topics and issues I planned to cover in advance of the interview. The second was the Informal Interview, a more open-ended interview approach. In the Interview Guide approach all interviewees are asked the same basic questions in the same order. Questions are worded in a *completely open-ended format* (Best & Kahn, 1994).

Qualitative interviews vary in the degree to which they are structured (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992), and I chose to allow considerable latitude. While I did provide a focus by indicating the assumptions about Media Education, I chose to "stretch" the structure of the semistructured approach. Even though I presented the experts with the assumptions using Patton's (1990) Interview Guide approach, I then left the interviews quite open-ended so as to allow the experts to refute the assumptions and/or pursue a range of topics and to shape the content of the interview (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992).

I prefaced my introduction to each subject with the explanation that a fundamental element of my research was the fact that there seems to be evidence of barriers to Media Education.

To contextualize my research, I explained that my study was looking at the following:

- the links between Media Education and English Language Arts
- the barriers to Media Education.
- why these barriers exist.
- how they can be overcome.

I explained to my subjects that I would be asking them to comment on all of the above and invited them to add anything else they considered relevant to the discussion. I also considered the five assumptions about barriers to Media Education which emerged from the literature. These five assumptions obtained from my review of the literature might explain ELA teachers' reluctance to teach media education. The barriers are as follows:

- Some teachers are confused between education *about* the media and education *through* the media.
- Some teachers distrust the media and consider it inappropriate as a context for serious study.
- Some teachers feel that their workload and heavy curriculum requirements do not allow for an additional area of study. For them, time is a factor.

- Some teachers are intimidated by cameras, VCRs and tape recorders.
- Many teachers are nearly or totally illiterate in the area of computers and the new technologies.

I chose to share the above assumptions about barriers with the experts and listed them on a sheet of paper which I gave to each subject at the beginning of each interview. I asked them to take a few moments to consider the list of assumptions before we began the interview. I chose this approach as I wanted to make my subjects as relaxed as possible (Anderson, 1990).

For some fundamental understanding and a sense of the relationship between ELA and Media Education, I chose opportune times during each of the interviews to ask subjects to elaborate on this relationship. My own knowledge and experience allowed me to be very confident that none of the interviews would conclude *without* this opportunity and I was correct in that assumption. All five subjects alluded to this relationship as they discussed the related issues.

To conclude the interviews, I asked the experts to comment on whether or not they could identify any additional issues. If they did, I asked them to elaborate.

This method worked well because the Interview Guide allowed me to get comparable data from all the subjects (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). However, my prior knowledge and familiarity with all my subjects allowed for a certain comfort level so that I felt very secure in encouraging the subjects to take the topic to deeper levels or in other directions. This was possible in all situations except that of David Considine when time was a factor, and he simply could not permit the interview to go on and on.

The Transcription Process and Initial Data Analysis

As I knew I would be transcribing them all myself, I made a concerted effort to transcribe each interview as soon as possible after conducting it. Because the process of transcription is very time consuming, I did not want to have all five tapes needing transcription at the same time. In the original transcript, I chose not to omit any of the subjects' comments even though I knew that doing so was an acceptable "shortcut" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). I felt that complete transcriptions were important as they would provide a richness that I might lose if I took the shortcut.

These transcripts served as my field notes and I referred to them very often as I wrote up my findings. Although I had them, I did not work from printed copies of the transcripts in most cases. Instead, I had

each interview on the desktop of my computer and worked back and forth from each. In fact, spending so much time on the transcription gave me the opportunity to become so familiar with the interviews that I knew when there was some reason to cross reference. So while the actual task of transcribing consumed a lot of time, it cut down on the amount of time I needed to code my data later.

The Literature: A Summary of the Similarities

The literature indicated that the characteristics which link Media Education and ELA are:

- New understandings of literacy—The past decade has brought about wider definitions of literacy which have become part of the way Media Education is conceptualized. Although many early theorists of ELA did not overtly state these definitions, it is implicit in their research, especially in the works of Cox, Britton, Dixon and Mellon.
- The notion of text—Like literacy, the notion of text has changed so as to acknowledge that there are a variety of texts and all convey messages and meanings. Some ELA research stresses the importance of recognizing that reality is constituted in a variety of ways in addition to through the printed word. Of course, this is a basic assumption which shapes the thinking about Media Education.

- The notion of audience--Fundamental to the study of both ELA and Media Education is the importance of the audience. The literature shows that both areas of study recognize the role of the audience in reading a text. The literature also indicates that not all audiences react in the same way to the same text.
- The importance of response--Because the literature shows that the audience is crucial to reading all texts, response becomes central to the process. The readers' experiences become part of how they negotiate meaning from the text--any text--and how they respond to this meaning.
- The act of composing/producing--Both fields of study emphasize the significance of composing/producing and stress that analysis alone does not provide the whole experience. Providing students opportunities to compose/produce heightens the learning experience.

The Literature: A Summary of the Barriers

The literature confirmed my assumptions that the following barriers to implementing Media Education exist:

- Teachers' confusion between education *about* and *through* the media--Many teachers assume that if they are using a film or a video to enhance their teaching of another subject, they are educating students about the media.
- Teachers' distrust of the media--Many ELA teachers consider the media, especially television, to have no social or academic value for their students. Rather, they assume that exposure to the media will undermine what they consider to be "important" texts for study.
- Teachers' heavy workload--Often teachers see inclusion of the media in ELA curricula as a total waste of time and resent that this activity will rob them of time needed to teach traditional texts.
- Teachers' intimidation by audio-visual equipment--Because most in-service teachers have been in the classroom for a number of years, they continue to function primarily with print and feel very uncomfortable when expected to operate A-V equipment.
- Teachers' computer illiteracy--Computers have almost overwhelmed many pre-service as well as in-service teachers. They cannot seem to make what is a giant leap from pen or typewriter to new and emerging technologies.

The Coding Process

I narrowed down each interview and coded experts' responses combining the characteristics identified by Bogdan & Biklen, 1992.

To begin, it seemed that the experts reflected what the literature revealed about similarities between Media Education and ELA so my categories are as follows:

Links: Texts--e.g. "This process of allowing students to explore materials...evolved from the ELA tradition. This process would certainly be useful in terms of media texts and how students make sense of them." --Emery.

Links: Response--e.g."Reading is at the same time a social process. It goes on amongst people and they share their meanings of the text. It is not something that people establish in isolation but through social interaction, principally talk." --Emery.

Links: Audience--e.g. "So when I talk about television literacy, what I'm doing is talking about it in terms of how kids learn to make sense of narratives; how they make judgments about the relation between television and reality;.... " --Buckingham.

Links: Composing/producing--e.g. "Clearly the most significant implication is the notion of production and the idea that much of what students can learn about the media, both the underlying premise and the conceptual framework that has been elaborated, can indeed be

learned by allowing students to become active producers of media texts." --Emery.

In speaking to the experts, the following two areas emerged as unanticipated links:

Unanticipated link: Literacy--e.g. *"It seems to me there is a case for saying there should be a subject at the core of the curriculum that is concerned with literacy in the broadest sense, and with culture in the broadest sense, and that's where I think media studies as we know it now should be happening."* --Buckingham;

Unanticipated link: Pedagogy--e.g. *"So I think we have ways of giving kids a structure to reflect on things they know, and to build on what they know and to learn beyond what they know."* --Buckingham.

I followed the same coding process to organize what the experts said about barriers to Media Education. Most of these emerged from the literature. Conversations with the experts uncovered two unanticipated barriers. The barriers are coded as follows:

Barrier - Confusion--e.g. *"When we talk about media literacy or Media Education, you inevitably hear some people say, "Oh, I'm doing that" and when you ask them to tell you what they are doing or watch what they're doing, in fact, they're doing educational media."* --Considine.

Barrier - Distrust--e.g. *"This came out of what Masterman describes as the inoculative tradition, the earlier work of Leavis and Thompson*

who viewed popular media and culture as a form of debased communication." --Emery.

