LEGITIMATING MEDIA EDUCATION:
FROM SOCIAL MOVEMENT TO THE FORMATION
OF A NEW SOCIAL CURRICULUM

by

ALICE YUET LIN LEE

B.S.Sc., The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1981
M.Phil., The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1987

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(Deptartment of Educational Studies)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

August 1997

© Alice Yuet Lin Lee, 1997
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Educational Studies

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada.

Date August 18, 1997
Abstract

The purpose of this study is to understand why and how media education became legitimate in the Ontario educational system in the 1980s. The theoretical focus is on how a new social movement (the new social movement in Ontario) led to the legitimation of a new social curriculum (the media education program).

This study on media education in Ontario is contextualized in the epochal shift to the information society. Adopting the approach of historical sociology, it documents the influence of those social forces which gave rise to media education and investigates how key individuals brought media education into schools.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the societal shift brought with it rapid development in media technologies and induced new social tensions. This study finds that the conceptualization of the mass media as "invisible curriculum," the ideology of techno-cultural nationalism and the moral controversy over media sex and violence directed public attention to the importance of media literacy. The media literacy movement in Ontario subsequently placed media education in the formal school curriculum. Legitimating media education can be regarded as a social and educational response to the technological changes in the information age. This study also indicates that less powerful groups in the community and the educational field were able to put a body of low-status knowledge into the formal school curriculum.

In order to analyze the process from social movement to subject formation, a theoretical framework is put forward identifying strong justification, effective lobbying, proper positioning and unofficial support for curriculum-building as the four key elements for legitimating a new social curriculum. Instead of justifying media education in terms of
utilitarian and academic values, the advocates emphasized the pragmatic solution provided by the new curriculum to social problems. The manipulation of public support by creating a "climate of opinion" was vital to the success of lobbying. "Subject inhabitancy" was an effective way to find a curricular niche for a new social curriculum. Finally, the advocates' support for the curriculum development and implementation played an important role in strengthening the government’s confidence in mandating a new program.
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgement</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter One</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 The Importance of the Study of Mass Media</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 New Social Curricula in a Postindustrial Society</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Statement of Problem</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Organization of the Dissertation</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part I: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter Two</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legitimating a New Social Curriculum</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Postindustrial Society, New Social Movements and New Social Curricula</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1 The shift to postindustrial society</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2 The characteristic features of the new social movements</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.3 The emergence of the new social curricula</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Social Conflict Theory of Curriculum Making</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Knowledge-Power, Boundary Work and Legitimation</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1 Foucault's power-knowledge</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2 New sociology of education</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Analytical Framework of Legitimating a New Social Curriculum</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Defining a Social Movement</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6 Summary</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter Three</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Historical Sociology</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Case Study Design</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Document Analysis (I): Primary and Secondary Sources</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iv
### Part II: Setting the Stage: Historical Development of Media Education

#### Chapter Four: The Socio-Historical Background of Media Education
- **4.1 Screen Education: The Prelude**
  - 4.1.1 Entering the electronic age: A new invisible environment
  - 4.1.2 Screen education in Ontario
  - 4.1.3 The legacy of screen education
- **4.2 Germination of Media Education in Ontario**
  - 4.2.1 Technological advancement
  - 4.2.2 The moral panic of media sex and violence
  - 4.2.3 American cultural penetration and techno-cultural nationalism
- **4.3 Summary**

#### Chapter Five: The Media Literacy Movement in Ontario
- **5.1 Initiatives for Media Literacy**
- **5.2 Defining Media Literacy Movement as a Social Movement**
- **5.3 Media Literacy Movement as a New Social Movement**
- **5.4 A Call for the Legitimation of Media Education in Schools**
- **5.5 Summary**

### Part III: A Theoretical Frame for Legitimating Media Education

#### Chapter Six: Justifying Media Education: To Counter the Invisible Curriculum
- **6.1 Mass Media as an Educational Force**
- **6.2 The Invisible Curriculum of Mass Media**
- **6.3 The Responsibility of the School to Teach about the Media**
- **6.4 The Changing Concept of Literacy**
- **6.5 Critical Dimension of Media Literacy**
- **6.6 Summary**

#### Chapter Seven: Lobbying for Legitimacy: Making Use of Public Pressure
- **7.1 Lobbying the Ministry of Education**
- **7.2 Political Strategies of the Lobbyists**
- **7.3 The "Public Pressure" Perceived by the Government**
- **7.4 Summary**
Chapter Eight Positioning Media Education: Finding a Curricular Niche

8.1 Curriculum Politics and Subject Inhabitancy 244
8.2 English Teaching and Media Education 255
  8.2.1 Historical link 255
  8.2.2 New literacy 263
8.3 English as a Host Subject 266
  8.3.1 The political aspiration for teaching the media 266
  8.3.2 Being a nurturing host 271
  8.3.3 Being an official host 275
8.4 Media Education as Literacy Training 280
8.5 Limitations of the Media Literacy Training Approach 285
8.6 Summary 288

Chapter Nine Supporting Curriculum-Building: To Form a Critical Curriculum 292

9.1 Unofficial Input on Curriculum Development and Implementation 292
9.2 Influencing Forces on the Media Education Curriculum 300
9.3 Ideology in Ontario Media Literacy Textbooks 306
  9.3.1 Mass media as mass deception 306
  9.3.2 Undermining Canadian cultural identity 314
  9.3.3 Media literacy for deconstructing mass media 317
  9.3.4 Media literacy for developing cultural consciousness 318
  9.3.5 Critical autonomy and liberal values 320
  9.3.6 Student-centred pedagogy 322
9.4 Responses to the Media Education Curriculum 323
9.5 A Shifting Paradigm 329
9.6 Summary 332

Chapter Ten Conclusion and Discussion 335

10.1 Media Education as Social and Educational Response to Technological Changes 337
10.2 From Social Movement to Curriculum Formation 340
10.3 A Postindustrial Subject 351
10.4 The Cultural Uniqueness of the Ontario Media Education Program 359
10.5 The Social Purpose of Media Education 362
10.6 The Future Direction of Media Education 365

Bibliography 377
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 1</td>
<td>Code Book of the Quantitative Content Analysis of the Canadian Journal of Communication</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 2</td>
<td>Sample Interview Questions</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 3</td>
<td>Interview List</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 4</td>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# List of Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Topics of Sampled Articles in <em>Canadian Journal of Communication</em></td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>The Major Communication Discourse in <em>Canadian Journal of Communication</em></td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Frequency Counts on Argument Statements in <em>Canadian Journal of Communication</em></td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Frequency Counts on Value Judgment Phrases in <em>Canadian Journal of Communication</em></td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>The Reference Models for Media Education in Ontario</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## List of Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Interviewees' Links with the NFB-McGill Summer Institute</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Interviewees' Links with Marshall McLuhan</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Interviewees' Links with Organizations</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>The Ideological Structure of Techno-Cultural Nationalism</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>The Ideological Structure of Media Education Textbooks</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>Mass Media as Mass Deception</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgement

Without the enlightened guidance, critical challenge and kind support from my thesis committee, I do not think I could pull this dissertation together. I would like to express my deep gratitude to Drs. Donald Fisher, Jim Gaskell and Charles Ungerleider. In the past few years, they generously offered me help and encouragement whenever I was in need. I thank them from the bottom of my heart.

Dr. Fisher’s penetrating comments on my analytical framework urged me to work harder to achieve more theoretical depth. I wish to particularly thank him for his academic nurture throughout my entire doctoral program and for his care, patience and time spent on guiding me to write this dissertation even at the time when he was on sabbatical leave. The insightful advice given by Dr. Ungerleider was essential for helping me formulate my research question. He always reminded me to use the case I study to shed light on larger theoretical issues. In addition to offering me valuable comments on the content of my thesis, Dr. Gaskell was pivotal in teaching me how to better organize my dissertation. He let me know I should present my data around a focal theme in each chapter in order to sharpen my arguments.

I am also indebted to all the interviewees and people who assisted me in collecting the data for this research. It is difficult for me to forget their kindness and patience. Many of them not only offered me their time and assistance, but also shared with me their personal copies of historical documents. The 38 interviewees were key figures who played significant roles in the Ontario screen education and media literacy movements. Their dedication to educational innovation was the primary source of motivation which encouraged me to document and analyze the case of media education in Ontario.

My family, particularly my husband Clement, supported me patiently all along in the prolonged journey of writing this dissertation. I would like to let them know how much I treasure their love. Furthermore, many thanks to my friend Chang Yang for his assistance in transcribing interview tapes.

I am also grateful to the fellowship granted by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The fellowship gave me the financial resource for conducting this research and encouragement for developing serious scholarship.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my late mother who in the past constantly showed her support for my further education.
Since the 1960s, a new school subject, "media education," has emerged which is the study of theories, criticisms and debates about the mass media with the goal of promoting media literacy (Lusted, 1991). In 1973 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) posited the following definition:

Media education is the study, learning and teaching of, and about, the modern media of communication and expression as a specific and autonomous area of knowledge within educational theory and practice, distinct from their use as aids for the teaching and learning of other areas of knowledge, such as mathematics, science and geography (IFTC, 1977b, p. 3).

In the past 20 years, media education has developed from a fringe concern to a global movement. Teaching and learning about the mass media have rapidly been introduced to school and college curricula in many countries including Canada. In Ontario, the Ministry of Education mandated media education as part of the English Curriculum in 1987. This mandated media education program earned Ontario a reputation for being "a national leader, and indeed a recognized leader internationally in the area of media education" (Kennedy, 1993, p. 2).

This study examines the legitimation of media education in the Ontario educational system as a social and educational response to the challenge imposed by new communication technologies. The focus is on how the media literacy movement in the province of Ontario led to the formation of the curriculum subject, media education. The study is worthwhile because media literacy has become an essential life skill in contemporary society and has
attracted world-wide educational concern. Moreover, the legitimation of media education has profound theoretical implications for the examination of subject formation of new social curricula in a postindustrial information society. A central component of the theoretical discussion is on the emergence of new social curricula and their relationship to the new social movements in Western society in the 1970s and 1980s.

In the past century, social scientists examined the social consequences of the historical transition to industrialism. It is perhaps the right moment for a new generation of social scientists to study the transition to the postindustrial age and the challenge brought about by this change. Most of the developed Western nations have entered an information society. Predictably, media education is emerging in these countries as a new subject of study in an increasingly high-tech era. In my study, media education is put in the context of such a societal shift. Although my research covers the years from 1960 to 1990, the major focus is on the 1980s when Canada was moving into an information society. In 1987, Communications Canada released a report saying that "Canada is in the midst of a profound shift in the foundations of its economic and social life" (Communications Canada, 1987, p.6). The report claimed that in the past three or four decades, Canadians have increasingly depended on the creation, communication and consumption of information as a source of jobs and social development, and less on the utilization of raw materials and physical labour. Thus, Canada has become an "information-based society" (p. 6).
1.1 The Importance of the Study of Mass Media

From the introduction of television in the 1950s to the widespread availability of videocassette players, cable television and satellite television in the 1980s, the mass media took on a central role in modern society. As the electronic media became the dominant mode of communication in the Western world, considerable concern has been demonstrated regarding the electronically mediated culture.

Advances in new communication technologies had a profound social impact in the 1970s and 1980s. First was the high rate of media consumption. Massive quantities of information were made available for consumption through advanced electronic media (Jarvis, 1985). Second was the mediation of contemporary culture by the mass media. The information received was saturated with certain values and ideologies that originated in the process of transmission (Thompson, 1990). Third was the replacement of print by electronic media as the dominant form of communication. Television, video, computer-generated images and other new electronic media became the most influential communication technologies. A change in the dominant media has a tremendous impact on the whole society. Printing technology ended the monopoly of the Catholic Church’s definition of knowledge and provided the means for cultural shifts in both the Renaissance and the Reformation (Jensen, 1991). Similarly, new electronic media significantly reshaped the society and influenced the educational sector. By the 1980s, schools were addressing a new and different generation of students (Green & Bigum, 1993). These students were shaped by complex forces which were no longer limited to the experience of schooling. Green and Bigum (1993, p. 119) referred to students as "aliens in the classroom." Rather than focusing
on the school, there was a call for paying attention to the electronic mass media as a "critical socializing context" (Hinkson, 1991).

There is a long history of debate among educators about the inclusion of media studies in curriculum. In this century, moral consternation over various popular media, including comic books, films, television crime programs and indecent video gave impetus to media education (Clark, 1990). In Britain, as early as the 1930s, Leavis and Thompson (1933) asked teachers to teach about the media so that students could be trained to discriminate and resist. During the same period in the United States, the authors of the Payne Fund Study on the effect of movies on children recommended the teaching of the moving picture in schools (Luke & Roe, 1993). But it was the emergence of television that really caused educators around the world to give serious thought to media education. From the 1960s to the 1980s television was seen by many to have created a new social environment. In this new age, the family and the community could no longer constrain young people's access to information. Children grew up fast or even lost their childhood (Meyrowitz, 1985; Postman, 1982). They looked at the world in a remarkably different way from their parents. Schooling could no longer afford to ignore the profound influence of the mass media, particularly television, on the young (Luke & Roe, 1993).

Against this background, media literacy was regarded as a survival skill for the young in a media saturated world. Since the mass media were accused of constructing a pseudo reality "in which people live largely unreflectively and without self-determination" (Bennett, 1977, p. 29), media literacy was very often used to arm students against manipulation from the media. However, Roncagliolo (1992, p. 211) at the UNESCO conference argued that media literacy should not be a "communication aspirin" and should be a means to "expand
the possibilities of freedom in society." Nevertheless, the general objective of media education was to help young people develop a critical awareness about the impact of the mass media and make independent judgments about the media messages (Minkkinen, 1977).

Many countries have developed media education programs. The promotion and support from UNESCO made media education a global movement. The idea of media education as the study of moving images with a critical mind was proposed by UNESCO in 1964 (Bazalgette, Bevort, & Savino, 1992a). Since then UNESCO has been promoting media education, especially in Europe. In 1973, a meeting of the member organizations of UNESCO produced the first official definition of media education quoted above. As a result of that meeting, the International Film and Television Council (IFTC) was responsible for publishing the first international survey on media education called *Media Studies in Education* (IFTC, 1977b). In 1989, the 25th session of the UNESCO General Conference included "Development of Critical Media Education" in its program (Suzuki, 1992). The Conference emphasized the importance of the development of critical awareness and the ability to analyze any kind of information. Members of the Conference were encouraged to promote media education in their own countries.

The contribution of UNESCO to the global development of media education was twofold. One was to provide opportunities for international exchange on media education. With UNESCO's support, media experts, educators and media practitioners gathered together on a number of occasions to discuss their common concerns and debate their differences. For example, in 1982 UNESCO sponsored an international symposium in Grunwald, West Germany on educating the public about the use of the mass media (Brown, 1991). In 1990 UNESCO, together with the Council of Europe, supported an international conference on
"New Directions in Media Education" held in Toulouse, France. The Conference was attended by over 200 media educators from 45 different countries (Bazalgette et al., 1992a). A second contribution from UNESCO was to promote media education by publishing surveys and reports on media education. Four important documents on media education published by UNESCO are worth mentioning. The first is *Screen Education: Teaching A Critical Approach to Cinema and Television* (UNESCO, 1964). This report is possibly the first international publication to put forward the concept of critical media consumption. The second document entitled *Media Studies in Education* is a survey report on media education initiatives around the world (IFTC, 1977). It defined media education and emphasized that media education is a specific and autonomous area of knowledge within educational theory and practice. The third document called *Media Education* might be a unique one because it explores the conceptual difference between the media systems and educational systems (Morsy, 1984). It highlighted the threat of mass media to schools and suggested the possibility of integrating the two knowledge distributing channels. The fourth is a book entitled *New Directions: Media Education Worldwide* (Bazalgette, Bevort, & Savino, 1992d), which reported on the latest developments in media education around the world.

In recent years, media education has become a worldwide phenomenon. However, it is still more developed in industrialized, technologically advanced countries. Globally, the development of media education can be divided into four categories (Butts, 1992). First are countries in an advanced stage of media education development, such as Australia, Britain, Canada (especially Ontario), Finland, France, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. In these countries, media education has gained a firm foothold in either national or regional curricula. Some of the media education programs are a mandatory part of the school curriculum while
others are offered as an option. In Wales and England, media studies has become a course for public examination. Second are countries where the development of media education depends largely on individual teacher initiatives or outside agency support. The United States, West Germany and Israel fall into this category. The development of media education fluctuates. Little recognition or funding has been obtained from national or regional educational authorities. Third are countries which have small-scale initiatives in media education. These initiatives usually come from church organizations. Japan, the Philippines, India and some Latin American countries belong to this group. Media education does not get recognition from the educational system. It depends on individual initiatives and lacks funding. Fourth are countries such as the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, where recent political or social changes have opened up new opportunities for media education.

Media education is strong worldwide. Initiatives are found in many countries and advocates are lobbying intensively to achieve recognition for media education in the formal educational system. Struggling to establish media education "as an entitlement for all children within formal education" is regarded as the primary task of the media education movement (Bazalgette, Bevort, & Savino, 1992c, p. 188). My analysis of the UNESCO reports on media education indicates that in the 1960s and early 1970s, numerous initiatives for media education grew out of the concern about the advancement of new communication technologies. However, media education did not receive much formal recognition from the educational authorities. From the mid-1970s and through the 1980s, when mass media were perceived as a competitor to school, media education became part of the formal school curricula in many countries such as Australia, Britain, Canada and Norway. In the 1990s, lobbying for media curricula in school is on-going. The history of the development of media
education can, therefore, be regarded as a struggle for legitimation. The breakthrough in
education came in the 1980s. This finding is significant for the analysis of the legitimation
of media education in Ontario, Canada.

Canada is one of the world’s leading countries in media education (Bazalgette,
Bevort, & Savino, 1992b; Butts, 1992; Pungente, 1993a). As part of a world trend, media
education started in Canada in the 1960s under the banner of screen education. It lost
momentum in the early 1970s, yet, from the late 1970s onwards, it grew stronger and
stronger, particularly in the province of Ontario. In the past decade, six media literacy
associations were founded in Ontario, British Columbia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Nova
Scotia and Quebec. In 1992, the Canadian Association of Media Education Organizations
(CAMEO) was established as a national umbrella organization. The purpose of these
organizations is to promote media literacy across Canada. The CAMEO has mounted a
major campaign to place media education in the provincial school curricula. Legitimating
media education is always on the top of their agenda. As pointed out by Emery (1987) and
Pungente (1993a), many ministries of education in Canada have moved to introduce media
education into their school curricula. The Quebec Ministry of Education gave its approval to
teach media literacy in both French and English studies. Since 1982, "viewing" has been
one of the strands (along with reading, speaking, listening and writing) that is required across
the Alberta curricula. Language arts teachers in Manitoba are encouraged to integrate media
into their teaching by examining the messages coming from television advertising. Recently,
media education was included in the school curriculum in British Columbia. However, prior
to 1995, Ontario was the only educational authority in Canada to make media education a
mandatory part of the secondary school curriculum. In 1987, the Ontario Ministry of
Education revised the Secondary English Curriculum and developed a media education requirement for students in grades 7 through 12 (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1987). This mandated media literacy program symbolized the recognition of media literacy not only by the educational community and the general public in the province but also by the provincial government.

Although media education as a significant social and educational initiative has status and strength in Canada as well as in many other countries, there has been no systematic research done on the rise of media education. This study attempts to fill this research vacuum by examining the social construction of media education in Ontario. Special attention is paid to the educational response to the development of new media technologies.

1.2 New Social Curricula in a Postindustrial Society

In 1964 Daniel Bell proposed the term "postindustrial society" to describe the coming societal shift from an industrial society (Bell, 1964, 1973). In recent years, analysts have replaced the industrial labels and have claimed that Western countries have already moved into the information society.

It is theoretically interesting to link the societal shift with the emergence of a number of new social curricula in secondary schools in the last two decades. The 1970s and 1980s witnessed a dramatic increase in new school programs. Examples include environmental education, gender education, peace education, multicultural education, health education and media education. In Britain, these new initiatives are called "cross-curricular themes."
Educators in some European countries identify them as "cross-curricular subjects" (Boeckmann, 1992; Pungente, 1985). In the United States, they are sometimes labelled as "mini courses" (Senesh, 1981). Whatever the nomenclature, this group of subjects has a short history when compared with traditional subjects which have stayed on school timetables for almost a century. Many of these newly emerging subjects are social in nature because they try to educate students about society. Dufour (1990c) labelled them the "new social curricula." The word "new" also distinguishes these curricula from the social science courses of the 1960s. Moreover, the label excludes educational initiatives put forward early this century, such as the Scientific Temperance Instruction (Sheehan, 1986) which was also social in nature.

Another outstanding characteristic of the new social curricula is their "subject transgression." They are independent bodies of knowledge that permeate existing subjects or become integrated into existing school programs. They are cross-curricular in nature and are not constrained by subject boundaries. Lash's (1990) work informs the study of the transgressive nature of new social curricula. Lash put forward a concept called "de-differentiation of cultural production." The concept refers to the blurring of genres and boundaries which demarcate theory and knowledge. Disciplinary conventions collapse in the postindustrial age. McLaren (1993) interpreted the collapse as the de-differentiation of knowledge. McLaren tried to explain how the territorial boundaries of school subjects shift under the condition of de-differentiated knowledge. For McLaren, the central questions are as follows: What kinds of "curriculum differentiation or de-differentiation" will follow from a shift towards a more postindustrial cultural existence? (p. xix); "What kind of subject disciplines will emerge in the process?"; "Who will be the new challengers?" (p. xviii); and
"How will these new subjects reflecting such de-differentiation gain legitimacy?" (p. xx).

Lash and McLaren's work alert us about curriculum development in a postindustrial society. McLaren concentrated inquiry on new school subjects. The question of legitimation provides a new way of looking at curriculum formation in a postindustrial world. The rise of new social curricula can, therefore, be regarded as a type of curriculum reform based on knowledge de-differentiation.

Further, the new social curricula differ greatly from traditional school subjects in their methods of gaining a foothold in the school curriculum. The core subjects and the foundation subjects all pursue distinct subject identities. The majority of them aim to promote their academic status (Goodson, 1982). Their existence symbolizes strong knowledge demarcation historically and across levels of education. Specialization and disciplinarity safeguard their place in the compulsory curriculum. On the contrary, although new social curricula have clear "identity," they do not emphasize their uniqueness but show their adaptability in knowledge integration. These curricular themes linger at the periphery of the school curriculum, waiting for opportunities to be picked up and integrated. Thus, their survival very much depends on their successful adherence to the existing school curriculum. It is interesting, therefore, to see how these new educational initiatives position themselves in order to gain entry and subsequently earn a secure place in the curriculum. The way in which these new social curricula adhere to other school subjects marks a new curriculum formation strategy which has significant theoretical implications.

As noted above these new social curricula are closely related to the new social configuration of postindustrial society. Most of these new educational initiatives sprouted from social movements or pressure group activities in the postindustrial era (Dufour, 1990b).
For example, gender education and environment education grew out of the feminist and the environmentalist movements. Social movements in recent decades represent new social conflicts in a new societal stage. The impetus invariably came from the optimistic era of the 1960s as they promoted social change for greater equality and justice. European social theorists (Offe, 1985; Melucci, 1985, 1994; Touraine, 1985) label them new social movements to distinguish them from the old social movements of the industrial society. The curricula that developed from these new social movements or pressure group activities to a great extent reflected the values and social imperatives of a postindustrial society. Since the curriculum changes were usually promoted by movement advocates, pressure groups and professional organizations, they were "bottom-up" educational initiatives rather than government initiatives. These bottom-up initiatives are considered to have had a great impact on school curriculum because they stimulated the interest of teachers and pupils. Yet the exact relationship between the emergence of these social curricula and related social movements has still to be investigated and "at present this can only be the subject of speculation" (Dufour, 1990b, p. 3).

How new social movements lead to the emergence of new social curricula has significant theoretical implications for the inquiry on the legitimation of new social curricula in a postindustrial age. Although not all new social curricula grew out of social movements, it is worthwhile to explore the relationship between the new social curricula and new social movements.

Media education is a typical new social curriculum (Dufour, 1990b). It grew out of wide social concern about the social and educational impact of the new communication technology. In most cases, media education developed as a response to campaigns by
pressure groups instead of being imposed from above. At the international level, with encouragement from UNESCO, media education was promoted as a global educational movement. In an international conference on media education held in 1990, Roncagliolo (1992, p. 210) concluded that "we are present at the launch of a vast social movement which assuredly points...towards education for freedom and critical sensibility." In Britain media education was promoted by individual teachers (Alvarado, 1977). Unlike many educational innovations that come from government officials, the media education initiative "arises from the grass roots," reflecting the concern of teachers at all levels about the way students deal with the mass media (Fuller, 1987, p. 51). In Denmark, the whole development of media education came from "the bottom," shaped by teachers and pupils and not by a decree from the educational authorities (Pedersen, 1977, p. 48). In these countries, the development of media education was described as the media education movement. In Ontario, Canada, media education grew out of the media literacy movement of the 1980s. This case study provides an excellent opportunity to examine the role of new social movements in the legitimation of new social curricula.

Media education has become a specific and autonomous field of study. However, like many new educational initiatives, it falls into the category of cross-curricular themes. Even in countries where media education has been included as a mandatory part of the school curriculum, it is not yet accepted as a core or foundation subject. Nowhere is media education established at the core of primary and secondary school curricula as a subject in its own right (Kress, 1992). Typically, media education permeates other school subjects.

According to UNESCO documents, media education has adopted the following strategies to gain a place in the school curriculum. First is total permeation: media education
is a cross-curricular theme to be taught in all school subjects. Examples are media studies in Austria, Denmark and France. Second is partial permeation: media education is a cross-curricular theme to be taught in some school subjects. In Finland media education is a pervading subject of some other school subjects such as Finnish, art, history, social studies and environmental studies (Minkkinen, 1977). Third is attachment: media education is a teaching unit in a natural subject base. For example, in Germany media education is attached to social studies (Bennett, 1977); in the Netherlands it is under art education (Swinkels, 1992); in some English speaking countries such as Britain, media education is attached to English. Fourth is integration: media education combines with some other existing subjects and becomes an integrated course. In Norway, media education has recently combined with computer studies and is taught under the label of "media and computer studies" in some primary schools (Dahl, 1992). Fifth is replacement: media education is to replace an existing school subject. There is an attempt in Australia to replace English with media or cultural studies (Kress, 1992).

It is apparent that media education has the characteristic which I call "subject transgression." Subject transgression describes all five strategies mentioned above. How one strategy becomes established depends on the outcome of curriculum politics. In Ontario, as in Australia and Britain, media education was attached to English. I label this curriculum-making strategy "subject inhabitancy" and argue that it is a common curriculum formation pattern for new social curricula.

In summary, the Ontario case of media education involves a number of theoretical issues related to new social curricula. These theoretical issues include the link between new social movements and new social curricula, the curriculum formation pattern of "subject
inhabitancy" and the postindustrial values in new social curricula. Therefore, the legitimization of media education in Ontario is an important topic of study not only because media education is a significant educational initiative which demands scrutiny, but also because the theoretical issues involved can enrich our understanding about the formation of new social curricula in an information age.

1.3 Statement of Problem

This is a study about the legitimization of media education. The purpose of the study is to describe and analyze why and how media education became part of the formal school curriculum in Ontario. The object of concern is the way a new social movement lead to the formation of a new social curriculum. The study hopes to advance our understanding of the legitimization and classification of new social curricula.

An examination of what has been excluded as well as required in official curricula clearly reveals, in country after country, that the popular media have consistently been criticized by educators and denied access to the school curriculum. Lusted (1985) described the process as "a history of suspicion" while Masterman (1983) called it "a history of discrimination." The present trend of formally including media studies in the school curriculum is a significant curriculum change.

Curriculum revision has always been regarded as piecemeal, a give-and-take process where one piece is taken out and replaced by another in a pie of relatively fixed size. Adding media education usually means that some existing curriculum is in jeopardy. This
process demands a strong justification from those who advocate the new curriculum and inevitably involves a fierce struggle among the subjects concerned (Goodson, 1982). If the time available for cultivating youth is limited and only socially valued forms of knowledge should be transmitted in school, then why did media knowledge, which was discriminated against and excluded from the classroom, become an acceptable part of the school curriculum in Ontario in the 1980s? As Canada shifted from an industrial society to an information society, the intensification of media impact resulted in moral alarm and stimulated new cultural conflicts. The emergence of media education possibly indicates that educational institutions and the community at large were responding to the socio-cultural changes and challenges brought about by new communication technologies.

Recognition of the need for a new body of knowledge, however, does not mean that it automatically becomes part of the school curriculum. Relevant literature indicates that seeking access to the school curriculum is a complicated and highly political process (Garvin, 1992; Goodson, 1982). Goodson’s research on curriculum change documents serious territorial disputes among varied school subjects. The struggle for a niche in the curriculum is tough. The most outstanding feature of the fight for legitimation of media education in Ontario is that the lobbying was backed by the media literacy movement prevalent in the early 1980s in the province. The media literacy movement placed media education into the school curriculum. The central research question of this dissertation is, therefore, "How did the media literacy movement in Ontario lead to the legitimation of media education in the Ontario school system?" A framework is put forward to analyze the process of legitimation which includes the following elements:

1. Justification: Adopting a problem-solving approach
2. Lobbying: Making use of public pressure
3. Positioning: Employing the strategy of subject inhabitancy
4. Curriculum-building: Offering unofficial support to curriculum design and implementation

1.4 Organization of the Dissertation

This study will first analyze the media literacy movement in the 1980s in Ontario as a new social movement which addressed the social conflict caused by media technological development in a postindustrial age. It moves on to describe and analyze the legitimation of media education through the framework outlined above. The media education curriculum is also analyzed to see whether it shares the values of postindustrial society.

Following the introductory chapter, this dissertation is divided into three parts, totalling 10 chapters. Chapter One introduces the case of media education in Ontario and states the purpose of the study. It also explains the theoretical and policy significance of this research.

Part One includes two chapters. Chapter Two concentrates on theory. It explores the theoretical link between the emergence of postindustrial society, the development of new social movements and the rise of new social curricula. Based on the social conflict theory of curriculum-making, this chapter aims at building a framework to analyze the legitimation of new social curricula characterized by knowledge de-differentiation. The framework includes four elements of legitimation. Chapter Three examines the methodology. It explains why this research adopted the research approach of historical sociology. In essence, historical
sociology is preoccupied with epochal interpretation so it is especially appropriate for the research on media education which concerns the societal shift towards postindustrialism. This research follows a case study design. In-depth interview and document analysis are the major means of data collection.

Part Two, consisting of two chapters, reports the historical development of media education. Chapter Four sets the stage for the analysis of the emergence of media education in Ontario. This chapter traces the historical roots of media education back to the 1960s. The screen education movement at that time was considered to have planted the seeds for the development of the media literacy movement in the 1980s. The chapter also examines the socio-cultural climate of the 1980s which gave rise to the quest for media literacy in the province. The moral alarm about pornography and media violence is found to have given much impetus to the media literacy movement. The concern about cultural penetration from the United States through the mass media is also found to be an important reason to justify the need for critical awareness of the impact of mass media. A theoretical concept, "technocultural nationalism," is introduced to explain how the way Canadians think about technology informed the development of the media literacy movement. The objective of this chapter is to provide a picture of how Ontarians responded to the technological impact of the new electronic media on their society. Chapter Five is a detailed description of the media literacy movement in Ontario. It analyzes the motivation and aspirations of the social groups which were actively involved in the movement and illustrates their advocacy strategies. The most important objective is to interpret the media literacy movement in the light of new social movement theory. The chapter attempts to show that the media literacy movement emerged to address the new social problems in an information society. The media literacy movement
shared most of the characteristics of other new social movements and was embedded in distinct postindustrial values and praxis.