Barrier - Time--e.g. "The arguments about the curriculum, that it is already overcrowded; I think that it is going to be a very long time before specialist media studies becomes something that everybody will do." -- Buckingham.

Barrier - Intimidation--e.g. "For the most part, given that particularly in North America and certainly in this country, teachers belong to an older education system that values print, they themselves have not had the experiences with the technology. So yes, they would feel intimidated by such paraphernalia--." --Emery

Barrier - Computer illiteracy--e.g. "There is no evidence in the history of technology in teaching that teachers ever figure out the technology on their own." --Considine.

Two areas emerged as barriers resulted from conversations with the experts. Although the literature sometimes alluded to these issues, it did not do so in an explicit manner. The unanticipated barriers are as follows:

Unanticipated barrier: - Power--e.g. "Not all Media Education can be termed radical, but if you are looking at power shift, you are talking about radical education. And I think if they are bothered by power

shifts, they should be bothered by Media Education because effective Media Education will shift power." --Quin.

Unanticipated barrier: Classroom Practice--e.g. "Being there in the curriculum documents is no good whatsoever unless there is training, unless there is support. " --Buckingham.

In Chapter 4, I present interviews with the experts.

Chapter 4: Findings

Introduction to Findings

The five original assumptions about barriers to Media Education which emerged from the literature served as a basis for my conversations with the experts. Findings about these barriers follow later. However, these conversations also resulted in the experts' thoughts on similarities between Media Education and ELA which led to links between the two fields. It is of interest to note that from these conversations, the notion of literacy emerged as an unanticipated link. Although the literature did not often overtly identify literacy as a key element, it is implicit in much of the theory of ELA and Media Education.

Assumptions appear in bold print and the experts' comments follow. In keeping with the character of qualitative research which aims to present interviews in their most natural form, I have tried to indicate the links and barriers as they have been coded, but to do so in the context of the interviews.

In presenting my findings of the links, I must also report that I was struck by a pattern which characterized some comments of some of the experts. This pattern strongly indicated that any attempt to separate

the notions of text/audience/response would result in artificial, misleading and inappropriate distinctions. As much of the literature on Media Education and ELA indicated, these three aspects of communication are so tightly woven and inter-dependent that it would be counterproductive at best to treat them as though they could be examined as separate elements. The experts' comments underscored that point.

Therefore, I have tried to present the findings in a manner that would best express this natural relationship without compromising my reporting method. This explains why in some cases, italicized comments will support two of the links.

Link - The Notion of Text

It is interesting that observations about the notion of text as a link between the two subject areas often came in the context of experts' comments on literacy. In stating the importance of literacy, Emery points to text as being germane to the discussion:

Essentially, I guess I share Britain's fundamental premise that language serves as a means to come to terms with ideas and to communicate those ideas to others. The study of all forms of language is appropriate, for my new understanding of language is that it includes images and sounds as well as words on paper.

McMahon draws attention to the fact that media texts are just another form of text and offers the following suggestion for encouraging teachers to see them as such:

- I think one of the ways to address that is to actually use some of the media texts that are put up for students to analyze and analyze them from their perspectives, from the perspective of "These are media texts about Science, they are going to teach you about Science."*

Australia, having a much longer history with Media Education than most other countries, has had some time to grow into the broader notion of text and McMahon explains with a brief historical reference:

Until the mid 1970's there was one university in West Australia and that one university had a very British, sort of Cambridge approach to English and literature. In the 1970s four universities sprung up and English courses were based on different philosophies. That was reflected in the teaching population with the result that the area was contested and now there is a strong body of teachers in the system who are aware of different ways of looking at texts other than from the high culture way of looking at texts and who apply the same strategies.

Buckingham's comments about media and literacy are often so very tightly woven into his observations of texts that they are difficult to separate. His approach to the whole subject of Media Education and English Studies makes the point very effectively.

I would want to locate the analogy more in terms of what I guess you would call higher order skills. On that level, I think there is a potential transfer between the competencies kids develop through watching TV and the competencies they might develop in terms of print. So when I talk about television literacy, what I'm doing is talking about it in terms of how kids learn to make sense of narratives; how they make judgments about the relation between television and reality; how they categorize the range of texts that they come across; how they hypothesize about the motivations of the producers. All of those, which are the sort of key concepts of media education, are higher order understanding, which I think would also be developed in relation to print.

His keen analytical skills also raise some issues, and he cautions against possible pitfalls:

It makes no sense in the end to locate literacy on the level of basic skills. That there's a level of sort of decoding, which is very different. Very different skills are required in terms of decoding print as opposed to decoding television. Most kids know how to decode television by the age of three; whereas, many will have great difficulty in decoding print and it's something that needs to be explicitly taught. So there is a problem if you locate the analogy at that sort of basic level.

Also I think it's a problem to do that because it can lead to a very mechanistic notion of pedagogy which is that there are skills. We need to kind of itemize them and then go about teaching them. Many of the most reactionary methods of teaching reading are about doing that---take what a "skilled reader" does, break it down into its constituent parts, arrange them in a logical order and then teach them. Which is, of course, not how kids learn to read. But nevertheless that's the kind of pedagogy we get. Now, this seems to me to be a real problem. You could do that with Media Education, but it would be a real problem. Let's take representation as an issue. Let's kind of chop up what we think a skilled reader of television does and then let's go about transmitting that to him, which seems to be some kind of very mechanistic and not particularly effective in the end. So, I think there is a problem there.

Link - Response and Audience

Any rich and complete discussion of text naturally implies a discussion of response, for a text is nothing without a response. Conversely, one cannot arrive at conclusions about response without the presence and consideration of the audience. Again, in reporting on what the experts said, it was often difficult to separate what they were saying about text from what they were saying about response.

Emery identifies a very strong link between Media Education and ELA when he comments on the reader and the response:

The fundamental premise of what Media Education is about is giving learners the opportunity to develop their knowledge and awareness of the social, cultural, political and economic implications of media messages in order to interpret the ways in which the media actually construct reality.

Reading is a kind of transactional process in which a reader and his/her repertoire meet the text. It is a cognitive act in which readers, because they attach different meanings to the signs of the text, help to create the texts and thus different may make sense of the same text in different ways. To some extent, the diversity of the readings may be invited or allowed by the nature of the text. Furthermore, because readers have read a different range of texts themselves, this will affect the reading of any particular text.

Quin underscores the dangers in assuming only one possible response to any given text with a specific reference to media texts:

Many teachers are very middle class, so the world the media constructs gels very well with their own experience and desires.

Essentially, it is about the movement from textual analysis in which the teacher's position is, "I know the truth and if I drag you by the hand, you will come to see the same meanings in this as I do." It is about moving it toward student-focused, student-centered environments and the teacher feeling comfortable in saying, "Tell me what sense you make of the text then I might intervene in that sense and give you new information."

Buckingham draws an interesting analogy between the phonics approach to reading print texts and traditional approaches to tv literacy:

The traditional psychological research on tv literacy, of which there is quite a lot, looks at how kids know how to understand the meaning of formal features of television. How they understand what a close-up means, or whatever. The problem with the research that does that is that a) It abstracts those questions about meaning. So that what you get is a bottom-up notion about literacy; you acquire basic skills and from that, construct meaning. It is a kind of a phonics approach to tv literacy. Whereas I would rather say let's begin by looking top-down. Let's begin by looking at the search for meaning, of what kids bring to this text and how that may interact with what they find.

Consdidine alerts to us to the dangers of a pedagogies which discourages a response:

We are still training teachers for teacher-centered classrooms. I think there is a fundamental discussion in curriculum reform as to whether a teacher is a transmitter of culture or a transformer of culture. And once you get into media literacy and critical thinking skills you must be in cultural transformation.