Part Three, Chapters Six through Nine, describes and analyzes the legitimation process of media education through the proposed analytical framework. This framework tries to depict and explain the role of social movements in curriculum formation. Chapter Six deals with the first element of legitimation: justification. This chapter addresses the social conflict generated by the ever-expanding media industry. It shows that mass media were conceptualized as an "invisible curriculum" which became a rival of the ordinary school. Proponents believed in the existence of an urgent social need to develop students' critical awareness about the mass media. According to this view, as Canada entered the information age, the concept of traditional literacy had to be extended to include media literacy. Media literacy was perceived as a life skill and the school had a responsibility to cultivate this critical awareness skill. The argument for media literacy in schools was based on the emphasis on social need. The language of justification adopts a "problem-solving approach," suggesting the use of media literacy to counter mass media manipulation. It differs greatly from the arguments for many other traditional school subjects which stress either the utilitarian value or the academic merit of the subject. This phenomenon corresponds with the call which calls for more cultural curricula in postindustrial society. Chapter Seven describes the lobbying strategies employed by the media education advocates. The advocates gained most of their bargaining power from the media literacy movement. Although the advocates were informally and loosely organized, they galvanized tremendous public support. The educational bureaucracy was under great public pressure to include media literacy into schools.
Chapter Eight focuses on the third element of legitimation: positioning. Media education, like other cross-curricular themes, was not able to establish itself as an independent subject in the school curriculum. Instead it had to append to one or several existing school subjects to gain entry. In Ontario, media education attached itself to the English curriculum to earn a place in the school timetable. In this chapter, I introduce the concept "subject inhabitancy" to explain the positioning of media education and the tactics of subject permeation in the form of "attachment." I also argue that "subject inhabitancy" is common in the curriculum-making of new social curricula. Chapter Nine describes the fourth element of legitimation: curriculum-building. This chapter highlights the importance of the curricular support from the movement activists. If media literacy advocates had not contributed to writing the *Media Literacy Resource Guide* and had not assisted in the teacher training and implementation programs, the legitimation of media education would have been inhibited. In this chapter, the ideology in the curriculum built by the movement advocates is analyzed and the characteristics of the curriculum are displayed.

Chapter Ten is the conclusion and discussion. Special attention is given to the bridging role school teachers played in the media literacy movement and the legitimation of media education in schools. The discussion section focuses on the future direction of media education.
Grounded on both literature review and empirical research, this chapter outlines a theoretical frame which identifies justification, lobbying, positioning and curriculum building as key elements for legitimating a new social curriculum. Before proceeding to the analytical framework, the chapter introduces the coincidence of the emergence of new social movements and new social curricula in postindustrial information society. Although the distinction between old and new social movements should not be seen as rigid and the continuity between them should not be ignored, a number of unique characteristics of new social movements are identified. Meanwhile, the new social curricula are also found to share some outstanding features. Social conflict theory of curriculum formation is put forward in an attempt to establish the theoretical link between new social movements and new social curricula.

2.1 Postindustrial Society, New Social Movements and New Social Curricula

Much discourse was generated since 1964 by Daniel Bell’s designation "postindustrial" for the coming transformation in society. Parallel to this, new forms of collective action were emerging in advanced industrial societies. Collective action bringing together people with the same interests or shared goals proliferated in the 1960s and beyond. The student and peace movement of the 1960s and 1970s led to the social movements of
feminism, gay rights, pro-abortion and pro-life, antinuclear and environmentalism. These contemporary movements create "problems of interpretation" because they involve different activists, are concerned with different issues and employ different methods of confrontation. They have provoked a reconceptualization of the meaning of social movement (Johnston, Larana, & Gusfield, 1994, p. 3).

These contemporary movements are distinctive because they do not display the characteristics of the traditional movements which were essentially class-based. In the past, the working class was the "necessary basis" for a radical social movement (Klandermans & Tarrow, 1988, p. 2). Participants of the contemporary movements however cut across class lines and their issues of concern also shift away from party politics and class struggle. Literature on social movements uses terms such as "new politics" or "alternative movement" to describe how they differ from the traditional movements (Offe, 1985). Classical theories on social movements strongly rooted in an industrial capitalist society such as structural functionalism, collective action theory and Marxist theory are not able to give these new social phenomena a satisfactory explanation (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991). For Marxists, for example, social movement must be based on social class. They are unable to address a social movement which is detached from class struggle (Scott, 1990).

The new social movements are different from the old in a number of ways (Offe, 1985; Scott, 1990). In the old movements socioeconomic groups were the key actors, while in the new social movements the major participants come from the new middle class. In terms of objective, the old social movements aimed at political integration and a fight for economic rights, but the new social movements, the goal is generally to bring about change in values and life-style. In terms of organizational structure, the old social movements were
formal and hierarchical while the new are informal and network-based. Regarding social location, the old movements functioned within the polity while the new social movements operate in civil society. Economic growth and distribution were the major concerns for the old social movements, but the new movements largely address issues of everyday oppression and discrimination. Since functional theory and collective action theory place too much emphasis on viewing the social movement as a "breakdown" of the social system, they are not informative about the patterns of oppression experienced in everyday life, which is the central concern of the contemporary movements (Maheu, 1995).

Two schools of thought have emerged to fill the theoretical vacuum. One is the resource mobilization approach developed by North American social movement scholars and the other is the new social movement approach proposed by European social theorists. The former examines contemporary social movements by looking at the ability of related organizations to mobilize resources for taking rational action (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Tilly, 1978). The latter tries to link up contemporary social movements with the structural changes brought along by postindustrial society (Melucci, 1994; Offe, 1985; Touraine, 1977).

Resource mobilization theory explains "how" different forces converge and organize collective action but it fails to tell "why" action occurs. Although the new social movement approach does not explain the way a movement is created, it is able to ask why a social movement arises (Melucci, 1985). Moreover, the approach places contemporary social movements in a wider socio-historical context. Apart from offering an explanation for the emergence of the contemporary movements, new social movement thinkers also identify some common characteristics in contemporary social movements and describe how these new movements differ from the old movements (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991; Johnston, Larana, &
Gusfield, 1994; Melucci, 1989). They give the name "new social movements" to collective action which has arisen since the 1960s in order to distinguish them from the old class-based social movements. The label "new social movement" has already been widely adopted in social movement literature to refer to movements which emerged in the past 30 years in Western industrial societies. Although some effort has been made to synthesize the resource mobilization approach and the new social movement approach (Cohen, 1985; Klandermans & Tarrow, 1988), it is clear that the latter approach has set the agenda for the current debate and research on social movements.

2.1.1 The shift to postindustrial society

The primary concern regarding the new social movements is "What social and cultural changes have led to the emergence of such movements?" (Johnston, Larana, & Gusfield, 1994, p. 9). New social movement theorists answer this question by analyzing the structural factors. Touraine (1971, 1985, 1995), Habermas (1987) and Melucci (1985, 1994) tried to establish a connection between the new forms of movement and the emerging structure of postindustrial society. Touraine posited four major components of postindustrial society: research and development, information processing, biomedical science and techniques, and mass media. Postindustrial society is defined by "the technological production of symbolic goods which shape or transform our representation of human nature and of the external world" (Touraine, 1985, p. 781). Melucci (1994) also conceptualized postindustrial society as "post-material society" and "information society," arguing the productive systems "no longer concern the sole production of economic resources but also the production of social
relationships, symbols, identities and individual needs" (1981, p. 179). These broad structural changes have characterized postindustrial society and led to new social conflicts which activated new forms of collective action. The new social movements were said to be located within a new historical epoch.

New social movement theorists argued strongly that as we are moving into the postindustrial society, we are engaged in a very different kind of social conflict. Touraine even suggested that "in a given societal type there is only one central couple of conflicting social movements" (Touraine, 1985, p. 773). The conflicts and concerns involved in varied social movements, such as women's liberation, environmental protection, abortion rights and ethnic minorities protests, were considered to have common elements. The central conflict in postindustrial society was identified as to "deal less with labour and economic problems because the domination which is challenged controls not only 'means of production' but the production of symbolic goods, that is, of information and images, of culture itself" (Touraine, 1985, p. 774). Although Touraine was criticized for his arbitrary attribution of a particular type of movement to particular types of society (Pickvance, 1995), it was generally agreed that in postindustrial society social conflicts have shifted from the political ground to the cultural ground (Melucci, 1985, 1994; Offe, 1985). The problem we face today is not a political crisis but a cultural democracy crisis (Maheu, 1995; Touraine, 1995). As a result the new social movements in postindustrial society, instead of concerning themselves with class struggle and the allocation of economic resources, challenge the symbolic control of the new society.
2.1.2 The characteristic features of the new social movements

Social theorists have described the characteristic features that separate the "new" from the "old" movements. These common features of the new social movements are identified in terms of issues, activists, aims, values, social location and organizational patterns.

**Issues:** New social movements are issue-oriented. Their concerns are usually restricted to one or a few issues. The movements tend to be organized around a distinct theme such as environment, health or civil rights (Scott, 1990). The nature of these issues is social and cultural. As new social movements engage primarily in cultural and symbolic issues, they differ from the traditional workers' movements which are basically political in nature.

In postindustrial society, according to Offe (1985) and Melucci (1994), social control is no longer limited to the manipulation of external constraints of individual behaviour but intervenes in the control of the symbolic infrastructure of informal interaction. Habermas (1987) called this the "colonization of the life-world." The dominant issues of new social movements involve personal and intimate aspects of human life (Johnston et al., 1994). They are concerned with people's physical territory, personal rights, life-styles, consumer patterns, personal behaviours and natural environment. Movements such as those involved with gay rights, abortion, alternative medicine and ecology all reflect the entry of social movements into areas of daily life. In Touraine's words, it is the "privatization of social problems" (Touraine, 1985, p. 784).

The issues raised by new social movements are also beyond the scope of the nation-state. Many of them are global issues such as the anti-nuclear movement and environmental
protection, or issues which have an universal appeal such as women’s rights, animal rights and anti-violence. New social movements address global and universal social problems.

**Activists:** New social movements are not class-based. In the old movements activists had a clear socioeconomic identification and acted out of class interest. In contrast, activists involved in the new social movements do not define themselves in terms of a socioeconomic class (Cohen, 1985; Offe, 1985). Two groups of people tend to participate in new social movements (Klandermans & Tarrow, 1988; Offe, 1985). The first group includes people who are particularly sensitive to the new social conflicts emerging in postindustrial society. Their values and needs motivate them to participate in collective actions. They come mostly from the new middle class. Some are well-educated youths (e.g., university students), middle class housewives and retired people with a more flexible time-budget. New middle class is defined here as a socioeconomic group in possession of educational and technical qualifications (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 1984). It is responsible for symbolic control (Fisher, 1993). Different from the "old" middle class, which refers to small landlords and merchants a century ago, the new middle class includes what Turner (1994, p. 123) called the "upper-middle white-collar" (high-salaried professionals or successful business persons who have accumulated some wealth), "solid middle white-collar class" (respectable income, some investment in pension fund and home equity) and "lower white-collar middle class" (modest income, few accumulated assets). The interesting point is that the new middle class acts as a class but does not act on the basis of class interest. Its demands, according to Offe (1985, p. 833), are "highly class-unspecific" and "universalistic in nature." The issues it raises, such as peace, environmental and abortion rights, are irrelevant to class interest. The second group includes "victims" of modernization. Most of them have been marginalized by
societal developments and have been confronted with some specific social problems. These people cannot be defined in terms of social class.

Since the activists in new social movements are primarily recruited from the new middle class, Eder (1995) called it middle-class radicalism. However, as Offe points out, the new middle class politics is "a politics of a class" but not "on behalf of a class." In this sense, the new social movements are not class movements at all. The composition and the orientation of the participants in the new social movements inevitably have an impact on the movements' aims and concerns.

**Aims:** All social movements attempt to generate social change. For Scott (1990, p.17), the aim of new social movements is to "bring about change through changing values and developing alternative life-styles." Social change here has a specific meaning different from the one in the old movements. New social movements do not ask to share power with the state or the establishment. According to Touraine (1985, p. 777), new social movements "do not pretend to transform society," they simply aim at lowering "the level of social control and integration." They strive for cultural diversity and the capacity to do "otherwise." Similarly, for Offe (1985, p. 827), activists in new social movements are sometimes not overly concerned with gaining acceptance of their specific values. What they really want is "to be allowed to enjoy the rights and freedoms." The gay rights movement is a prime example. In other words, new social movements oppose social oppression and work for a change in values and life-styles, but do not usually strive to transform the party structure or gain economic right.

**Values:** All the new social movements share a fundamental belief in liberation and personal autonomy (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991; Melucci, 1994). In varied ways, they call
for an end to unfair social manipulation and centralized control. Terminology used in the social movement literature to refer to this basic value includes "personal and collective emancipation," "individual freedom," "personal autonomy," "self-management," "self-government," "opposition to manipulation," and "opposition to control and dependence."

This urge to develop a sense of personal integrity and autonomy was explained by Melucci as a necessity in postindustrial information society. In a world of high density information, "individuals and groups must possess a certain degree of autonomy and formal capacities for learning and acting that enable them to function as reliable, self-regulating units" (Melucci, 1994, p. 101). The stake of action in social movements has changed from "freedom to have" in the past to "freedom to be" at present (Melucci, 1989, pp. 177-178). An ideological theme of the new social movements which is related to the notion of autonomy is "anti-authoritarianism." The anti-authoritarian character of the new social movements leads movement participants to focus on grass-roots actions and direct democracy (Scott, 1990). While these values are not new, they have been articulated and become central to the value system in new social movements (Offe, 1985).

Another value aspect of the new social movements is the quest for personal and collective identity. In recent decades, the collective search for identity and personal transformation have become the central themes of many social movements. The questions "who are we" and "who am I" reveal that people are increasingly reflective about their social position and cultural experience. One of the negative consequences of industrialization is the loss of identity. As people are moving into the new historical era of postindustrialism, the quest for identity may be a natural reaction to fill this gap.
New social movement ideology is also characterized by the notion of antimodernity. According to Klandermans and Tarrow (1988, p. 7), new social movements "do not accept the premise of a society based on economic growth" and there is a dramatic change from "materialist to postmaterialist values." They wish to establish a new relationship with nature, the opposite sex and with consumption. Offe also viewed the new social movements as the modern critique of further modernization. All the major concerns of the new social movements were said to challenge the "blind dynamics of military, economic, technological and political rationalization" (Offe, 1985, p. 856).

Social Location: New social movements are located within civil society and do not intend to challenge state power. They are very different from the old movements which operated within the polity. Contemporary movements increasingly have the civil society as a primary domain of influence rather than the state or economic institutions (Cohen, 1985; Offe, 1985; Scott, 1990). Touraine insisted that a separation should be made between the concepts of civil society and the state. In the postindustrial era, social movements aiming at changing civil society do not necessarily target the transformation of the state. Social movements should not be identified with political actions aiming at controlling state power. New social movements are "attempts of 'society' to liberate itself from 'power'" (Touraine, 1985, p. 775). They prefer the idea of structural reform and defense of civil society to the revolutionary dream of abolition of the existing political and economic system (Cohen, 1985).

Organization Patterns: While the old movements tended to bring about change through political mobilization, new social movements attempt to introduce change by cultural innovation such as the advocacy of new values, norms and life-styles. Accordingly, as the
old social movements were mobilized by formal and hierarchical organizations, new social movements stress informal networking and grass roots participation. The organizational structure of new social movements is usually described as loose, informal, ad hoc, discontinuous, small-scale, segmented, diffuse and decentralized (Johnston et al., 1994; Klandermans & Tarrow, 1988; Offe, 1985). This tendency is due to their anti-authoritarian ideology and their great proximity to the grass roots (Scott, 1990). The mobilization of new social movements depends heavily upon preexisting private social networks (Johnston et al., 1994). Strong friendship ties are especially important to help motivate commitment and sustain membership (Offe, 1985).

No consensus has been reached by social theorists about what constitutes the "newness" of new social movements (Buechler, 1995). The above discussion, however, has shown the most commonly discussed characteristics of the contemporary social movements.