Link - Composing/Producing

Emery and Buckingham expressed strong opinions about the need to include and value composing/production in Media Education. Emery noted that;

It is important to see some of the possibilities for its incorporation into the classroom because, in fact, these are real world experiences that their students might very well find themselves involved in professionally. For the most part, given that particularly in N. America and certainly in this country, that teachers belong to an older education systems that value print.

Not only does Buckingham support the notion of including production, he believes it is sometimes an appropriate place to begin.

I think there are, in certain cases, very good arguments for starting with practical work, and then going back to theory, so you begin by producing. You then reflect, or get the kids to reflect on what they've done and from that you build theory.

Emery draws attention to the obvious links between Media Education and ELA and the notion of production:

One must consider writing and its implications for Media Education. Clearly the most significant one is the notion of production, that much of what students can learn about the media, both the underlying premise and the conceptual framework that has been elaborated can indeed be learned by allowing students to become active producers of media texts. Both of these principal activities have come from the evolving notion of pedagogy within the field of ELA.

Unanticipated Link - Literacy

Buckingham notes that in a sense the bigger argument is not about media as a specialist subject:

It is about revising our whole notion about how we teach about culture or literacy or so on, and it seems to me to be absolutely crucial that we get to talk to English teachers rather than talking to a sort of specialist minority who would call themselves media teachers.

Considine, too, sees the link in the context of literacy:

Media literacy isn't a subject anymore than literacy is a subject. Literacy is the ability to read and write print; since most Americans now get most of their information from television not text books you better change and widen the definition of literacy....We must stress the relationship between literacy and the information forms of the society. If you do that, you should ultimately prevent yourself from falling into the problem of preparing young people for yesterday's world. If you are aware that literacy evolves with information forms, that it is flexible, fluid and dynamic....

Emery, too, sees literacy as being central to the study of both Media Education and ELA and adds his comment on text.

I tend to, along with a number of other major contributors to the field of what has now become English Language Arts, see a shift in the belief that the focus of teaching in English ought to

be about language and that is an appropriate lens through which to view the whole enterprise in schooling known as literacy education.

Buckingham illustrates a dimension of the British model to which Emery refers:

I don't think those, what I call higher order competencies, are things that I would want to define in psychological terms as things that live inside of kids' heads. I'd also want to see them in social terms. If you look at a lot of the work that's been done on print literacy, like Shirley Brice Heath's Ways With Words, or the one I've drawn on is a book by Brian Street about literacy. There is a growing body of work on literacy that says we need to see literacy in social terms. What Brian Street does, importantly, is he distinguishes between what he calls an autonomous and an ideological model of literacy and I would rather say I think all models of literacy are ideological; so I would rather say an autonomous and a social model of literacy which is one that says literacy involves a fixed set of skills which we can define and it has fixed social consequences.

Using Street's analysis of literacy, Buckingham chooses not to look at how the youngsters acquire disembodied skills in reading and writing, but rather to look at what their motivations are for developing those competencies. He urges educators to look at how reading and writing are used. He further suggests that is what ought to be happening in TV research as well.

To complement Buckingham's comments on literacy from a social perspective, Emery makes the following observations of reading:

Reading is at the same time a social process. It goes on amongst people and they share their meanings of the text. It is not something that people establish in isolation but through social interaction, principally talk. How individuals talk about and use what they read both shape and identify their own cultural identities. Readers also develop hypotheses about how other people read and form alliances with other individuals who read like they do. They define themselves socially and culturally in terms of what they aren't as well as in terms of what they are and therefore, reading is a complex process.

Buckingham's view on the media as texts correlate with Emery's. Buckingham stresses the importance of relevance when considering appropriate texts for study:

If we start by first recognizing that we must address the nature and needs of the child before we can begin to transmit curriculum. It's like walking into a classroom of English speakers and speaking French. You simply can't ignore the experiences that children have had with television or any other media and expect that you are going to be relevant to them in any way.

Unanticipated Link: Pedagogy

In addressing where in the curriculum he would choose to see Media Education addressed, Buckingham calls for a revised notion of English to replace the notion of literacy or of language that we now talk about and offers a somewhat radical approach. Buckingham notes:

It seems to me you're going for something that has absolutely been the core of the curriculum. And to that extent I would like to get rid of those distinctions between books and print and other media. And I'd like to say that print should be standing alongside other media. Particularly with new technologies now, the notion of having something called media studies that does film, TV, photography, the press--it seems a bit of an arcane distinction to be operating. It seems to me there is a case for saying there should be a subject at the core of the curriculum that is concerned with literacy in the broadest sense and with culture in the broadest sense, and that's where I think media studies as we know it now should be happening.

For Buckingham a desirable approach is to expand Media Education and English together, for both involve a discussion about literacy. Buckingham points to a new direction for the discourse:

That, for me, has to involve a critique of English and a theoretical basis of English and the exclusions and limitations of English. But it equally has to involve some reflection on what the limitations of Media Education are. That's an ongoing argument, really. And that's why I want to be talking about literacy, because that's the argument I want to have. Because

English is so centrally concerned with big issues to do with language and culture, then that's the kind of argument that you're having. Whereas if you talk about it as something separate on its own, I think it's an impoverished kind of argument. Talking about literacy in terms of literary works only is so out of step with kids' experiences.

These observations are connected to what Masterman and Abbott (1997) state, which is that both the media and the information technologies hold out the possibility of either restricted or elaborated forms of literacy; of literacy as either a set of merely technical competencies or as a fuller repertoire of critical questions and approaches.

Emery notes that recent considerations of pedagogy of English Language Arts may have something to offer to the pedagogy of Media Education and he explains:

One of the differences with the pedagogy of Media Education has evolved, to a large extent, out of the upper echelons of education, something that began as a model of study in university and has kind of filtered down to the schools. The kind of pedagogy that is characteristic of higher institutes of learning, like universities, is that it is largely didactic. Although they have allowed for people to read things and discuss them and critique them, there has been a kind of essential pedagogy of transmission.

Within the field of language arts, although there are still a tremendous number of teachers who, in fact, teach in a traditional transmissional model, there has been a considerable ground swell of support for a different kind of pedagogy which Barnes characterized as an interpretation model. Within this mode it is appropriate for teachers to pay attention to how students organize themselves to learn. It is appropriate to understand how teachers might talk with students about what they know and encourage them to explore further what they do not know. This has been followed up to some considerable extent by the kind of work that has been advocated by Garth Boomer more recently, in which it is suggested that teachers negotiate curriculum with students. This suggests that learners at all levels, for that matter, do have some sense of what they need to know. They are acutely aware of what their strengths and weaknesses are and that given the opportunity to do so, they can be quite articulate about what it is that they want to know. Given that, teachers can find ways to share their knowledge and expertise with students to their mutual benefit. This concept of democratizing the process of teaching and learning, making it more of a collaborative effort, has been a feature of the evolution of ELA pedagogy.

Emery alludes to the work of Len Masterman and notes that to some extent, in his book *Teaching the Media* (1985) Masterman advocates the notion that the kind of stance that media educators need to adopt is a non-hierarchical stance which suggests a similar kind of relationship. It suggests that the Media Education classroom needs to be much more egalitarian or democratic. Many media educators have

not really articulated how this is to come about. According to Emery, this is principally because they come out of the university. He notes that the people who have had to wrestle with this most are the English Language Arts teachers, because the area where Media Education seems to be taking place most is in the field of English Language Arts.

Although it is theorized among some media educators that media is, in fact, a concept or a principle and an ensemble of concepts that could appropriately be applied across disciplines, this has not occurred very much in most of the English-speaking world. This has certainly been true in Canada and in Great Britain. In fact, just recently Media Education has ceased to become a separate subject in the elementary and secondary schools under the National Curriculum in Britain. Instead it has become part of the English curriculum. Therefore, it seems that ELA education is the one that is going to interact most with the notion of Media Education as it is dealt with in schools.