Critics suggested that we should not overlook the continuity between some old social movements and new social movements and should question the rigid division between the new and old movements. For Tarrow (1991) and Plotke (1990), many new social movements are not really new and new social movement literature overstates their novelty. Other scholars suggest there is continuity between the old and new movements (Johnston, 1994, Larana, 1994, Shin, 1994). They pointed out that all contemporary movements "have important historical predecessors that span at least the twentieth century and sometimes reach much further back into the nineteenth century" (Buechler, 1995). Ferree and Hess's (1994) study on the new feminist movement clearly shows this movement's historical link with the suffrage movement in the 1920s.
Many new social movement theorists suggested that contemporary movements are culturally-oriented instead of politically-oriented. Plotke (1992) accuses this new social movement discourse of selectively depicting their goals as cultural and overstating their detachment from conventional political life. Buechler (1995) argued that all social movements are political in nature. New social movements, such as the feminist and environmental movements, are deeply political and seek to change power relationships and law.

In my view, it is undeniable that the new social movement theorists put too much emphasis on the cultural dimension. Their bias may be due to their tendency to perceive new social movements as reformative instead of transformative. But it is noteworthy that few of the new social movement theorists overtly claimed that new social movements are completely apolitical. Thus, we should recognize the political nature of all new social movements. I think it is necessary to explain that these movements are not political only in the sense of party politics and class struggle. In fact, these movements' urge for social consciousness-raising certainly exerts political effect on society.

I agree with the views that there is continuity between old social movements and new social movements. I also accept the argument that the new social movements are not a unified sociological phenomenon and that there is a high degree of diversity among the new movements in terms of their aims, values and mobilization strategies. However, these critics are not able to deny the fact that new social movements do have some distinct features and their emergence is closely linked to the structural change towards postindustrialism.
2.1.3 The emergence of the new social curricula

A central concern of this study is the relationship between new social movements and the emergence of new subject disciplines during the same period. Cultural studies, ecological studies, ethnic studies and women's studies are gaining a foothold at the university level (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991; McLaren, 1993). They represent the new paradigm of social and cultural knowledge. As the traditional emphasis on natural science as legitimate knowledge was further challenged, human science became the model for social and cultural investigation (Aronowitz & Goroux, 1991). It followed that the legitimacy of the human sciences was extended in the 1960s into the secondary school curriculum. A most interesting phenomenon is the development of a large group of new social curricula which reflect social concerns of the 1970s and 1980s. They include environmental education, gender education, global education, health education, human rights education, media education, multicultural and anti-racist education, peace education, personal and social education, trade union education, and vocational education. These new educational initiatives are regarded as new bodies of knowledge responsive to the prevailing social forces. According to Dufour (1990b), many of these new social curricula grew out of major social movements in Western society. For example, gender studies, peace education, environmental studies and health education generate from the feminist movement, the peace movement, the environmental movement and the health movement respectively. However, Dufour did not probe into the relationship between the social movements and the new social curricula.

Ample evidence exists to link the new social movements to the new social curricula. In his analysis of environmental education, Huckle (1990, p. 153) concluded that
"Environmental Education developed alongside the wider environmental movement" in Britain and elsewhere. Hicks (1990) also found that peace education in Britain was encouraged by the rapid development of the peace movement in Europe, North America and other countries. In gender studies, according to Whyld (1990, p. 103), "the consistent pressure from feminists active in politics and the unions" contributed greatly to the inclusion of equal opportunities as one of the aspects in curriculum revision.

Once the new social movements had established themselves in the social and political arena, they moved to permeate the educational system. From the movement advocates’ point of view, the social issues addressed by these movements are so important that schools should assist in spreading the vital message. For example, health education in school should help to prevent drug abuse and the transmission of Aids. Furthermore, literature on new social curricula indicates that the involvement of teachers in social movements helped to introduce new social curricula into schools. In recent years, these new social curricula have been at the centre of intense lobbying by many subject associations (Dufour, 1990b). As the idea of curriculum change does not come from the educational authority, the new social curricula are often referred to as "bottom-up" initiatives.

Since the new social curricula emerged along with postindustrial society and have close links with the new social movements, I would argue that these initiatives reflect the concerns and values of a new historical epoch. The new social curricula in general have the following characteristics:

Newness: The new social curricula have a short history when compared with traditional subjects that have been in school timetables for almost a hundred years (Dufour, 1990c). They also differ from the "older" social curricula such as social studies, sociology,
economics and political science. Many of them are still in the formulative stages of theory and pedagogy. Because of their newness, little research has been conducted on them and our knowledge about them is limited. Most present studies on school subjects focus on core academic subjects such as biology, geography, mathematics, English and physics. This bias is possibly due to the historical preference for academic subjects which are regarded as high-status knowledge (Kirk, 1992). Studies on new social curricula are important because the legitimation of these subjects reflects current social transformation and shifts in cultural and educational priorities. It leads us to better understand what kind of education knowledge is socially approved and how it is socially constructed at the present time.

Social and Cultural Content: The new social curricula are social and cultural in nature because they study human society, human relationships, social institutions and social behaviours (Dufour, 1990b). Most importantly, the new social curricula touch on many aspects of students’ personal daily lives, such as media consumption, recycling, race relations, gender relations, health problems, sex orientation and life style. They offer practical and realistic knowledge which attempts to help students make sense of their social world (Dufour, 1982). The postindustrial age is characterized by a great demand for relevant cultural curricula (McLaren, 1993). Lash (1990) concluded that knowledge in postindustrial society should be highly relevant to people’s everyday life. New social curricula place emphasis on social and cultural curricular content and this focus is an attempt to meet the needs of postindustrial society. Moreover, like the concerns of the new social movements, the social issues or problems these curricula address are universal and global in nature. This global concern parallels the recent world trend of globalization.
Critical Objective: All new social curricula possess a critical dimension which may be due to their origin in social movements which strive for a just society. The major aim of these curricula is to develop in young people "a more critical and balanced social awareness" (Lawton & Dufour, 1973, p. 18). In Dufour’s view, the inclusion of more social curricula into schools might be regarded as a necessary measure to offer students useful knowledge in a changing world. He noted: "Children ought to know something of the social sciences for their own sake as part of relevant modern education but also to enable them to think more clearly about the complexities of modern society." (Dufour, 1982, pp. 94-95). For example, Global Education is a response to the pressing need to inform students about the increasing interdependence and rapid change in the modern world (Pike, 1990). Environmental education is vital to urge students to critically examine the environmental crisis and do something about it (Huckle, 1990).

Compared with traditional subjects, the new social curricula are sensitive to time. They educate students about things happening around them at present so the knowledge students acquire forms the base of their everyday social action. The new social curricula lead students to inquire about the status of their environment, media choice, human rights and many other current affairs. According to Stehr and Ericson (1992), knowledge is the foundation for action. In a postindustrial society or so-called "knowledge society," people’s life chances, life-style and social influence very much rely on the availability of the stock of knowledge at hand. As such, the timely and critical knowledge provided by the new social curricula would be useful for students living in a rapidly changing world.

Liberal Values: New social curricula, particularly those generated by social movements, ground their theory and practice in the philosophy of social equality and justice
As discussed above, these curricula are developed for students' personal use and self-management. Personal autonomy is one of the values embedded in the curricula. Democracy and liberty are an intense part of the curricula. Like the new social movements, the new social curricula are also anti-authoritarian and anti-modernity. They de-emphasize the authority of the teacher in the educational process and stress the importance of social critique. Human Rights Education, Peace Education and Environmental Education are examples illustrating these value aspects.

**Autonomous Area of Study:** Many new social curricula have developed their own educational theories and pedagogy. Related professional subject associations have been set up. Each subject or theme has become a specialization area with its own literature and expertise. They are bodies of knowledge with specific territories. Gender studies and environmental studies are themes which have developed as autonomous areas of study. Nevertheless, few new social curricula are treated as independent subjects in schools.

**Subject Transgression:** New social curricula are not constrained by subject boundaries and I would label this characteristic "subject transgression." According to Pike (1990, p. 138):

A feature of new social curriculum must surely be its preparedness to transgress rigid subject boundaries, and to positively encourage the cross-fertilisation of concepts, perspectives and practices to the point where "ownership" of a particular idea or approach becomes far less important than the impact it has upon other areas or themes.

Although new social curricula are independent bodies of knowledge, they are cross-curricula in nature. It is appropriate for the Department of Education and Science (DES) and Her Majesty's Inspector (HMI) to name them "cross-curricular themes" (HMSO, 1987). By
their nature they tend to permeate other subject areas. Moreover, they are highly integrative. They have, what I call, "high subject adaptability." They are able to permeate other subjects and accommodate themselves to new subject environments.

Weak classification and a permeable boundary make these knowledge units highly adaptable. Paisley's analysis of "variable field" and Bernstein's conceptualization of "integrated code" can help us understand the transgressive nature of the new social curricula. Paisley (1984) divided social science disciplines into two categories: level field and variable field. Anthropology, sociology and psychology are level fields which respectively conduct behavioral analysis from cultural, social and personal level. According to Paisley (1984, p.6), "whereas a level field encompasses a wide range of human behaviors at one level of analysis, a variable field gives its attention to one category of behavior, such as communication, across many levels of analysis." Communication research, cybernetics, systems research, business research, education research and other social science subjects are classified as variable fields. For Paisley, these disciplines cut across the level fields, as columns cut across the rows of a matrix. Each variable field has a focal variable. Compared to the level fields, the variable fields are younger and possess a mode of thought aiming for critical analysis. New social curricula are similar to what Paisley called variable fields which have specific focuses of study. For example, gender studies examines gender issues, while environmental education investigates environmental problems. Their analyses are conducted from different approaches or levels by cutting across subject boundaries. Therefore, new social curricula can be regarded as transgressive subjects.

Bernstein (1971) proposed that there are two types of curricula: collection type and integrated type. The contents of the former are clearly bounded and insulated from each
other while the latter stand in an open relation to each other. He also put forward two concepts: classification and frame. Classification refers to the relationship between contents. According to him, "Where classification is strong, contents are well insulated from each other by strong boundaries. Where classification is weak, there is reduced insulation between contents, for the boundaries between contents are weak or blurred" (Bernstein, 1971, p. 205). Frame refers to "the strength of the boundary between what may be transmitted and what may not be transmitted in the pedagogical relationship" (p. 205). In Bernstein’s view, any organization of educational knowledge which involves strong classification and strong frame is called collection code, while that involves weak classification and weak frame is named integrated code. New social curricula apparently belong to the category of integrated code. They are characterized by their weak boundary maintenance between contents and their weak frame.

The new social curricula’s permeation pattern can be very flexible. In Ontario, media education was attached to English, but in British Columbia it was included in the school curriculum as a cross-curricular subject. Some cross-curricular themes interweave and become an integrated area of study. In Britain, Earthrights: Education as if the Planet Really Mattered (Greig, Pike, & Selby, 1987) linked up the themes of environmental, development, peace and human rights education and encouraged teachers to explore environmental issues in a broader context. The book also offered advice for teachers to work across subjects. Huckle (1990, p. 156) quoted the premises of the book as follows:

The thinking of those at the broad focus of each field (Environment, Development, Peace and Human Rights Education) is increasingly marked by a shift away from a compartmentalised view of reality to an acceptance of the interconnectedness of all things and what has been called the "permeability of boundaries."
No wonder Dufour (1990b) described the new social curricula as a group of dynamic and changing subjects. I argue that the "subject transgression" and "subject adaptability" features of the new social curricula make these curricula agents of knowledge integration. They challenge the rigid demarcation of subject knowledge and they facilitate the "border-crossing" of academic theory and practice. The emergence of new social curricula represents a trend of knowledge de-differentiation in the postindustrial world.

**Student-centred Pedagogy:** Most new social curricula are based on the pedagogy of student-centred learning. For instance, peace education puts great emphasis on active student-centred learning (Hicks, 1990). In human rights education, the learning process is based on a co-operative dialogue between teacher and students and has the same status as the content (Selby, 1990). In global education, the teacher is "a facilitator of change and learning" (Pike, 1990, p. 133) and in environmental education, the teachers "act as partners rather than authorities in the learning process" (Goodson, 1993, p. 108). The new social curricula do not define teachers as experts. They adopt active learning methods such as the use of surveys, collaboration and resource-based learning. It is believed that a free exchange of ideas between teachers and students will benefit the students. Moreover, the new approach encourages independent thinking.

On the other hand, new social curricula initiate students to a style of critical thinking which helps students develop critical social awareness and avoid bias. According to Dufour (1982, p. 95), the process enables students to "transcend common-sense ideas held by the vast majority of the populace who had not studied social science." Indeed, critical thinking is essential for social survival in an information-overloaded, modern society.
Peripheral Status: Most of the new social curricula remain at the periphery of the general school curriculum and face the possibility of exclusion. They are still regarded as low-status knowledge and, therefore, expendable. Whyld (1990) complained that gender education suffers from a low priority in British schools. Garvin (1992) reported that consumer studies has a problem with implementation in Vancouver. Human rights education receives only minimal attention (Selby, 1990) and global education does not fit smoothly into a subject-bound, content-oriented curriculum (Pike, 1990). The new social curricula linger at the periphery of the school curriculum. Their rise and fall in popularity are linked to the shifts in political and educational priorities.

Emerging from a new historical epoch, the characteristics of the new social curricula distinguish them from traditional school subjects. New social curricula as a group constitute a hitherto amorphous curricular area which has great potential in fostering the integration of knowledge. Should these curricula be called a subject or a theme? In Dufour's (1990a) opinion, there is no intrinsic difference between cross-curricular themes and traditional subjects. The distinction is simply the result of the politics of knowledge--a distinction between high-status knowledge and low-status knowledge. Goodson's (1982) analysis of school subjects also implies that only well-established academic subjects are "real subjects." Here, real implies that they have legitimacy and cognitive authority. Since these new social curricula have the characteristic of "subject transgression" and always appear as a part of other subjects instead of standing alone, this image does not quite fit the ordinary concept of "subject," which is characterized by distinct knowledge demarcation. New social curricula blur the concept of subject boundary and invade the sovereignty of subject territory. That is why some people hesitate to call them "subjects." In my view, they should still be regarded
as subjects because they are autonomous and coherent bodies of knowledge. Nevertheless, I find the term "cross-curricular theme" useful, as it can bring out their distinct feature of "subject transgression." Therefore, in this study I will continue to address them as new social curricula or cross-curricular themes.

Not all new social movements generate new social curricula. Likewise, not all the new social curricula originate from new social movements. However, as analyzed above, quite a number of new social curricula grew out of pressure group activities associated with major social movements and social forces. The new social curricula are a group of new school subjects with unique characteristics; they are important educational innovations in a postindustrial world. It is worthwhile to examine how a social movement or the activities of a smaller-scale pressure group lead to the legitimation of a new school curriculum.

2.2 Social Conflict Theory of Curriculum Making

Almost all previous studies on school subject and curriculum change are based on the theory of cultural reproduction of school knowledge (either the direct reproduction thesis or the hegemony thesis). Instead, this study adopts social conflict theory to look at subject formation because this theoretical perspective allows us to examine the role of social movement or pressure group activities in formulating a curriculum.

Cultural reproduction theory argues that curricular content is "socially constructed" and this construction is not arbitrary but tends to act in the interests of particular classes (Apple, 1979; Luke, 1988). Coined by Blackledge and Hunt (1985, p. 134), "direct
reproduction theory" emerged in the 1970s. It holds an instrumentalist view of the State, claiming the State acts on the direct instruction of the bourgeoisie. Education is part of the capitalist society's "state apparatus" (Althusser, 1971). Education helps reproduce or maintain the capitalist economic system. Bowles and Gintis (1976) concluded that the educational system shapes students' values, beliefs, and aspirations in such a way that they readily fit into the existing relations of production. Later works in cultural reproduction, however, use the concept of hegemony to reframe the base-superstructure analysis and propose a selective tradition thesis (Apple, 1979; Blackledge & Hunt, 1985; Luke, 1988; Williams, 1989). They argued that individuals in schools are "incorporated," often non-coercively, into the suppositions, beliefs and practices of the dominant culture. School curricula present dominant culture as "the tradition" and reproduce social order in a hegemonic way. Because of this, education is unable to act as a force for social change promoting greater equality and social justice. Curricular response to social change is regarded as an activity which keeps up with the times to avoid social instability. The object of adapting new school subjects to meet the needs of present-day society is welcomed by the dominant class because this makes education better serve its interests (Clark, 1968). Curriculum development becomes a change to further social control.

In their book about the formation of American school subjects, Popkewitz (1987) and other scholars begin with the assumption of direct reproduction theory that school subjects fitted the need of the dominant class. For example, Freedman (1987a) found that the rise of art education in 19th century America was based on the request of industrialists to include drawing in the formal curriculum of urban public schools whose pupils were largely from immigrant and working class families. Similarly, Sleeter (1987, p. 210) found that special
education (learning disabilities class) "was created by white middle class parents in an effort to differentiate their children from low-achieving, low-income and minority children." The work by Young (1971) and many other scholars also held the view of social reproduction. For Goodson (1993), the State exercises control by indirectly promoting examinable knowledge and academic subjects. Through the alliance among academic subjects, academic examinations and able pupils, subject groups in school promote their subject to be viewed as an "academic discipline." Goodson wrote that teachers are not self-interested individuals, but the bureaucratization and structuration of schooling set the stage for groups to pursue status and resources. Teachers' material interest unwittingly contributes to the pattern of their own domination. McLaren (1993, p. xi) remarked that by stressing domination as a contradictory and often self-effacing process, "Goodson understands the formation of school subjects to be part of the process of hegemonic articulation."

I find the cultural reproduction theory of educational knowledge, particularly the direct reproduction theory, unsatisfactory in explaining the relation between the State and the education system. Assuming the State and the dominant capitalists are one monolithic entity, it fails to distinguish the interest of the State from the interest of the dominant groups. It also holds a mechanical view, treating schools as hegemonic tools. Regarding subject formation as directly manipulated by the ruling class, it sees no hope in curriculum change for promoting social equality and cultural democracy. Departing from the direct reproduction theory, Goodson's work shows that the teaching professionals in groups construct their institutions and at the same time they are constructed by the structuration. Applying Antonio Gramsci's work in the analysis of the State, many people began to see that
the State does have relative autonomy (Poulantzas, 1975). However, the analysis of the relation between state and education is still within the limit of reproduction theory.

Social conflict theory, however, adopts a very different assumption about the State and looks at the function of state education and subject formation from a very different viewpoint. By offering an explanation of modern education from a dialectical perspective, social conflict theory regards social movements as playing a vital role in affecting educational policy (Carnoy & Levin, 1985). School curriculum is seen as not only reproducing dominant ideology, but also reflecting social demands, and many social demands are articulated by social movements in modern society.

This theoretical perspective is based on the assumption of the self-determination of the State. Rejecting the view that the State would consistently support the dominant groups, the social conflict model alleges that the capitalist state must try to fulfil two basic and often mutually contradictory functions—accumulation of capital and legitimation (Panitch, 1977). A capitalist state that openly uses its coercive forces to help one class accumulate capital at the expense of other classes will lose its legitimacy and hence undermine the basis of its loyalty and support. Thus, the State is subject to the competing dynamics both of a capitalist class attempting to reproduce capitalist relations of production and of social movements trying to expand their economic power and social and political rights. There is no guarantee that the State will serve the interests of the dominant class. Rather, the State is a site of struggle and negotiation; it is a sphere of political action where the interests of less powerful groups (workers, women, minorities) can be partially institutionalized and realized (Apple, 1993).
Education, as one state apparatus, is also an arena of social conflict. It is a place where social movements try to meet their needs and the dominant class attempts to reproduce its hegemony. In his book *The State and Education Policy*, Dale (1989) went beyond the economic determinism of the political economy of education and the assumptions of pluralism which see the state as an instrument of capital or as a neutral umpire. Both Apple (1993) and Carnoy (1989) agreed that, since the State tends to balance the opposing interests of different segments of social groups, "there would be times when state educational policy is genuinely progressive" (Apple, 1993, p. 67). While education is a site of conflict, compromises have to be reached and that would permit at least partial victories for less powerful groups. Following this analysis, subject formation is contingent on the influence of two forces: one is the "reproductive force" of the dominant groups; another is the "democratizing force" of the pressure groups (Carnoy, 1989). Social movements can therefore penetrate the educational arena and official knowledge may include democratic elements.

Social conflict theory is significant in the analysis of the new social curricula of media education because it highlights the important role social movements play in curriculum formation. Unlike the reproduction theory and hegemony theory, it holds an optimistic view on curriculum development and sees the possibility for new school programs that promote social justice. The social conflict theory provides the theoretical support to the link between social movement and subject formation. However, few empirical studies have examined the process whereby a social movement energizes a new school subject. Therefore, in the following section, I will formulate an analytical framework based on social conflict theory to investigate the legitimization process of media education.
Before moving on to the framework, I would like to point out that I do not agree with Carnoy and Levin's (1985) approach of constructing social conflict theory of education based purely on class analysis. In their social conflict theory model, the social movements are described as collective behaviours that "demand more public resources for their needs and more say in how those resources are to be used" (Carnoy & Levin, 1985, p. 47). If we accept the view that in postindustrial society the social struggle has already shifted from competition for the control of economic resources to control of symbolic goods, we must not limit the concept of social movement to interclass, material struggle. It makes better sense to interpret social conflict from a broader perspective to include collective actions initiated by divergent social groups for particular reasons.

From social movement to subject formation, the struggle is not only social and political at the educational policy level of the government, but also a competition for subject territory at the school subject group level. Curriculum construction is politically mediated by various stakeholders in the educational system and curriculum making essentially becomes a process of political negotiation. Goodson's (1982) study on school subject development documents the politics involved. All subject groups want to win legitimacy and secure their places in school by protecting or expanding their subject territories. For McLaren (1993, p. xii), "the struggle for curriculum is a never-ending process." Given the unique characteristics of the new social curricula and their special origins from social movements and pressure group activities, the legitimation of a new social curriculum takes a very special route.
2.3 Knowledge-Power, Boundary Work and Legitimation

School knowledge is not politically and culturally neutral but embodies and communicates the intent and values of those parties who have a major hand in constructing the school curriculum. Scholars of new sociology of education are particularly concerned with the ways society selects, classifies, transmits, and evaluates educational knowledge (Bernstein, 1971; Fisher, 1993). What is the social motive for producing official knowledge? How is the power-knowledge relationship established through the school subject codification and classification process? Fisher (1990, 1993) maintained that it is important to explore the relationship between boundary work and knowledge legitimation. Boundary work incorporates legitimation and cognitive authority. In this sense, the investigation of the transformation of media knowledge into official knowledge will be illuminated by the theoretical discussion on power-knowledge as well as knowledge demarcation. Here the works by Foucault and some scholars in sociology of curriculum are relevant.

2.3.1 Foucault's power-knowledge

Foucault made a sophisticated analysis of the relationship between power and knowledge. According to him, knowledge does not reflect power relations but is inherent in them (Foucault, 1980). Power is immanent and diffused throughout society and on all levels (Foucault, 1975, 1976). Foucault's research on penal history and his experience at Attica prison led him to reformulate his thought on the effects of power. Power is not merely
negative, repressive and prohibiting, but can sometimes be positive, productive and explicitly bound to knowledge (Lemert & Gillan, 1982; Fisher, 1993).

One important aspect of Foucault’s work is his analysis of how knowledge regulates human practices. Power and knowledge regulate practices, he claimed, by highlighting what are known to be acceptable actions. To know is to exercise the power of subjection and domination (Lemert & Gillan, 1982). For example, knowledge of sexuality regulates people’s sexual behavior, prohibiting acts such as incest. It manifests social control and power over life. Foucault’s power-knowledge concept implies that all forms of knowledge have a political dimension (Jones, 1990) and that knowledge automatically leads to domination.

Accordingly, psychology, clinical medicine, the human sciences, criminology, population theory, political economy, modern biology, psychoanalysis and modern psychiatry are each implicated in modern society’s attempt to shape and control people. For Foucault, discipline is a double-edged practice: the control of knowledge and truth (e.g., clinical medicine as a discipline) and the control of bodies and people for social purposes (e.g., the use of medical and economic theories to control the size and behavior of population).

Foucault’s work is relevant to the study of knowledge and power in the school setting. Do school subjects, like those academic disciplines analyzed by Foucault, exercise control on students? What kind of knowledge politics is going on in school? In examining how power-knowledge regulates social practices, Foucault put great emphasis on the process of classification and division. Ball (1990) commented that the dividing practices are clearly central to the organizational processes of education in society. In The Archaeology of Knowledge, Foucault (1972) provided a schema for tracing the emergence of discursive
formations of knowledge. According to Fisher (1993, p. 21), "these discursive formations emerge as part of the overall process of knowledge differentiation" and Foucault's analysis on the demarcation of academic disciplines symbolizes "the progressive inscription of power into the boundary" (p. 22).

2.3.2 New sociology of education

Many studies in sociology of knowledge and sociology of education focus on the relationship between knowledge and power. For example, Young (1971) suggested that consideration of the assumptions of knowledge by those in positions of power may be a fruitful perspective for raising sociological questions about school curricula. Education may help to reproduce or maintain the capitalist economic system (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). Based on Gramsci's work, Williams (1989) maintained that schools serve to select knowledge, skills and competence for transmission. He characterized the process of selection as "selective tradition" which supports the domination of hegemony. Hence, from reproduction theory (Apple, 1979; Apple & Weis, 1983; Bourdieu, 1973; Young, 1971,) to resistant theory (Apple, 1982; Giroux, 1983) and social conflict theory (Apple, 1993; Carnoy & Levin, 1985), these works contend that curriculum is not politically, economically or culturally neutral. School knowledge is socially produced to support a particular social order.

A number of studies on school subjects illustrate that the aim of various school subjects is to produce "good" citizens and to maintain social stability. For example, Skau (1988) concluded that the aim of social studies is to train socially responsible citizens. The
emergence of special education in Ontario, Woodill (1991) claimed, was to settle the poor and handicapped with the objective of social control. The curricular rhetoric was heightened by the moral, economic and political fears of the upper class. The primary goal of developing the subject of home economics was to nurture good citizens who would then have better home-making skills (Thomas & Arcus, 1988). Computer studies was pushed by the business and industrial sectors to suit their needs for a better workforce (White, 1987). In the late 19th century, art education was used for developing skills for a labor market (Freedman, 1987a). While all these studies indicate that the power structure in society affects the selection and legitimation of school knowledge, other studies show that power penetrates the knowledge system through boundary work (Fisher, 1990, 1993). Fisher's study on the creation and growth of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in the United States is part of a larger study on the social sciences. The history of the SSRC illustrates the struggle to demarcate the social sciences from the natural sciences. Fisher's findings indicate that the attempt to create a new boundary around the social sciences failed due to varied power struggles among the State, philanthropic institutions and social scientists. The power-knowledge relationship was embedded in the process of boundary classification and legitimation.

For Karl Popper (1965), a boundary is socially constructed as illustrated by the boundary made between social science knowledge and everyday knowledge. Many people have put a great deal of effort into the creation and maintenance of the boundary between social science and other knowledge. Cozzens and Gieryn (1990) also claimed that neither science nor social science is separate or distinctive. Their distinctive status is the end result of persuasion by practitioners and their patrons. In this sense, the study on boundary work is
important not because the boundaries are real but because of the political interests involved.

In discussing the typology of educational knowledge, Basil Bernstein (1971) stressed that there is nothing intrinsic to the relative status of various subject contents nor to the relationships between contents. For him, "their classification and framing are social facts" (Bernstein, 1971, p. 204). The literature cited indicates, on the one hand, that the examination of the legitimation and classification of educational knowledge cannot exclude power analysis, and on the other hand, shows that power permeates the legitimation process through knowledge demarcation and boundary work.

2.4 Analytical Framework of Legitimating a New Social Curriculum

Based on the theoretical assumption of the social conflict theory and the above literature review of knowledge legitimation and classification, I put forward a framework to study the process by which a new social movement or pressure group works to legitimate a new social curriculum in school. The framework includes four elements of legitimation: justification, lobbying, positioning and curriculum-building.

Justification: Adopting a Problem-solving Approach The establishment of a new school subject demands strong justification. Previous studies on subject formation show that the success of the legitimation of a new school program depends heavily on whether the "need" of the subject is well-articulated and whether the "climate of opinion" is favourable to the new initiative (Goodson, 1988; Popkewitz, 1987; Reid, 1985).
Most of the new social curricula seem to employ a new and different approach from the traditional subjects to justify their "need" of being included in the school timetables. Historically traditional school subjects entered the school curriculum by emphasizing either their utilitarian value or academic value. Mathematics was included in the school curriculum for its academic value. In Britain, biology won its place in the school because of its usefulness in educating people about fishing, agriculture, animal breeding and insect-fighting. Geography also gained its entry for utilitarian reasons. As travelling and trading became common, it was necessary for students to learn map-reading and understand something about the world (Goodson, 1993). In the United States, art education won legitimacy in schools because it was useful in developing drawing skills for a labour market. The industrialists requested the inclusion of drawing for all urban public school children (Freedman, 1987a).

On the contrary, the new social curricula could not justify their existence in terms of utilitarian worth. They are of little use in production. Nor did they emphasize their academic value for intellectual training. They are not scholarly subjects. Rather, they articulated the social and cultural needs of a changing society. They claimed a place in the school curriculum by arguing that children need more social knowledge to develop critical social awareness and problem-solving skill in a complicated modern society. Thus, as many traditional subjects won legitimacy for contributing to the socialization of children and their preparedness for life in an expanding industrial world (Popkewitz, 1987), I would suggest that many new social curricula demonstrate their importance by acclimatizing children to a new, postindustrial society.

As social struggles have shifted from the control of material production to the manipulation of symbolic codes in the new society, new social curricula interpret the social
and educational "need" in this new dimension. Advocates of new social curricula articulate
the new social conflicts and social problems in contemporary society and urge the search for
solutions. They include the environmental crisis, nuclear threat, drug and alcohol abuse,
aids epidemic, media deception, gender friction and racial conflict. As part of the solution to
all these urgent social crises, advocacy groups press for environmental education, peace
education, health education, media education, gender education and multi-cultural education.
The school is pushed to take responsibility for preparing students to learn to handle the social
problems and conflicts of everyday life. The new bodies of knowledge about human rights,
gender equality and health consciousness are suggested as important social survival skills
fundamental to the education for responsible citizenship. Moreover, as these social issues
are universal and global in nature, schools are not given the option of ignorance.

In the early 1970s the debate on hidden curriculum was in full swing. The
justification of media education in the educational system was related to the tackling of
hidden curriculum because the mass media was regarded as an hidden educational force.
According to Vallance (1983, p. 11), hidden curricula are "those nonacademic but
educationally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not
made explicit at any level of the public rationales for education." For Jane Martin (1976, p.
131), a hidden curriculum "consists of those learning states of a setting which are either
unintended or intended but not openly acknowledged to the learners in the setting unless the
learners are aware of them."

Educators have been called to pay close attention to hidden curriculum because it has
long been regarded as powerful educational force. The most striking characteristic of hidden
curriculum is its invisibility. As "covert" or "latent" curriculum, it is not openly
acknowledged but it can be more effective than the formal curriculum (Vallance, 1983). The learning process is unintended, therefore Martin (1983) called it "unintended learning states." In spite of unintended learning, students may find the norms, values and beliefs transmitted by the hidden curriculum useful in their everyday lives. According to Snyder's (1971) study, hidden curriculum governs students' social conduct. Students learned from the hidden curriculum about what they can avoid doing, knowing where the risks are minimal and the cost is modest. From a critical sociologist's point of view, hidden curriculum is not neutral and it is even manipulative. According to Greene (1983, p. 4), the norms transmitted by the hidden curriculum are "in conflict with the values publicly affirmed by an ostensibly free society." Mediated through the hidden curriculum, in Giroux and Penna's view, the social and economic conditions distort social construction of meaning. The aim of hidden curriculum is to "socialize students to conform to the status quo" (Giroux & Penna, 1983, p. 112). The role of hidden curriculum in social reproduction of knowledge is, therefore, related to the notion of false consciousness.