Emery identifies two aspects of pedagogy which have come out of the ELA tradition which are important to Media Education. The first has to do with what is called *Response* and was best articulated for teachers by Dias (1988). This approach advocates a mode of teaching that allows students to examine texts and to articulate what sense they

make of them through a process of interacting with others and talking about what these texts mean to them, then writing about it.

Dias has found that in adopting this particular strategy in an area of English like poetry which most people find difficult, students will arrive at an understanding of the poem that many adults, i.e. teachers, would have thought necessary to teach them. In Dias' pedagogy, the teacher then becomes the person who responds to what the students are saying, helping them consolidate what they have learnt about the poem, and where necessary, in applying technical terminology.

Emery expands on the theory:

This process of allowing students to explore materials, make sense of them and write about what they know as a way of learning both new and old material is an important form of pedagogy that has evolved from the ELA tradition. This process would certainly be useful in terms of media texts and how students make sense of them.

Emery goes on to discuss the second contribution of ELA pedagogy, which is the notion of writing as a process. He emphasizes the necessity for the student to do a considerable amount of writing not only to learn how to write well, but also to understand the processes by which meaning is created. Of particular interest in ELA pedagogy over the past few years has been the notion of reading and writing

workshops where, to begin, students explore their own reading habits and develop them almost independently (see for e.g.. Atwell, (1987) Reif (1992). They come back from time to time to occasionally check with teachers and other students to make decisions about what is to be read and written about and to pursue those decisions.

The process allows for teachers to follow them and to follow up and instruct where instruction is necessary rather than to pursue the traditional mode of transmission in which teachers determine what shall be taught to students, what they shall write about, what they shall read and simply insist that students meet these kind of requirements. For Emery, another dimension is writing and its implications for Media Education:

Clearly the most significant implication is the notion of production and the idea that much of what students can learn about the media, both the underlying premise and the conceptual framework that has been elaborated, can indeed be learned by allowing students to become active producers of media texts. Both of these principal activities have come from the evolving notion of pedagogy within the field of ELA. These are notions of pedagogy which are beginning to have some impact on other fields of study in the curriculum, making the pedagogy of ELA fairly important to the study of Media Education. It seems that these kinds of events that have occurred in ELA teaching strike at the heart of Masterman's maxim that Media Education be delivered in a kind of non-hierarchical fashion.

Buckingham was the first of the experts to call into question some recent notions of pedagogy:

I think the standard response would be to say that kids are already the experts; so what we need to do is sort of reverse the power relations in the classroom. You hear people say this all the time...the kids need to teach the teachers. Now, I think that is a problem as well, because a) I don't think it's realistic and I do not think classrooms are like that at all. I don't think they ever will be. But b) I also think that if I'm not an expert, then there are things or questions I can ask or activities I can set up or a structure that I can find for kids that will make a difference to how they read this stuff that I am committed to providing. So it is not on the one hand that I am the fount of knowledge--I know about all this and you don't, and I will induct you into it--which is the classic way of going about teaching difficult literature. Nor, on the other hand, is it that kids are all the experts; let's just come and share our knowledge. Because firstly, it just seems to be not true. I don't think kids are all experts and they're not all experts at the same thing. Secondly, I think we have to have a model of learning. We have to have a sense of how kids are going to learn about this. And I think the danger is that if you say kids are the experts, what are you then doing in the classroom? I know you might be having fun, but what are you actually doing? What is being learned? The danger is it just becomes a recipe for leaving kids where they are. They just come and celebrate what they know.

In a sense, Buckingham continues, a lot of the classroom research that he has done and the theorizing that has come from that

research has been an attempt to find a way not between, but *beyond* that opposition. On the one hand, there is a kind of radical version that says we are the experts and arm students with the radical knowledge. On the other hand, there is the progressive version that says we should celebrate what students already know. He is committed to the idea that there is something beyond that. He would like to see students have access to dominant discourses and sees many problems with privileging a sort of rationalistic view of media. He calls for a change in the discourse and seeks a different way into that discourse:

I think there are all sorts of problems with that, in privileging a sort of rationalistic view of media, and I would want the discourse to change. I would want a different way into that discourse--a different take on that discourse. At the same time, that's one of the things I've been providing and I would want to provide kids with knowledge that they don't have about how the media institutions operate. I would want to provide kids with skills that they do not have about how to take photographs or edit film---there are all sorts of things. So I think we have ways of giving kids a structure to reflect on things they know, and to build on what they know and to learn beyond what they know.

Barriers to Implementing Media Education

I used the same method in reporting on the experts' comments regarding assumptions about barriers to implementing Media Education which emerged from a review of the literature, noting the

two unanticipated barriers which resulted from conversations with the experts.

Some teachers distrust the media and consider it inappropriate as a context for serious study. [Barrier: Distrust]

David Buckingham recognized all five assumptions to apply in Britain but emphasized that he sees this one as particularly problematic. He noted that one of the things that has changed in Britain is that there has been an almost 25-year history of people teaching examined courses in media. Initially they had very low status, so the idea was that media was something for "dummies." Very often students who were thought to have no academic futures were steered into this as a way of keeping them occupied. Until about ten years ago in Great Britain, there were two different exams that students could do. At sixteen they did O Level, which was thought of the high-status academic exam, and CSE, Certificate Secondary Education, which was the lowest-status exam. Students could do film studies at O-Level, but they could not do media studies; they could only do it at CSE. Clearly, media studies was definitely seen as a low-status subject. Now Britain has a common examining system which dates back to the mid-80s. In the last four years or so, they have added media studies at A-Level, which is the high-status academic exam. It has become clear that over the last ten years things have changed quite dramatically in Britain. In

the specialist media courses in Britain, students will do a 14+ and that, Buckingham thinks, makes quite a difference. He explains the difference:

The fact that you've abolished the distinction between the low-status exam and the high-status exam makes quite the difference. Also there is a media studies exam which, where it's offered, is always massively popular.

I think that's one thing the media's got going for it which is that when you offer it as an option to students, they'll always be interested in it and I think that whatever else may go on, that gives me a kind of faith that it will eventually happen, even though it's going to take a struggle for it to become much more widely available.

Winston Emery sees this tendency to view Media Education as low status as very much a part of the Canadian and Quebec experiences noting that it came out of what Len Masterman describes as the inoculative tradition, arising from the influence of Leavis and Thompson (1948). In explaining this tradition, Emery notes:

This came out of what Masterman describes as the inoculative tradition, the earlier work of Leavis and Thompson who viewed popular media and culture as a form of debased communication. They aspired to literature as expressing the highest values in human conduct, and therefore advocated the bringing in of popular culture to the classroom in order to show how debased it was. This was in the hope that students would then, as a

result of this inoculation, turn to the more valued activities such as reading fiction--literature almost exclusively--that contained the great values of civilization and the great modes of expression.

Emery states that this kind of stance also was reflected in earlier attempts to educate in English studies in the US. and subsequently in Canada. This ideology was one which saw Harvard as the place representing the highest values in terms of instruction, particularly literary instruction and in providing the complex model texts of high literature. He explains the outcome:

That became the model to which any person who was to become literate needed to aspire to and it shaped, very greatly, the kind of hierarchical system of what is considered higher culture and is attached to higher loci of education.

David Considine's experience with Media Education in the US coincides, to a great extent, with both the British and Canadian experiences and his observations correspond with those of Buckingham and Emery. Considine, too, has heard from many teachers that the media is inappropriate as a context for serious study and he comments:

That goes back to "high-culture/low-culture" and it's very elitist. That continued to be quite fashionable, and in some cases, quite profitable in the United States throughout the 1980s.

This attitude, he notes is most exemplified by academics who continue to argue essentially that we have lost touch with the classics, therefore lost culture. He continues:

I think the whole notion of cultural literacy begs the question, whose culture? I think it really also deals with a mindset of a teacher who is more focused on what they teach than whom they teach. I essentially argue that you can't teach them if you can't reach them, and you can't reach them by excluding their culture from the classroom.

The fact that a teacher despises that culture and thinks it's offensive and thinks it's simplistic misses the point completely. It is part of who that child is. We must start by first recognizing that we must address the nature and needs of the child before we can begin to transmit curriculum.

Considine warns against simply ignoring the experiences that children have had with television or any other media while still expecting to be relevant to them in any way.

Considine notes that he hears teachers argue less against the appropriateness of the media as a context for study than he used to. His explanation for this is that there is a greater awareness that although some media may be shallow, coarse, simplistic, sensational, etc., they *do* have an impact on children and teens. He argues that teachers need only look around their classrooms to observe the t-shirts their students are wearing, the lunch boxes they are carrying, the book bags they bring

in, the sort of language that they use and the way they talk about what they saw on television last night to see that they are so heavily saturated by mass media. This observation makes their involvement with the media much more visible to teachers. Moreover, Considine states,

I think you can distrust the media, you can think the media is essentially a negative experience and still embrace it in the context of serious study. There is something as healthy skepticism, so I don't necessarily think that teachers' distrust of the media is incompatible with teachers embracing media literacy.

Barrie McMahon picks up on the element of trust and comments that an underlying distrust of the media is very apparent in Australia as well. He explains,

Education is the province of the states in Australia. There's a bit of a contest over that, so there still is that distrust at every level. One of the consequences of that is that when some people do go to Media Education--particularly English teachers--they'll get into a "high culture/low culture" mode of education. That, I think, is the result of that distrust. Another is that until the mid 1970's there was one university in West Australia and that one university had a very British, sort of Cambridge approach to English and literature--that is, "high culture." And because there was only one university, we weren't aware, having come through that system, that there were other ways to approach life at all. In the 1970s four universities sprung up and English

courses were based on different philosophies and that was reflected in the teaching population. The result was that the area was contested and now there is a strong body of teachers in the system who are aware of different ways of looking at texts other than from the high culture way of looking at texts and who apply the same strategies.

McMahon adds that the distrust of the media in Australia is not happening only at the teacher level, but it is happening at the bureaucratic level as well. In 1992 considerable time was devoted to developing some outcomes in education for the whole of Australia. Shortly after, the government changed in Australia and there is now less enthusiasm. Federal authority gave the outcomes back to the States to deal with as they wished. Now those outcomes have a strand called Reading and Viewing, so at the national level Viewing has been accepted as a valid and important outcome. When the various States took the outcomes back, some states determined Viewing to be important. However, because, "... there are much more important things to do from K to year 3 or 4...." those Viewing outcomes were dropped for those early years of schooling in favor of the real *important* things like reading and writing print literature. McMahon stresses that the belief that only certain areas qualify as serious contexts for learning exists not just among the teachers, but it permeates the entire system in Australia.

Some teachers are confused as to the difference between education about the media and education through the media. [Barrier: Confusion]

Winston Emery comments that there is some confusion among educators when the term Media Education is used:

Those teachers who are unfamiliar with the term typically think of the media as being aids to traditional instruction. It stems from their own perception of the role or the process of education as being one in which teachers transmit information to students. Therefore in transmitting it, they need all the help they can get to make the transmission clear and interesting to whomever the audience happens to be. And so they see the media as being some kind of assistance in delivering teachers' messages.

Emery observes that these teachers themselves have not studied the media from the point of view of current theorists in cultural studies and elsewhere. For these teachers, the media themselves are neutral forms of communication used by people to convey messages, and they take for granted a common set of values that are implicit through the school institution at all levels--elementary right through to university.

He goes on to refer to a popular perception that is the result of the evolution of what it means to teach and of educational practices that evolved out of the 60's, Behavioral Sciences movement:

At its root, this movement assumed that what teachers ought to be doing is to structure environments for people so that they will perform in the right manner, given the structures of these environments. The use of media in that sense, then, is simply helping to shape environments in which learners can operate in order to transmit the ideas and values that are worth transmitting.

Considine, too, recognizes this confusion with terms. He stresses that the distinction needs to be maintained between the traditional concept of educational media, that is teaching traditional curriculum subject areas *through* the use of the media as a channel to teach the traditional curriculum and teaching *about* the media in the sense of teaching media literacy. Considine describes the confusion in the following way:

The teacher rolls in a filmstrip, an overhead projector or a VCR to teach a topic in social studies. When we talk about media literacy or Media Education, you inevitably hear some people say, "Oh, I'm doing that" and when you ask them to tell you what they are doing or watch what they're doing, in fact, they're doing educational media. And so you have to get them to clearly understand the distinction. I make a fairly clear distinction between, through or with the media as a channel to teach the traditional curriculum and teaching about the media in the sense of teaching media literacy and the impact and role of media on the school, society, students and citizens.

Because the early days of Media Education in Australia are so much a part of that country's history, Quin and McMahon can only comment in retrospect. However, they recall that there was confusion about this distinction and the confusion did create a barrier to Media Education in that country. They recall that it was more just a matter of continually reinforcing that Media Education was teaching *about* the media. They add that although this is no longer a large problem, in some Australian English classes, films are still often looked at as a way of teaching the great classics. McMahon elaborates on the point:

I think one of the ways to address that is to actually use some of the media texts that are put up for students to analyze and analyze them from their perspectives, from the perspective that these are media texts being about Science; they are going to teach about Science. Teachers should also examine teaching text as a media text as well and discuss the difference.

Quin and McMahon point out that a slightly related barrier to Media Education comes as a result of having teachers in the school who are very enthusiastic with equipment. Quin explains the situation from her perspective:

I think a slightly related barrier to Media Education is sometimes when you have teachers in the school who are very gung-ho with equipment. Two things can happen. It either intimidates other teachers, or it alienates some teachers who consider when they look out and see kids playing with cameras that those kids are wasting their time. And sometimes they are. Hence it gives

the subject area a bad name because it's seen to be the repository of having fun, having a good time and not doing anything useful. Hence other teachers in the school will tend to reject the idea. That's the problem that we're faced with at different times.

Some teachers feel that their day and heavy curriculum requirements do not allow for an additional area of study. Time is a factor. [Barrier: Time]

Buckingham commented that these arguments about the curriculum are often used in Britain and explains:

The arguments about the curriculum, that it is already overcrowded; there is no space for us to offer a new subject--this is one reason why the National Curriculum in Britain is now being trimmed down quite dramatically. I expect these kinds of arguments to continue around Media Education and I think that it is going to be a very long time before specialist media studies becomes something that everybody will do.

Emery's assessment of the situation in Quebec coincides with situations described elsewhere. He observes that many of the teachers who are in schools today have come through a kind of liberal education which transmitted its concomitant values that those "great" writings were the things to which we should aspire. Therefore, the purpose was to orient all students, no matter what level, to those "great" values. As a result, the mass media were seen again as a debased form of communication and in fact, abdicating values that were not noble and which ought to be rejected by students. He notes:

Teachers taught in this model would bring these approaches into the classroom as a kind of inoculation against this form of culture. The resultant attitude, they felt, was to steer students away from these lower values and toward the higher ones. This almost monolithic ensemble of values has had a considerable impact on all kinds of subjects and underlies the kinds of notions that are implicit in the canon, the ideals of "dead white males" and form the basis of most teachers' unconscious or unexamined beliefs.

Emery suggests that as a result, the teachers he describes often continue to treat the media in this fashion even where they recognize and agree that teaching the media might be appropriate so that students can be critical. Their notion of being critical is, in fact, a means of preventing students from acquiring the kinds of values the mass media promulgate. Instead, these teachers orient their students towards adopting higher ones. Given that kind of value system, their view about the day-to-day curriculum and what is important in that curriculum is shaped accordingly. The result is that when it comes to deciding what shall be taught to these students, then clearly what has to be taught is the canon and serious literature.