Hidden curriculum has no specific subject matter. What it teaches varies according to different settings. The content which constitutes a hidden curriculum is not limited to a specific object (Martin, 1983). But it is important to note that what is transmitted by the hidden curriculum occurs systematically. In other words, it has a powerful accumulating effect. Further, the effect of hidden curriculum is not evaluated and therefore the consequences are easily ignored. As students are not aware of the existence of the hidden curriculum, some enthusiastic teachers want to make it visible. Giroux and Penna (1983) wanted the hidden curriculum to be eliminated or minimized. In answering the question of how to deal with hidden curriculum, both Martin (1983) and Greene (1983) thought
"consciousness raising" is the most important strategy. Greene believed the promotion of the critical consciousness of the hidden curriculum could empower students to resist hegemony and gain personal control.

Are mass media a kind of hidden curriculum? Are they a manipulating educational force? Is it necessary to tackle the hidden curriculum of mass media? I propose that new social curricula justify their existence by adopting a problem-solving approach. What this means is that the advocates (the proponents) of the new social curricula give some assurance that the proposed subject will be an attempt to lead to the solution of social conflict. In Chapter 6, I will analyze the justification of media education through the conceptualization of mass media as invisible curriculum.

Lobbying: Making Use of Public Pressure  According to Freedman (1987b), the formation of school subjects involves the struggle of various social and political interests which seek to use the school to express particular purpose and value. The central concern of the politics of knowledge is, therefore, about who finally wins the right to define what knowledge is worthy of being included. Based on social conflict theory, democratizing forces represented by social movements also have an opportunity to use the school to express their purpose and value. They have an opportunity to define the social reality, the educational needs and what knowledge is deemed worthwhile for learning in schools. However, this right is not granted but sought by vigorous lobbying. In order to admit the new body of knowledge into the official school curriculum, advocates must employ effective lobbying strategies to convince educational officials and policy makers.
Lemessurier (1988) distinguished the concept of lobbying from that of advocacy. She pointed out that advocacy is a deliberate effort to raise awareness of a topic, but lobbying has a different meaning:

A lobby is a well organised, ongoing series of communications with all levels of government. Its aim is to persuade government to start new policies, change existing ones, or increase government support (including dollars) for a program or group. This is called "influencing" government (Lemessurier, 1988, p. 41).

Therefore, the essence of lobbying for a new social curriculum is to persuade government officials to mandate a proposed curriculum. Since the lobbying impetus comes from pressure group activities related to social movements, the success of the lobbying relies less on the bargaining power of individual lobbyists or lobbying organizations, but rather on the impact of the movement. The wider the influence the movement has on the society and the greater the support the movement obtains from the public, the better is the chance of the initiated curriculum getting into the school curriculum.

For Offe (1985, p. 849), new social movements are grounded on values such as autonomy, social equality, liberties, human rights, peace and balanced physical environment which are essentially uncontroversial. These underlying values of new social movements "leave their intellectual and political opponents rather defenceless." Similarly, new social curricula growing out of the new social movements seldom face strong overt opposition. Their legitimation very much depends on whether they can find a curricular niche and convince the government to grant the mandate. Government support is crucial to the legitimation of new social curricula (Dufour, 1990b). What the movement advocates must do is to exercise public pressure to get the curriculum through.
New social movements operate within civil society and do not intend to challenge state power. The new social curricula grew from these movements and are not offensive to the political establishment. In return, educational authorities have little reason to oppose these new educational initiatives. In Britain, the Department of Education and Science (DES) and Her Majesty's Inspector (HMI) in 1987 devised a name (cross-curricular theme) and a place (the themes should be taught through foundation subjects) to protect them from being squeezed out of the curriculum (HMSO, 1987). However, the mandate does not come easily. Skilful manipulation of public opinion and use of lobbying tactics are important. As Goodson (1982) pointed out, educational initiatives must suit the "problem of the moment" and "climate of opinion" in order to be considered as a new subject.

Positioning: Employing the Strategy of Subject Inhabitancy It is not easy for a new body of knowledge to squeeze into the already crowded curriculum. This is particularly the case for low-status knowledge like those cross-curricular themes which are mobilized by social movements or pressure group activities instead of being initiated by the socially powerful groups. In order to gain entry, new social curricula have to employ special strategies. Subject permeation seems to be the most effective way for them to establish territory in the formal school curriculum under the new pattern of subject formation. I put forward a concept "subject inhabitancy" to describe the new phenomenon.

In the late 20th century, the curricular environment is totally different from that in the 19th century and breeds new patterns of subject formation. In recent decades, we can see a phenomenon of "subject inhabitancy," which is an innovative way of accommodating a new body of knowledge into the secondary school curriculum. Subject formation takes the form of inhabitancy in which the new subject emerges as a "guest" of one or several existing
subject(s). The host(s) provide(s) a "habitat" for the newcomer. Protocooperation is the term to describe the symbiotic relationship between the guest subject and the host subject(s). The term needs to be clarified. For symbiosis or protocooperation, the host nurtures the guest on a mutual benefit basis. They are mutually dependent but can survive without the other (Cheng, 1970; Read, 1970; So, 1992).

A large number of studies on curriculum history have been conducted in recent years. From this pool of literature, a clear distinction emerges between the studies on social origin of the old school subjects which emerged in the late 19th century and those on the emergence of new school subjects which came into being after the mid-20th century. The former put emphasis on the social conditioning of school subject formation by examining how the social, economic, political and cultural dynamics gave shape to the emerging school subjects. Little or no discussion is included on subject group conflict. By contrast, the latter highlight the struggle among subject groups as an important dimension of subject formation (Garvin, 1992; Goodson, 1993). The most outstanding example is Goodson's investigation of environmental studies in Britain in which political struggle among subject groups is central to his analysis. The shift of research focus is not simply a difference in research style. It reveals that the pattern of subject formation in the late 19th century differs from that in the late 20th century. It seems that subject group politics was less visible in the past but this is not the case in contemporary schooling. Nowadays, school subjects grow from both the current social forces and the political struggle among subject groups, which have become key political players in the process of curriculum making.

Subject groups have become key political players in subject formation because the school environment has changed over the past hundred years. In the late 19th century,
public schooling was still in its infant stage. First, the issue of what was central to students’ learning was still open for discussion. School curriculum was in a state of flux, waiting to be moulded and fixed. Second, space existed in the curriculum. Third, many school subjects were newly formed. Their primary task was internal development, not external expansion. Territorial disputes, therefore, were seldom raised. Competition among subject groups was not intense.

In the post-war period, public schooling has expanded rapidly and public schools became sophisticated bureaucratic institutions. What is central to students’ learning has been decided. A list of academic and utilitarian subjects have been mandated as core and elective school subjects. School curriculum is very crowded. Adding a program to the curriculum means that some existing materials have to be taken out. Under such a zero-sum game situation, it is very difficult for a new body of knowledge to squeeze its way into the school curriculum. Yet, it is worth mentioning the "ceiling effect." The ceiling of public education was raised as mass education expanded into the tertiary level, thus creating some openings both vertically and horizontally. But it is still difficult for a new body of knowledge to get into the official curriculum.

Thus, recognition of the need for a new body of knowledge does not mean that it can automatically become a part of the school curriculum. Seeking access to the school curriculum is a complicated and highly political process which involves a fierce struggle among the subjects concerned. So, if a new body of knowledge can find an academic "niche" in the school curriculum but there is no physical "space," an alternative strategy is to attach itself to an existing subject. It is like renting a room in someone else’s house as there is already no more land for new housing construction. Since the new social curriculum has
the characteristic of "subject transgression" and high "subject adaptability," it is easy for it to move into other subject areas given the unfavorable curricular environment. I would argue that "subject inhabitancy" is the way new social curricula nudged their way into schools. Take environmental studies as an example: according to Goodson (1982), when it emerged in Britain in the late 1960s, it was lumped with biology, geography and rural studies. In the case of consumer studies in British Columbia, Canada, it was "assigned" to the business education department (Garvin, 1992). Development education is under the jurisdiction of history, social studies and home economics (Dufour, 1982). Gender education, global education and health education all go across the curricula. All these examples indicate that subject inhabitancy is a common phenomenon in secondary schools. As a new curricular theme emerges, the first question the education authority asks is "Who will teach it?" (Goodson, 1993, p. 112). In other words, they are going to select a suitable host from the existing school subjects. However, curricular themes do not usually shop around for a host. Instead, the existing school subjects are looking for potential guest subjects as a means of expanding or maintaining existing territory. This involves the political economy of subject formation.

In the educational systems of Western industrial countries, a close connection exists between subject status and financial/resource allocation. High status subjects have better staffing ratios, higher salaries, higher capital allowances, more graded posts, better career prospects (Goodson, 1988). It is in the material interest of teachers and for the resource benefit of students that status enhancement and territory expansion are continuously being pursued for existing school subjects. There are many approaches to achieve these goals.
One which is central to our discussion is to stretch the boundary by incorporating promising initiatives (e.g., new bodies of knowledge).

Initially, the inclusion of an initiative may not be relevant to territory expansion. Initiatives may simply originate with educators trying out new ideas or practices, or they may sometimes result from the demands of pupils or their resistance to existing forms of teaching (Westbury, 1984). Initiatives normally exist in several subjects over a long period of time, but according to Ben-David and Collins (1966), only a few have potential for further growth.

This "further growth" is the turning point for the establishment of a host-guest relationship. At this stage, a few subject groups begin to take a political look at the initiative. They become interested in the new idea not only as intellectual content but also as potential means of improvement in occupational role and subject status (Goodson, 1988). This limited number of subject groups then become nurturing hosts and they begin to promote the initiative. Meanwhile the subject groups are also competing with one another to be selected as the official host of this particular invention. As such, the winning official host, which previously acted as one of the nurturing hosts, plays a significant role in shaping the new curriculum. The new curriculum (guest) shares the characteristics of its host in many ways. Therefore, a study of the guest-host relationship of a new curriculum helps us understand the development of a new curriculum and how it will grow in the future.

Although Goodson does not look at curriculum formation from a subject inhabitancy point of view, his analysis of the politics of subject groups is very helpful in conceptualizing the guest-host relationship. In Goodson's view (1988), low-status subjects with poor career patterns and even with actual survival problems may readily embrace and promote new educational initiatives because they foresee the possibility for basic improvement in the
occupational role. He cited the example of rural studies which tried to promote new
initiatives, such as environmental studies, in order to upgrade its subject status. In the
1960s, rural studies in Britain was faced with extinction in the emerging comprehensive
schools and it lacked university base. Rural studies advocates wanted to redefine their
subject by integrating environmental studies which was close to science. According to
Goodson, high-status subjects may ignore major opportunities as they already possess
satisfactory resources and secure position. As will be argued in a later chapter, even high-
status subjects such as English, will not forgo opportunities to integrate media education and
to extend their territory for status maintenance and power expansion. In my view, both low-
status and high-status subjects are interested in becoming host(s) of new curricula for political
and economic reasons. Garvin's (1992) study on consumer education confirms that the
creation of a new compulsory course provokes a great deal of territorial conflict among
subject groups that want the territorial advantage the new course would offer to their
respective areas. The guest and the host are in a symbiotic relationship.

Subject inhabitancy is also considered by the educational bureaucracy as a feasible
way to accommodate the new social curricula. As mentioned earlier, the British Department
of Education and Science invented the term "cross-curricular themes" for these new
educational initiatives and "proposed that such subjects or themes should be taught through
the foundation subjects, so that they can be accommodated within the curriculum but without
crowding out the essential subjects" (quoted in Dufour, 1990c, p. vii). Since there are quite
a number of new initiatives, the competition among them can be intense. Therefore, the
effectiveness of their positioning strategy becomes crucial in the competition for the status of
official knowledge.
Curriculum-building: Offering Unofficial Support to Curriculum Design and Implementation  

New social curricula are unfamiliar areas of study for the educational bureaucracy and for many classroom teachers. If members of pressure groups associated with the social movement offer their expertise to the development of the proposed curriculum, it can enhance the chances of legitimation of the new subject. Before government officials mandate a new school subject, they usually have to consider the availability of the relevant curriculum resource materials, textbooks and teaching aids. They also have to think about teacher training and curriculum implementation. If they know they can get assistance with curriculum design and implementation from the advocates, their confidence in mandating the new invention is greater. Numerous examples exist where new social curricula have had to rely on outside support for curriculum development. For example, in Britain, the Centre for Global Education, organized by committed teachers and advisers, provided curriculum materials for global education (Pike, 1990). For human rights education, two non-government organizations, the British section of Amnesty International and the Minority Rights Group, published teaching units for teachers (Selby, 1990). For development education, an organization called Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development (VCOAD) was set up to produce fact sheets and other materials for schools (Fyson, 1982).

In the process of securing outside curricular support, school teachers play a significant role in bridging the gap between the social movement and the development of the new social curriculum. Many teachers are key members of pressure groups supporting social movements, promoting environmentalism, peace and feminism. Their double role, as advocate and classroom teacher, enables them to apply their expertise on subject matters such
as the environment, third world development and gender equality to curriculum design. This crystallizes Giroux's (1988) theoretical conceptualization of teachers as "transformative intellectuals." Giroux argued that teachers' work should be a form of intellectual labour and should not be defined in plain instrumental or technical terms. Teachers could contribute not only to the processes of curriculum implementation and execution but also to the planning and design of curricula. Thus, through their participation in social movements and involvement in curriculum-making, teachers of new social curricula can legitimate the social, political and cultural interests they endorse.

The above framework summarizes the essential elements in the process of creating a new social curriculum. As many new social curricula originate from pressure group activities which are associated with major social movements and social forces in modern society, this framework tries to explain the strategy employed by less powerful groups in legitimating a body of "low-status" knowledge. The most significant theoretical aspect in the legitimation process is the positioning of these new social curricula and the subject permeation tactics they use. What form of "subject inhabitancy" do they choose? Is it attachment to one subject, permeation of several subjects, cross-curricula for all subjects or integration with other themes as a new, integrated subject? Sometimes the choice very much depends on the opportunities available. Furthermore, the four elements discussed are interlocking and interacting. For instance, the choice of the form of "subject inhabitancy" will affect the work of curriculum-building, and the availability of curricular support and persuasiveness of the language of justification will influence effective lobbying. The four elements of legitimation are interactive and interrelated.
2.5 Defining a Social Movement

In this thesis it is necessary to determine whether the media literacy movement under investigation is in fact a social movement so that discussion can follow on how this movement leads to the legitimization of media education. Before proceeding to examine the case, what constitutes a social movement needs to be clarified. In social movement literature there exists little agreement among social theorists on a definition of a social movement. Different perspectives result in different definitions.

For Touraine, who is interested in the relationship between the new social conflicts and social movements in postindustrial society, an alleged social movement is "the organized collective behaviour of a class actor struggling against his class adversary for the social control of historicity in a concrete community" (Touraine, 1981, p. 77). Emphasizing the role of persuasion in a social movement, Stewart, Smith, and Denton (1984, p. 14) claimed a social movement should be "an organized, uninstitutionalized, and significantly large collectivity that is created to bring about or to resist a program for change in societal norms and values, operates primarily through persuasive strategies, and is countered by an established order." Unsatisfied with the ambiguity of the concept of social movement, Diani tried to explicate the essence of a social movement and put forward a synthetic definition. His overarching definition of a social movement synthesized the collective behavioral perspective (Turner & Killian, 1987), resource mobilization theory (Zald & McCarthy, 1987), political process (Tilly, 1978, 1984) and the new social movements’ approach (Melucci, 1985, 1989; Touraine, 1977, 1981, 1985). He defined a social movement as "a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or
organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (Diani, 1992, p. 13). Based on the discussions on the working concepts of social movement by the above authors and other writers, seven criteria are being proposed to define a social movement.