Emery goes on to point out that even if students are not going on to university, then these texts can be looked at in terms of providing them with the tools to equip them for daily life. Clearly again, because most of these texts and this value system privileges prose literature

over almost everything else, then being able to read and write prose literature becomes important. Again the focus is on assisting students to read and write standard English prose, and standard English prose again devolves from the models of noble expression of the people who produced the literature in the past. And so, Emery says, in terms of priority, literature and writing good standard English to survive in the world ought to be attended to first. The other kind of "stuff" like examining the media is clearly not as worthy as time spent on other kinds of things. Emery says:

This is particularly true with the whole crisis that has been created about illiteracy and about students' inability to read and write sentences. Therefore we are going to spend some time teaching them standard grammar--by which they really mean standard conventions of usage because students do not appear to possess these qualities. Therefore to study the media would be a waste of time in terms of the kinds of demands that are being made on teachers.

For Considine too, the claim of too little time is a familiar one. For him, as for Emery, it represents the mindset of the teacher raised for yesterday rather than for today and he offers a slightly different rationale than Emery's. Considine observes:

Part of that mindset is due to a fragmentation, to specialization by subject areas and compartmentalization. For teachers to say that they don't have time or you can't put this new subject into

an area misses the point. Media literacy is not a subject anymore than literacy is a subject. Literacy is the ability to read and write print. Since most Americans now get most of their information from television not textbooks, I recommend strongly that teachers change and widen the definition of literacy. Doing so calls for an inter-disciplinary location for media literacy. Media Education can be situated in health and wellness when trying to deal with anorexia, self-image, self-esteem, substance abuse, sexuality, and violence. It belongs, too, in the social studies curriculum which aims to create responsible citizens for a democratic society. It is essentially a language/communication skill, thus it must also be in the language arts curriculum and in the media arts curriculum. So it is a competency.

Quin and McMahon refer to their experiences in Australia in trying to locate Media Education in the curriculum. In the first pilot that was set up at a school in Perth, it was mandated and compulsory that every student in the school do media studies as a subject. McMahon describes his views on the topic:

I would not go that way again. It caused problems with the teachers; it caused problems with the students who did not see the relevance of it. I believe the mandate is a problem. In Australian schools at the secondary level. there was some initial resistance to Media Education. The English courses at the secondary level had been somewhat nebulous and the teachers were finding it hard having a grip on something. They were uncertain as to what they were to actually teach and come out with. So after the initial resistance, many of them were more ready to use the content and they came around pretty quickly.

Some teachers are intimidated by cameras, VCRs and tape recorders. Many teachers are computer illiterate [Barriers: Intimidation, Illiteracy]

In commenting on this fact, Considine points out that this reaction dates back to the 1920s:

I can show you major studies from the 1920s saying that the growth of visual education in this country will proceed in direct proportion to teacher preparation. What we've done in the US, including with computers, happened in the 1980s. We have injected technology into the classroom which is a recipe for failure. If you inject it, you haven't gone through needs analysis. You haven't done needs assessment which means you don't know who's going to use it, what they're going to use it for, who they're going to use it with or what the benefits of it will be. It is imposed upon teachers, therefore it sets up resistance; they either don't use it or misuse it.

Considine has made some compelling observations about barriers to Media Education in the US (1990). He noted that he sees an incredible irony in the fact that in an era of conservative fiscal cutbacks, the US continues to spend money on the hardware and the software but completely ignore what he calls the underwear---those underlying policies and procedures that are necessary to prepare teachers to use the hardware effectively. He questions how administrators and legislators can fund the acquisition of equipment without preparing teachers to use it:

There is no evidence in the history of technology in teaching that teachers ever figure out the technology on their own. Some do, but they represent pockets of progress which has nothing to do with systemic change, and you won't get critical mass unless you say we must all work at this.

Emery comments that the intimidation might be explained by the fact that because many teachers have grown up in the print milieu *only*, and because they value print and prose literature, they have not had the time to operate the equipment of modern technology to any great degree. He elaborates on this point:

Those people who do a lot of writing or who have worked in the media, I think, begin to see some of the possibilities for its incorporation into the classroom because, in fact, these are real world experiences that their students might very well find themselves involved in. For the most part, given that particularly in North America and certainly in this country, teachers belong to an older education system that values print, they themselves have not had the experiences with the technology. So yes, they would feel intimidated by such paraphernalia-- although some of them are becoming a little more literate in the use of computers as word processors. But they see the computer as largely that--as a means to an end of producing good, traditional prose.

Buckingham gives the discussion about the technology a new twist:

There are other questions you might want to ask about how television is organized and regulated and so on--the kind of mixed economy you have in Britain where you have quite well funded state-run TV and also commercial TV. But I would want to make the case for a sort of mixed economy of media, and it seems to me that a system that is wholly dominated by commercial interests, or alternately a system that is wholly dominated by a state-run paternalistic public service approach is bound to have limitations.

But some arguments are essentialist--they're about all television. I would want to make a case for diversity. It's less problematic to make a case for diversity than it is for quality in television. But I would want there to be diversity. I would want my kids to be able to see home-grown British drama that reflect British people's experiences as well as American cartoons, as well as popular music from around the world, I would want that diversity, because if all they had was wall-to-wall cartoons, or wall-to-wall worthy public service television, I'd feel there were limitations. That's an argument we need in television, but what some people are having is an argument about what the difference is between television and print--irrespective of different forms and content, of television and print. Is reading a book better for you than watching television seems to be such a simplistic question. It's just not worth considering.

Unanticipated Issue: Power

At the beginning of each interview, subjects were asked to identify other factors related to Media Education. One issue which arose in conversations with Quin and McMahon, was the question of whether Media Education is a discussion about power. McMahon had definite thoughts on the question:

I think it is definitely about power. Straightforward, straight out. I think that the oppositions to Media Education fall into two camps. There are those that think it's quite inconsequential therefore why are you bothering me? It is not going to help the kids in any way. Then there is the other camp who see it as very powerful, radical in a sense. Not all Media Education can be termed radical, but if you are looking at power shift, you are talking about radical education. And I think if they are bothered by power shifts, they should be bothered by media education because effective Media Education will shift power.

Quin offers her views on power and Media Education:

I think if it is effective Media Education then it is about power, but it is very easy to de-politicize it. If you want it to be about power, which I do, then you need to be up front. In other words, society is cleft by divisions based on health, education, housing, money, access to jobs, influence, etc. So that begs the question, why don't those who are without, who are the majority, rise up and get rid of those who are with? Now the answer to that is that they do not do it because something tells those without that things are okay. And I would argue that the media is one institution that works to tell people that despite the fact that

they've got bugger all, things are still okay and they should be quite happy with what they've got. Hence I look at the media in terms of the way it acts as a social cement and in a way, manipulates people into particular power relationships. So I like to be up front that this issue is about power, so that when we come to issues of gender it is purely about issues of power and race and handicap and class.

McMahon elaborates further to give an example of the de-politicization of Media Education noting that it occurs when you start from the premise that too much Media Education turns your brain to mush. That usually involves a subset or a set of subsets which comes down to the premise that we must stop all this violence.

The other premise to which he refers is the one that states that TV and advertising are turning us into non-thinking consumers. He worries that that sort of education can only lead in a couple of directions which address the issue of power or have the potential for a power shift. One direction is to turn off the TV. He notes that there are many people in the US who think this is going to happen, and that is what they are advocating in their classrooms. However, he adds that if you actually come to the conclusion that they are not going to turn off the TV, then you are going to have to censor a lot, in whatever form. Neither of those strategies, he points out, is going to cause some power shift. It is absolutely de-politicizing Media Education. For that

reason, McMahon argues strongly that it is better to have *no* Media Education at all than to have poor Media Education.

Quin adds that many teachers are very middle class, so the world the media constructs gels very well with their own experience and desires. As a result, these teachers bring their bias to the subject in the classroom, and often unconsciously assume that because their views of the world coincide with the media's constructions of reality, so do their students'.

Quin goes on to look at the question of Media Education and power on another level and considers whether this is a question of a power shift in the classroom. This involves the possibility that some teachers are uncomfortable because the media is an area in which students come to them with prior knowledge.

Quin and McMahon have written extensively on the importance of what readers bring to the text (1994) and go on to say that it is not always a clear power issue, for teachers have not actually articulated their notions of power and control. Instead the problem is that they wonder what to do after they have shown a TV show in their classrooms to a group of students who need no introduction to the medium or to reading it. The problem is founded more in the fact that the students already know *more* about TV and music television than

most teachers will ever know, leaving teachers at somewhat of a loss when they cannot bring brand new knowledge to a group of uninformed students. It is that sense of power that worries teachers who just do not have the resources to see that they could still actually offer something useful for the students. Quin and McMahon comment that most teachers realize that the students' media experience is both broader and richer than their own.

For Emery, Media Education is very much a discussion about power. In some respects, he notes, media educators hold the power to define what Media Education is all about and are inevitably bound up in power relations when they are working with students. He explains:

It is important to investigate the power relationships that exist in the ways in which messages are organized, presented and distributed in society. Knowing something of these relationships helps in making some intelligent decisions as to whether or not things ought to remain as they are or whether there ought to be some changes. So yes, it's a discussion about power; power is a crucial element. It is the history of Media Education that it arose out of the Marxist tradition. The Marxists were interested in power. They were interested in who held sway in society, in questions about hegemony and about who established the agenda in societies. Knowing something of these relationships helps in making some intelligent decisions as to whether or not things ought to remain as they are, or whether there ought to be some changes.

The question of power is related to the institutionalization of Media Education. Emery notes that in a sense, if one follows the premise that the whole point of Media Education is to develop a critical stance, then there will always be people who are educated in this fashion who will critique the existing structures and institutions. That in itself almost ensures that the de-institutionalization of Media Education will not occur. He elaborates on the point:

However, to some extent, media educators who are lobbying for their view of the world to be held begin to behave in some kind of conservative fashion in order to make sure it remains essentially as it is. I see it as evolving as a stance that I think ought to be encouraged. And to some extent, while I may wish that Media Education gets institutionalized, and becomes a part of the education of all students everywhere, I also wish that it not be institutionalized in terms of a set of rote practices that very often characterize other forms of institution. I would hope that it's always open, always fresh, always subject to critique and amendment or evolution.

Considine notes that the answer to the power question is an easy one and reveals an interesting truth about how some teachers respond to the effects of Media Education. His comments coincide with Emery's observations above:

Absolutely it is a power issue. I did a class for teachers in Charlotte (North Carolina) which went very well, and one of the teachers asked how I possibly got it through the state

curriculum because it was so radical. Because ultimately, he said, it is an assault on the status quo. Well, critical thinking ultimately must be; once you start them to think, then it begins to roll. They will think independently. I had a teacher in North Carolina stand up and say if we teach them critical thinking skills isn't it likely that they'll start to think critically about us? There was a hush in the audience and I said, "Like you think they're not already doing that?"

Unanticipated Issue: Classroom Practice [Barrier: Classroom Practice]

Another unanticipated issue which emerged from conversations with the experts was the observation that many English teachers are not actually teaching Media Education even when they claim to be. Buckingham had some thoughts on the matter.

There are all sorts of practical and theoretical problems about how you extend the notion of literacy from print to other media. It makes no sense in the end to locate it on the level of basic skills. There's a level of sort of decoding, which is very different from the one used in English.

Emery shares this view and elaborates on the issue of decoding:

Media Education and the kind of literacy I am talking about has a little narrower focus than being simply literate about the world. It involves going beyond the simple level of decoding or encoding. It is being aware of the forms of discourse and the contexts in which these discourses are produced in order to assess the validity of the messages that are being either promulgated, written or read so that people can act within social settings, within the context that they live and operate.

Both Buckingham and Emery draw distinctions between pedagogical approaches to Media Education and the study of English, and suggest that some English teachers may not be aware of these differences. To simply attempt to "do media" within the English curriculum is not necessarily to accomplish the task.

Buckingham has written extensively on the paradoxical relationship between English and media studies (1991), and warns against the assumption that Media Education is based on teaching a set of skills which he sees as a very mechanistic notion of pedagogy. He says,

A lot of the most reactionary methods of teaching reading are about doing that---let's take what a "skilled reader" does, break it down into its constituent parts, arrange them in a logical order and then teach them. which is, of course, not how kids learn to read. But nevertheless that is the kind of pedagogy we get. Now, this seems to me to be a real problem. You could do that with Media Education, but it would be a real problem.

However, he also warns against overlooking many of the positive characteristics of English and how they can influence media studies:

I think one thing that English does not have a problem with and that media does have a problem with is the whole activity of production. I think there is more space in English to talk about subjective investments in things, not simply privileging a rationalistic discourse. What English does do is that, so it is about reading and writing. What it does not do enough is encourage kids to reflect on that process.

Buckingham concludes that the best argument for Media Education is actually an argument for a new version of English. Much

of the thinking around this issue is related to teacher training or the lack of it:

Being there in the curriculum documents is no good whatsoever unless there is training; unless there is support. So, it got in there in the National Curriculum (in Britain) and it got in there at A-Levels as well. And suddenly, all sorts of people are saying, "Oh yes, Media Education--we should be doing this; we have to do this. Or, in the case of A-Levels, "This will attract some students. Let's start doing this." This is being done without training with the result that there is a lot of really bad practice. People are not really looking critically at practice, they are just attempting to survive. So that is a problem. Success on the level of getting in there and lobbying and getting it in the curriculum is a very small part of the story, I think. The problem with that is twofold. One, it can lead to a kind of complacency; that we've now got an agreed version of what Media Education is--let's not have anymore debate about it. Let's just kind of work with it and see how we apply it. If that's the case, I am not particularly interested in working with it because it seems to me you have to keep asking the questions.

Like Emery, Buckingham favours a kind of evolution for Media Education. He wants to keep asking the questions. Also like Emery, he argues that the theory can be built by teachers from the bottom up. He adds that the accepted version of what Media Education is needs to be constantly revised in light of people's experience rather than being a set of tablets that stand.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusions

Discussion of Findings

The questions asked by this study were: Is there a strong overlap in English Language Arts (ELA) theory and Media Education theory enabling English teachers to explore media texts in their classroom? If so, what are the barriers to implementing Media Education in ELA? The review of the literature and interviews with the experts clearly indicate that there are some fundamental pedagogical and theoretical similarities in the fields of Media Education and the study of ELA and some strong overlap in practice. Both the review of the literature and conversations with the experts reveal some barriers to implementing Media Education and uncover additional issues related to the question.

Links Between ELA and Media Education: A Synthesis

Perhaps the most significant element which links ELA and Media Education is the notion of literacy and the fact that it is at the heart of what defines ELA and Media Education. This is because a broader definition of literacy is what enables people to conceptualize all texts, regardless of their format. Despite this, a review of the early literature of the Language Arts showed that although the notion of literacy was implicit in that work, it was rarely named. This may be in

part, because it is only in the last 10-15 years that there has been a greater awareness of literacy amongst a larger number of people. This has led more teachers to explore how literacy relates to their classrooms. This broad view of literacy includes all media and modes of communication and it emerged as a significant link between ELA and Media Education.

Another very strong link between ELA and Media Education is the important relationship between the audience and the text. Experts in the field of ELA like Rosenblatt, Meek and Dixon recognized that all audiences are not the same, even when they are sitting in the same classroom. Their unique social, cultural and personal experiences shape the way they read and interpret a text. This study shows that theorists and researchers in Media Education begin with this premise and build upon it.