The ideal type proposed demonstrates the criteria for a social movement but not every social movement is required to have all the characteristics listed. Weber suggested the use of ideal type to formulate general and abstract concepts. To generate an ideal type, the first step is to select characteristics of behaviour or institutions which are observable in the real world, and then to summarize them to form a coherent, intellectual construction (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 1984). The ideal types are therefore "hypothetical constructions, formed from real phenomena, which have an explanatory value" (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 1984, p. 117). However, all the features of an ideal type will not always be presented in the real world, but "any particular situation may be understood by comparing it with the ideal type" (p. 117). According to Weber, it is natural for discrepancies to exist between reality and an ideal type. If the discrepancies are great, then reconstruction of the ideal type will result. Here are some of the criteria for an ideal type of social movement.

First, a social movement should be an organized collectivity. According to Stewart, Smith and Denton (1984), a social movement has at least minimal organization. A social movement has leaders or spokespeople, membership or followers, and one or more groupings. Otherwise, the phenomenon under study may be only a trend or a symptom of social unrest. Social movement scholars agree on this point, claiming some form of organization is the major characteristic of a social movement (Blumer, 1969; Diani, 1992;
McLaughlin, 1969; Wilkinson, 1971). Blumer (1969, p. 8) defined social movements as "collective enterprises to establish a new order of life." McLaughlin (1969) remarked that this classic definition articulates group behaviour as the core concept of social movement. Other scholars, such as Diani (1992) and Melucci (1985), tended to use the terms "network of informal interaction" or "movement network" to describe the collectivity. But the basic message is that a social movement must involve individuals, groups and organizations interacting with each other. Movement network or movement coalition, however, can be very loose or very tightly clustered. Its function is to mobilize resources for collective action. Resource mobilization theorists particularly emphasize the significance of the role of organization in a social movement.

Second, members of a social movement should have shared beliefs and solidarity. Diani (1992, p. 8) insisted that the movement's collectivity must have a "shared set of beliefs and a sense of belongingness." For Killian (1964) and McLaughlin (1969), a shared value system is one of the salient characteristics of a social movement. This set of beliefs, norms and group consciousness motivate members to develop commitment and take action. All social movement scholars referred to shared beliefs among the social movement participants. For example, Melucci (1985) used the term "solidarity," Touraine (1988) "identity," Turner (1981) preferred the terms "group identity" and "ideologies," McCarthy and Zald (1987) simply referred to "a set of opinions and beliefs." For these scholars, the value system or the collective identity shared by the activists of a social movement network define a movement's boundary. But the boundary is not fixed and the value system is also subject to change. According to Diani (1992, p. 9), the construction and preservation of a movement's identity "implies a continuous process of realignment and negotiation between
movement actors." The ideas and values of a social movement network are not necessarily homogeneous, although the actors involved share a common goal.

Third, the major goal of a social movement should be to promote or oppose social change. It seeks to influence the social order. Respective authors highlight the close relationship between social movement and social change (Blumer, 1969; Stewart et al., 1984; Touraine, 1985; Wilkinson, 1971). For Lauer (1976, p. xiii), "the very definition of the social movement involves change." A social movement is "both a response to change and a factor influencing the direction of change" (p. 3).

Fourth, a social movement always involves social conflict and it is countered by the established order. Since social movements advocate social change, the threat to the existing social order is inevitable, which in turn provokes resistance (Stewart et al., 1984). No matter whether the movement promotes change or opposes change, it will be involved in a conflicting relationship with other social actors (Diani, 1992). Stewart et al. (1984) discussed at length the confrontation between the social movement and the establishment. Touraine (1985) was concerned about the conflict of historicity. Melucci (1985) paid special attention to the struggle against the social mechanism of systemic domination.

Fifth, a social movement should be an uninstitutionalized collectivity. It should not be part of the established order and it must not have the political and legislative power to enact any social change (Stewart et al., 1984). Once a social movement is co-opted by the establishment, it ceases to be a movement.

Sixth, a social movement should be significantly visible. According to Stewart et al. (1984), a social movement must be "significantly large in scope" in terms of numbers of followers, size of geographical area, length of duration and frequency of events. Social
movement scholars debated how "large" the scope should be before it becomes significant. Some scholars insisted that a social movement is not a movement unless there is a fairly large number of people getting together to take action. On the contrary, other scholars argued that a social movement should not be evaluated by the number of its followers. However, scholars generally agreed that a social movement should persist for a long period of time and its activities should extend beyond a local community or a single event (McLaughlin, 1969).

Seventh, a social movement should be differentiated from related phenomena. Social movements are always confused with social movement organizations. Many scholars stressed that a social movement consists of interacting groups of people and that a single organization does not constitute a social movement (Ash, 1972; Diani, 1992; Stewart et al., 1984; Turner, 1981). A social movement should also be distinguished from interest group or pressure group activities. Actors in a social movement usually come from different backgrounds with different orientations, but they share a system of beliefs and a sense of community which "exceeds by far the boundaries of any single group or organization" (Diani, 1992, p. 14). Moreover, a social movement is free to use noninstitutionalized actions, while pressure groups often employ the traditional channels of influence of a political system (Useem & Zald, 1987). Furthermore, a distinction should be made between a social movement and a social or political campaign. The former is usually initiated from the bottom-up, while the latter is organized from the top-down. The leader of a social movement is elected but the leader of a campaign is assigned as campaign manager. A campaign also has a specific goal, appointed staff and a set deadline.
2.6 Summary

By reviewing the literature on new social movements and new social curricula, this chapter aims at mapping the relationship between postindustrial society, new social movements and new social curricula.

The first part of the chapter attempts to establish the link between the societal shift to postindustrial society and the emergence of new social movements in Western societies. Since the 1960s, Western countries have moved from industrial to postindustrial societies. Many social theorists proposed that in postindustrial society people engage in a different kind of social conflict which deals less with the struggle for the control of means of production but more for the control of the production of symbolic goods. These new conflicts lead to new social movements. Unlike many old social movements which were essentially class-based, new social movements are characterized instead by, for example, demanding for change in values and life-styles, shifting social concern from party politics and class struggle to cultural issues, sharing a belief in liberation and personal autonomy, and recruiting new middle class as participants. Meanwhile, during the 1970s and 1980s, a large group of new social curricula emerged as a result of social movements at that time. There seems to be a close link between new social movements and new social curricula.

The second part of the chapter puts forward a model of legitimation to illustrate the process by which new social movements lead to the codification of new social curricula. Theoretically, the model is built on the literature of sociology of knowledge, particularly the social conflict theory of curriculum-making. According to the social conflict theory, social movements can penetrate the educational arena and generate educational change. The
framework includes four elements of legitimation: justification, lobbying, positioning and curriculum-building. This framework suggests that many new social curricula have adopted a "problem-solving approach" to justify the need of their existence and claim that they are able to solve a particular social problem or resolve some social conflict. The use of public pressure is an effective tool in the lobbying process. Proper positioning and the strategy of subject inhabitancy are useful in finding a curricular niche for a new social curriculum. Moreover, unofficial support from the movement advocates for curriculum development is functional in smoothing the legitimation process.

In this chapter, the characteristic features of new social movements and new social curricula are laid out in order to support the argument that the latter in many ways represent the concerns of the former. Since both (new social movements and new social curricula) are products of postindustrial society, they are embedded in postmaterialistic values.
Chapter Three
Methodology

This study examines the legitimation of media education as a new social curriculum in a postindustrial information society. The historical sociology research approach is adopted because the approach is particularly suitable for research concerned with societal shift. Apart from an explanation of the application of historical sociology, this chapter introduces the case study design of the research and provides details about document analysis and in-depth interviews as methods of data collection.

3.1 Historical Sociology

Historical sociology is a research approach that integrates sociological and historical concepts and methods. Historical sociology originated from classical sociology and the social problem approach to social scientific problems that developed during the inter-war period in the United States. It is different from ordinary sociological and historical research:

Some sociologists are "non-historical": empirically, they neglect the past; conceptually, they consider neither the time dimension of social life, nor the historicity of social structure. Similarly, some historians are "non-sociological": empirically, they neglect the way processes and structures vary between societies: conceptually, they consider neither the general properties of processes and structures, nor their relationships to acts and events. By contrast, historical sociology is carried out by historians and sociologists who investigate the mutual interpretation of past and present, events and processes, acting and structuration (Smith, 1991, p. 3).
An investigation using the socio-historical method can deepen our understanding of a particular social inquiry. As to the origin of historical sociology, many quite properly cite Marx, Durkheim and Weber as pioneers. According to Smith (1991), modern historical sociology emerged only after the 1950s. The new paradigm of historical sociology incorporates old concerns with a wide range of modern theoretical orientations. (Bendix, 1964; Eisenstadt, 1963; Moore, 1966; Skocpol, 1979, 1984c; Thompson, 1963; Wallerstein, 1974). These studies show that the distinctiveness of historical sociology is its epochal vision and its critical and unorthodox research mentality.

Historical sociology is preoccupied with epochal interpretation. For Abrams (1982), historical sociology has a specific concern with epochal analysis, especially the transition to industrialism and, more recently, what has been labelled postindustrialism. Furthermore, since historical sociology is about large-scale social transformation and long-term cultural change, both Becker (1940) and Barnes (1948) considered historical sociology the study of social origins and development. In the past, the main task of modern studies of historical sociology was to trace the social origins and development of the industrial world. The common subjects of inquiry were the social origins of revolution, state-making, democracy and capitalism (Skocpol, 1984b). However, socio-historical investigation has recently expanded to include a large variety of topics including social origin of family structure, economic transformation, political process, ideological orientation.

In addition to its epochal vision, historical sociology is unique in its research mentality. Mentality refers to its intellectual outlook and style of doing things. Firstly, historical sociology studies ask big questions which lead to meta-historical or macro-historical studies. Very often the analytical unit is a country or even a civilization. Historical
sociologists also ask meaningful but "smaller" questions by conducting historical studies of the experiences of individuals and well-defined groups within the limits established by social structures and processes.

Secondly, Historical sociology studies are unorthodox and critical. According to Skocpol (1984b), many historical sociologists oppose the orthodox academic ways and tend to devise an unorthodox approach to research. They look for new clues to understand the past and reveal the significance of events. The inquiries are critical. For Smith (1991), in its first developmental phase, historical sociology wrestled with totalitarianism; after the 1960s it rediscovered domination, inequality and resistance movements and the Neo-Marxian approach became quite prevalent. Historical sociology is not only critical on the ideological level but also on the practical level. Scholars formulate a critical approach to research problems by rejecting the assumptions of previous studies.

Thirdly, studies informed by historical sociology are sensitive to social disorder and inequality. Socio-historical studies examining social transformation, social disorganization which accompanies social change become the analytical focus of researchers. Modern socio-historical studies, particularly after the late 1960s, respond to the decline of the capitalist system and the emergence of varied social contradictions. Major new social movements, such as the student movement, the women's movement and the civil rights movement set the anti-domination and anti-inequality tone of socio-historical studies.

Fourthly, historical sociology studies are humanistic. As Mills (1959) pointed out, at a time of rapid social change, people often feel they cannot cope with the larger world with which they are so suddenly confronted. Many socio-historical inquiries seek to understand more about the change and confusion with an ultimate hope that something can be done to
reduce suffering. Historical sociology research is social problem-orientated and focuses on social change and social programs.

Historical sociology has developed its own distinct methodological logic. Skocpol (1984a) identified three major strategies for bringing together history and sociological theoretical ideas together: applying a general model to history; using concepts to interpret history; and analyzing causal regularities in history. Skocpol recommended the third strategy and coined the term "analytical historical sociology." The focus of this strategy is on developing an adequate explanation for a well-defined outcome or pattern in history. No effort is made to analyze historical facts according to a preconceived general model. The researcher's commitment then is not to any existing theory, but to the discovery of concrete "causal configurations" adequate to account for important historical patterns. The "deep analogy" approach proposed by Stinchcombe (1978) is also a way to conduct analytical historical sociology. He advocated grounding theories of social change in genuine historical analyses.

Another group of scholars, however, employs an alternative strategy to achieve effective historical explanation. The emphasis shifts to the interaction among agency, structure and history. Abrams (1982) is the best representative of this group. He put forward his idea as the "problematic of structuring," taking it as an effective way of formulating fundamental issues of social and historical analysis. The concept of structuring refers to the attempt to understand the relationship between personal activities and experience on the one hand and social organization on the other, as something that is continuously constructed in time. The continuous process of construction is the focal concern of socio-historical analysis. This analysis is based on the assumption of the "two-sidedness" of the
social world, perceiving it as a world of which we are both the creators and the creatures, both makers and prisoners. It is a world which our action constructed and a world which imposes powerful constraints on us. Abrams’ program is inspired by C. Wright Mills’ idea of the "sociological imagination." Mills (1959) hoped that sociological imagination can help us grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society. Giddens’s structuration theory certainly also has great influence on Abrams (Calhoun, 1987). Giddens applied his own theory to conduct a number of historical sociology research projects. His theory of structuration offers a solution to divisions which have plagued sociological thought, especially the schism between action and structure (Craib, 1992). Giddens (1984, p. 2) argued:

The basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time.

According to Giddens, the old dualisms--action/structure, individual/society, determinism/voluntarism--should be reconceived as dualities, as parts of each other. In other words, instead of dichotomy, opposites or mutually exclusive thinking are dual in nature—simply two sides to the same coin. For Lloyd (1989), the comprehensive framework for approaching an explanation of the person/action/society/time complex of interrelationships, which was established by Anthony Giddens, Maurice Mandelbaum, Alain Touraine and others, contains a set of concepts about the methodology and theory of sociological structurism. Based on Mandelbaum’s "methodological institutionalism," Lloyd put forward his theory of "methodological structurism" which emphasizes the "explicit recognition of the symbiotic relationship between the structuring power of people and the constraining power of
social structures" (Lloyd, 1989, p. 324). What Lloyd called "methodological structurism" is not substantially different from Giddens' "structuration" and Abrams' "problematic of structuring." A distinct feature of this model is his argument that scientific empirical enquiry into the nature of social structure as real structure is possible. His work is grounded on structuralist realism. He stressed that a socio-historical explanation can be a scientific explanation if it is concerned with the causal explanation of the history of relational structures (the two-sidedness) of social life.

As this study of media education is situated in the context of societal shift from industrial society to postindustrial society, historical sociology becomes very helpful in assisting the formulation of the research problem as well as providing direction for this research. Unlike previous studies of historical sociology which focused on the "old" epochal issue of industrialism, this study turns to the "new" epochal issue of postindustrialism. According to Best and Kellner (1991), a series of socioeconomic and cultural transformations in the 1970s and 1980s suggesting a break with the previous society has taken place. An explosion of electronic media, computers and new technologies, a restructuring of capitalism, political shifts and upheavals, novel cultural forms, and new experiences of space and time have led to dramatic developments and changes in contemporary society and culture. Rapid social transformation is accompanied by new social problems, which could be the targets of investigation for new studies of historical sociology. This particular study addresses the issue of the emergence of media education in this period of transition to the postindustrial information age and traces the social origins of media education as a school subject. Historical sociology which specializes in studying social origin is, therefore, the appropriate research approach to be adopted.
This study also shares the research mentality of historical sociology. It is set against the background of large scale interaction between various social forces. The research adopts a macro approach, sensitive to both structural constraints and temporal processes. The study attempts to be critical and unorthodox. While not completely abandoning the old research agenda of school subject formation, it does employ a new perspective to investigate how pressure group activities and democratic forces associated with major social movements play a role in subject formation. As we enter the information age, media education reacts to the impact on society, especially the negative impact, of the mass media. It aims at helping young people to resist media manipulation and maintain critical autonomy in a democratic society. This study on media education shares a concern about social anomie and social equality with many other socio-historical studies. It also builds on the humanistic concern about how to help individuals better handle their relationship with the changing communication technologies.