Central to both areas of study is the importance of helping students develop critical skills involved in reading all texts. The literature confirmed that to do this effectively, ELA and Media Education teachers need to recognize the importance of providing students the opportunity to compose/produce their own texts as well as to freely analyze the texts around them--as they see them. This aspect of their learning allows for them to respond in an atmosphere which rewards uniqueness and diversity.

Barriers to Media Education: A Synthesis

A review of the literature confirmed that there is, in fact, a reluctance on the parts of many teachers to address Media Education in ELA classes. The literature attributes much of this reluctance to several barriers to Media Education which were stated earlier in this study. Conversations with the experts also confirm, to varying degrees, the assumptions about barriers to implementing Media Education. In general, it is often the way many teachers think about ELA and Media Education separately which prevents them from thinking about how the two subjects are linked. In the case of ELA, many teachers tend to think of the subject as the study of literature and the printed word. These teachers perceive study of the media to be a leisure activity rather than an academic activity. Understanding the fundamental similarities between the two subject areas would lead to a greater understanding of how they complement one another.

There is general agreement amongst all of the experts that a barrier to Media Education is some teachers' distrust of the media. This is generally attributed to the "high culture/low culture" debate and the belief held by many teachers that the media are not worthy of attention in an English curriculum. One way to dispel this myth is to create opportunities for making educators aware of the substantial body of knowledge which addresses Media Education, much of which is

grounded in the study of English, Communications, Psychology and Cultural Studies.

Not all the experts could confirm that, in their experiences, teachers are confused between education *about* the media and education *through* the media. Quin and McMahon of Australia indicated that although this may have been the case very early in that country's Media Education history, it is no longer so. Buckingham did not seem to see this as a major factor for teachers in England either. Considine and Emery, however, did recognize this as a barrier to Media Education in the US. and Canada respectively. This raises an interesting question about the North American perception of Media Education. I would suggest that the Australian and British experiences in this area are the result of significantly longer histories of Media Education which has resulted in better training for teachers and a greater understanding of Media Education. As a result, the confusion no longer exists in those countries.

Lack of time in the English curriculum as a barrier seems to be consistent with the experiences of the five experts. This is no doubt a genuine concern for the teachers who make that claim; however, it also underscores their belief that Media Education is not a *part* of that curriculum. They see it as an additional area of study. Again, more opportunities to help them see the connections to ELA may be well

help them solve their time-management problems by helping them see the media as a valuable part of the ELA curriculum.

Finally there was an overwhelming consensus amongst the experts which confirmed what the research indicated about teachers' lack of ease with audio visual equipment and their being nearly or totally illiterate in the area of computers and the new technologies. While there may be some technophobia involved, resistance to the technology may be also rooted in their belief that if they embrace it, they will surrender their claim to the technology with which they are most comfortable--paper, pen and textbook. Change does not come about quickly or easily, however policy makers can help by providing teachers opportunities to learn about this equipment while at the same time including it in school curricula.

The unanticipated barriers which emerged from my conversations with the experts are extremely important for their impact on the classroom. How the teachers perceive their role in the classroom often indicates how they view power, or the struggle for it. The issue of power is crucial to this study, for the pedagogies of both ELA and Media Education call for teachers' willingness to relinquish the dated image of the teacher as the bearer of all knowledge whose purpose is to bestow this knowledge on naive, unsuspecting students.

Mutual respect and an awareness of a variety of experiences characterize the power structures of both ELA and Media Education.

The issue of power led naturally to the next unanticipated barrier--classroom practice. Emery and Buckingham, in particular, commented on how a number teachers assume they are addressing Media Education when in fact they are not. Many teachers understand the study of the media to be simply the act of decoding or encoding rather than being an understanding the media and how they work, how and why they are created and how to negotiate meaning from them. Classroom practice must change from traditional models of teaching if these objectives are to be achieved.

One very compelling result of my conversations with the experts and the ways in which their responses varied is that although individual in their approaches, their comments ultimately come together to form a cohesive picture of the questions this study asked. While I felt I knew the five experts and their work when I set out to interview them, I could not have anticipated the manner in which their differences in style could so effectively underscore their similarities in substance.

Directions for Future Research

Findings of this study lead to some fertile ground for future research. Teacher Training and Classroom Practice stand out as two areas which would be logical and important areas at which to look.

Teacher Training

In confirming links between ELA and Media Education, this study gives much reason to continue to argue for a place for Media Education in the ELA curriculum. However, in recognizing the barriers to Media Education which this study also confirms, it is clear that there are implications for teacher training programs which currently do not adequately address Media Education theory and practice.

While it may be assumed that pre-service teachers are more open to implementing Media Education, this may not be the case for all. However, if teacher-training programs included courses which deal with ELA and the media *together*, this could eventually discourage student teachers from teaching in exactly the same way as they were taught. Instead, some basic required courses which combine the principles of ELA and Media Education would provide enough theoretical background so that by the time pre-service teachers enter the classroom, they will have processed the information which links the two subjects. As a result, they are more likely to establish a

classroom atmosphere which promotes the study of a broader ranges of texts and to encourage their students to feel comfortable in that atmosphere.

Reaching both in-service and pre-service teachers should be the goal of policy makers even though this is not necessarily an easy task. In-service teachers are perhaps more resistant than pre-service teachers, so they will need much support as they begin their learning curve. Workshops for all teachers should address the similarities between Media Education and ELA, specifically the notion of literacy. Both areas of study now require a greater understanding of what literacy is in the 21st. century---it is no longer simply the ability to read and write simple print. Teachers must now revise their whole notion about how they teach and to see that this revised notion of literacy includes how we teach about culture and the texts of that culture which include sound and image.

Following from workshops about new definitions of literacy, teachers could benefit from learning more about broader notions of texts. Recognizing that there are a number of kinds of texts in addition to traditional print texts will help teachers explore the "high culture/low culture" debate which often deters them from acknowledging that there are other texts worthy of study. Getting past this mindset will not be easy, but it is certainly necessary if teachers are

to truly understand that texts come in many forms and communicate many messages.

Implicit in a discussion of texts is the role of the audience. This may be less problematic for teachers to accept, for most have become familiar with the importance of audience and of response while teaching ELA.

Once teachers have been given adequate opportunity to gain a better understanding of the links between ELA and Media Education, the barriers identified in this study will be less likely to hinder the implementation of Media Education. One way to overcome technophobia which may exist among teachers is to encourage them to attend sessions--ideally in their own schools--where they can learn to appreciate the technology rather than to fear it. If they interact enough with the technology to become comfortable with it, they will recognize that it has something to offer them. Perhaps they will then see the potential it has for their students. Sharing these learning opportunities with computers and cameras with their peers may make them feel less vulnerable than if they were to have the same experience with their students in the classroom.

Conferences which bring together large numbers of teachers could make this professional development very accessible for them

and would complement Media Education workshops which are held by various organizations. Every English Conference Program should include a variety of workshops on ELA and Media Education. At the same time, organizations who have been holding workshops should continue to do so, for they have been most influential in creating interest among Quebec teachers. The field now boasts a number of excellent Canadian experts--both in Quebec and from other provinces--who could and should be called upon to provide this training.

Classroom Practice

With the literature showing only one study (Hart & Benson, 1994) in addition to this one which explore teachers' perceptions of Media Education and their treatment of it in their classrooms, it is clear that more work of this nature is required. Future studies could explore teachers' classroom practices and their rationales in greater detail than did Hart & Benson in order to better understand how to clarify misconceptions about Media Education practice where these misconceptions exist.

Ultimately, it will be the teachers who have the strongest interest and greatest inclination to teach about the media who will do the most with any training they get. However, these numbers will grow if the momentum remains strong. It is absolutely necessary to continue the dialogue and to explore other issues related to the study of

English and Media Education. There must be an openness to new concepts, new definitions and a willingness to move classroom practice and curricula into the future. As all aspects of society move into the 21st century, it would be most unfortunate to see our classrooms continue to promote only the ideas of the 19th century.

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