Furthermore, the study follows the emphasis of historical sociology on the analysis of structure and agency. Previous studies investigated school subjects by employing either structural analysis or agency analysis. Few studies attempt to synthesize the two approaches. For structuralists, school subjects are not rationally agreed bodies of established, neutral facts and ideas, but instead reflect the values and culture of the people who create and perpetuate them. Popkewitz and others (1987) employed a structural approach in their interpretation of the social history of the American school curriculum. They were concerned with the social dynamics that gave shape to various school subjects. The formation of school subjects, they claimed, involves the struggle of various social and professional interests who seek to use the school to express particular purposes and values. To them, the key to study subject
formation is to understand the structural continuity and social transformation of a particular society at a particular time. Tomkins's (1986) analysis of stability and change in the Canadian curriculum adopted a structural approach as well. His work emphasized how the social and cultural forces transformed Canadian curricula.

Structural analysis is based on theories of social structure and social order. Knowledge patterns are viewed as reflecting the status hierarchies of societies through the activities of the dominant groups within them. The strength of structural analysis is to put subject formation into a macro-social context for scrutiny. On the one hand, it examines how changes in economic, political and social conditions create demand for new school subjects. On the other hand, it investigates how the power structure of society imposes an influence on subject formation. The limitation of this approach, of course, is its neglect of the role of human agency in the subject formation process.

Goodson's early work represents another approach to school subject analysis. This approach puts great emphasis on the activities of human agency. Goodson (1985) held the view that any process of interaction is never fully determined by social, economic or political forces, while social structures and culture emerge out of and are changed by social interaction. He suggested that in order to understand how school knowledge is constructed, we should examine the actions of what he called "subject communities." Goodson is insightful to focus on the relations between subject groups in the formation of subject discipline. However, Goodson (1984) admitted that his concern for the activities of those subject communities might lead him to neglect the "structural origins" of the climate of opinion that allows subject communities to get started in the first place. Kelly (1988) criticized Goodson's interpretation of "vested interests" as material interests of faction
members, without accounting for socio-cultural interests along ideological lines. Through an evaluation of Goodson's work, I will argue that the agency analysis has a bias in over-emphasizing the actual activities that play a part in initiating change. It neglects the "condition of change" (Ball, 1985). The structural dimensions of society and schooling create an appropriate climate of opinion that allows certain things to happen and gives form and substance to these relations. Since both the structural and agency analyses have their own limitations and are complementary to each other, this study on media education aims at synthesizing these two types of analysis.

After reviewing the methodological approach of previous studies on historical sociology, I would like to put forward a synthesis model which I call "dialectic structuring model." The aim of the model is to provide guiding principles for doing this socio-historical research on media education. This methodological framework is a synthesis of Giddens' (Craib, 1992; Giddens, 1984), Abrams's (1982) and Lloyd's (1986, 1991) structuration theory, Skocpol's (1984c) analytical historical sociology and Tilly's (1990) appeal for contemporary sensibility. The framework is based upon three assumptions. The first is synchronic (horizontal) interaction between structure and agency. This takes the assumption of the two-sidedness of our social world that social reality is at one and the same time a product of both the chosen action of individuals and the forceful constraint of social structure. Both agency and structure have power. They dialectically interact with each other and create changes. The second part is diachronic (vertical) structuring overtime. The relationship between agency and structure is not static but carries on through the dimension of time. The structuring process is indeed a dynamic historical process. The dialectic structuring of agency and structure over time creates a series of historical realities. Going
back to the past just to do a cross-sectional analysis is not a socio-historical study. The third part is retrospective link. Certain features of our contemporary world are considered problematic before moving back to trace the origins and transformations of those features. Tilly (1990) and Skocpol (1984a) once remarked that any study of the past should be constructed in terms of its significance for the present and Tilly hoped sociology could realize its potential as "history of the present." Kendrick, Straw and McCrone (1990) concluded that we are not interested in the past for its own sake but rather because it is a vital component in making sense of the present.

Theoretically, this model is not substantially different from the sociological structurism on which Lloyd, Giddens and Abrams grounded their works. However, practically, this model aims at providing clearer guidelines for conducting research. First, instead of a general discussion of the symbiotic relationship between social structure and human agency, this model divides the concept of structuration into two parts, namely the synchronic interaction and diachronic structuring over time. This distinction focuses on the analysis of the structuration of media education at different points in time and notes the differences in the structuration pattern during various historical periods. Second, this synthesis model highlights the significance of contemporary sensibility. Abrams, Giddens and Lloyd did not put too much emphasis on this aspect. Media education will be an important component of education in the 21st century. One of the central concerns of researching media education of the past decades is to inform the future development of this subject. Therefore, it is necessary to articulate the importance of using the study of the past to make sense of the present. Third, this model regards historical sociology as an interdisciplinary adventure. This study on media education is, thereby, interdisciplinary in
nature. It tries to forge a genuine union of sociological conceptualization and historical narrative. This interdisciplinary approach differs considerably from Abrams, who regards historical sociology as a fundamental sociological method.

In summary, according to this model, socio-historical research should investigate the dialectic relationship of agency and structure over time, and what is investigated must have significance for the present. While adopting this framework to conduct research, it is preferable to follow Skocpol's (1984a) and Stinchcombe's (1978) steps: using historical evidence to develop an adequate explanation for a well-defined outcome. Following the direction of this model, this study on media education, on the one hand, explores the structural social forces which gave rise to media education; on the other hand, it examines agency activities which brought media education into schools. The social forces under investigation include the Canadian technological environment, the American cultural penetration dilemma and the relationship between the media system and other social systems (e.g., family, church, school) in Canadian society. The agency activities refer to pressure group advocacy and lobbying activities identified with the media literacy movement. The dialectic interaction between social forces and agency activities is not examined at one point in time but over a period of 30 years. The research period extends from 1960 up to 1990.

Since 1960, TV has played a central role in Canadian lives and public interest in screen study began in the 1960s. The media literacy movement was mobilized in the 1980s and by 1990 the media education curriculum had already been well integrated into the English curriculum in Ontario as official knowledge. The analysis of the past provides a link to the interpretation of the present. The investigation of screen education in the 1960s makes
sense of the legitimation of media education in the 1980s and informs the development of media education in the 1990s.

Historical sociology is concerned with continuity and change in our contemporary society, particularly the issue of the up-coming epoch. It aims at explaining why and how certain things happened at a given time. This study is set against the background of the epochal shift to postindustrial society. The objective is to understand why and how media education became a school subject in Ontario in the 1980s. I seek a scientific causal explanation. Adopting the research tradition of historical sociology, this study employs the methodology of dialectic structuring. It also follows a research mentality that is critical, unorthodox, humanistic and sensitive to the issue of cultural democracy.

3.2 Case Study Design

The nature of my research problem dictates that this has to be a qualitative study. Adopting the research approach of historical sociology, the study aims at describing, understanding and explaining the process through which media education became a mandatory part of the school curriculum. The decision is to focus on one instance and conduct an in-depth investigation. This decision led me to employ a case study design for my research. Case study is considered to be a superior method of description which is made possible "by giving special attention to totalizing in the observation, reconstruction and analysis of the objects under study" (Zonabend, 1992, p. 52). As other case studies, this study does not aim at generalization of results, but "the extension of the understandings." It
is believed that detailed descriptions of the events and people studied can "enable others to understand similar situations and extend these understandings in subsequent research" (McMillan & Schumacher, 1989, p. 194).

According to Hamel, Dufour, and Fortin (1993), case study must "locate the global in the local." This means that the most critical decision in the research process is a careful selection of the case. For this study, the legitimation of media education in the province of Ontario in Canada was selected. This choice is based on the following reasons:

First, the Ontario media education curriculum has an international reputation. This curriculum is regarded as one of the advanced programs in the field of media education worldwide (Butts, 1992). In the Canadian Journal of Communication, the Ontario media education program is described as a national leader and a recognized leader internationally in the area of media education (Kennedy, 1993). Two North American Media Education Conferences were held at the University of Guelph in Guelph, Ontario by local media educators in 1990 and 1992 respectively. The conferences were well attended by media educators from North America and other countries. The successful conferences caused the Ontario program to become well-known internationally.

Second, the Ontario media education curriculum is the most established, mandated media education program by a Ministry of Education in Canada. Before 1995, it was the only mandated program in Canada. Ontario media educators took the lead in 1992 by establishing the Canadian Association of Media Education Organizations (CAMEO) to promote media literacy across Canada. They are also helping media educators in other provinces, such as Manitoba and Nova Scotia, to form associations for media literacy and
develop media education curricula (Pungente, 1993a). Ontario has made a substantial contribution to the development of media education in Canada.

Third, the Ontario media education curriculum is well established. A curriculum resource guide, Media Literacy Resource Guide, was especially developed for the curriculum. A number of local media education textbooks were published. A teacher-training program was developed. A professional subject group on media education, Association for Media Literacy, was further expanded. The Media Literacy Resource Guide was so well developed that it is used in some English speaking countries. In 1992 it was translated into Japanese (Pungente, 1993a). The above are the general criteria of choosing Ontario media education curriculum as a case for study.

A frequent criticism of case study design is the lack of representativeness. To select a representative case to grasp the object of study is therefore crucial. This study is representative because it is a theoretical case of the new social curricula and also a typical case of media education.

As shown by the literature, media education is a new social curriculum (Clark, 1990; Dufour, 1990). Preliminary field work in Ontario indicated that media education shares many characteristics of other new social curricula and it can be regarded as a representative case of new social curricula. First, media education is new and emerged only after the 1960s. It is social and cultural in nature. It is about media consumption and is highly relevant to students' everyday cultural life. Like all new social curricula, it possesses a critical objective, urging students to develop a more critical awareness of their social and media environment. Media education in Ontario shares many liberal values such as personal autonomy, self-management and anti-authoritarianism with other new social curricula. Its
theory and practice are grounded in the philosophy of social equality and justice. It also has the characteristic of subject transgression which means it transgresses subject boundaries as other new social curricula do. Most importantly, the Ontario media education curriculum grew out of the media literacy movement in the 1980s. It parallels the emergence of other new social curricula which also grew out of social movements or pressure group activities in recent decades. Thus, media education is a typical case of the new social curriculum and fits nicely with my research purpose of exploring the theoretical link between social movements and the formation of new social curricula.

Furthermore, the emergence and growth of media education in Ontario in many ways parallels the world trend in media education development. According to the UNESCO reports on the development of media education, in the past 30 years, media education advocates in countries such as Australia, Britain, Denmark, France and the Netherlands have been trying very hard to legitimize media education (Bazalgette, Bevort, & Savino, 1992d; IFTC, 1977b; Morsy, 1984; UNESCO, 1964). Media education in these countries began with film studies and was initiated by teachers, parents and community interest groups. Britain is the most outstanding example of the "bottom-up" model of media education (Fuller, 1987). When we look at the Ontario case, we see that including media education in the formal curriculum was the primary goal of media education advocacy groups in Ontario. Media education in Ontario also began as screen education and was initiated by concerned community groups. Media education does not stand as an independent core subject, but as a component of English. Lobbying for media education in Ontario was not only influenced by the world-wide media education movement, but also mobilized by its provincial media literacy movement. Media education in Ontario is considered as a "bottom-up" initiative,
similar to initiatives in other countries. Since the Ontario case has most of the attributes of cases in other parts of the world, it is representative.

The unit of analysis in the Ontario case study is the media literacy curriculum. The analysis is not limited to the curriculum per se. Although the focus of research in a case study is on one unit of analysis, there may be numerous events, participants or phases of a process subsumed under the unit (Merriam, 1988). For this project, the focus is upon the activities of the Ontario media literacy movement.

Case study design can be used to test theory but it can also build theory. In education, the case study design is seldom used to test theory (Hammersley, Scarth, & Webb, 1985). Merriam (1988) explained that this may be related to the shortage of well established theories in the field. She pointed out that qualitative case study has been widely used in education in the service of constructing theory. The study has no intention of adopting an overarching theory or model to explain the birth of the media literacy curriculum in Ontario. Instead, I would like to use this case study to construct a theoretical explanation of the legitimation and classification of a body of new educational knowledge.

A case study is an intensive investigation. This study uses document analysis and in-depth interviews as the major methods for data collection. All the data are collected with the goal of reconstructing and analyzing the case from a socio-historical perspective. Since generalization in a statistical sense is not a goal of this qualitative research, probabilistic sampling is not necessary in data collection. Moreover, this research adopts an emergent design. The first piece of data led to the next document to be read and the next person to be interviewed. Therefore, this research incorporates an on-going sample selection process which may be called "sequential sampling."
The period under study is from 1960 to 1990. The media literacy curriculum was first taught in Ontario schools in 1987. However, tracing its social history necessitates returning to the 1960s to examine the establishment of the National Film Board’s Summer Institute on Screen Study in 1966 and the spread of screen education in Ontario schools. Although this study focuses on the "legitimation" of the media literacy curriculum, implementation of the curriculum in the years between 1987 and 1990 is also relevant. Therefore, the research ends in 1990 instead of 1987.

3.3 Document Analysis (I): Primary and Secondary Sources

A significant amount of written material and videos related to media education were collected during the period of 1994-96. Most of the material was collected in Ontario, with some from the cities of Vancouver and Montreal. The data came from a wide range of sources, including archives, libraries, school boards, organizations and interviewees’ personal libraries. The major locations for data collection were as follows:

- The Alliance For Children and Television
- The Archive of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
- Archives of Ontario Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation
- Association for Media Literacy
- Canadians Concerned About Violence in Entertainment (C-CAVE)
- Department of Education and Information, United Church
- Federation of Women Teachers’ Associations of Ontario
- Friends of Canadian Broadcasting
- Information Division of the Canadian Education Association
- The Library of the Jesuit Communication Project
- The Library of the Toronto Board of Education
- MediaWatch
The data collected came from both primary sources and secondary sources. The major categories of the primary sources are as follows:

1. Official documents, reports, letters, memoranda and publications of the Ontario Ministry of Education. For example:
   - Circular 14
   - Reports of Minister of Education, Ontario
   - English: The Five-Year Programme, All Branches, Senior Division, 1964
   - English: The Four and Five-Year Programmes, All Branches, Grade 9, 1967
   - Four-Year English Guidelines for Pilot Schools 1967
   - English Intermediate Division 1969
   - Screen Education in Ontario
   - English: Intermediate Division 1977
   - English: Senior Division 1977
   - English Intermediate Division: Evaluation and the English Program
   - English: A Resource Guide for the Senior Division
   - The Renewal of Secondary Education in Ontario: Response to the Report of the Secondary Education Review Project
   - Basically Right: English Intermediate and Senior Divisions 1984
   - Provincial Review Report: Senior Division English 1984-85
   - English Curriculum Guide 1987: Intermediate and Senior Divisions (Grades 7-12)
   - The Common Curriculum: Politics and Outcomes, Grades 1-9
   - The Common Curriculum: Provincial Standards Language, Grades 1-9

2. Royal Commission reports:
   - Living and Learning: Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario (Hall & Dennis, 1968)
   - The Report of the Secondary Education Review Project (Green, 1981b)
   - Report of the Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry (Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, 1977)
   - Pornography and Prostitution in Canada: Summary (Special Committee on
3. Minutes, letters, pamphlets, news clippings, reports and newsletters of the Association for Media Literacy. For example:
   - AML Newsletter/Mediacy
   - The Trent Think Tank Report on Media Literacy Education (Andersen, 1990)

4. Minutes, memoranda and letters of the Ontario Teachers’ Federation

5. Reports, minutes, pamphlets and newsletters from other relevant associations and organizations. For example:
   - Alliance Info
   - C-CAVE News
   - Clipboard: A Media Education Newsletter from Canada
   - FWTAO Newsletter
   - Getting Started on Media Education (Pungente, 1985)
   - Media literacy video series, NFB
   - Media & Mind Course (Language Study Centre, 1988)
   - Pornography: An Issue for Educators (OECTA, 1985)
   - Screen (NFB)
   - Screen Education in Canadian Schools (Stewart & Nuttall, 1969c)
   - TV Literacy: Teaching Kids to Watch TV Wisely (Goller, 1985)
   - TV Scope (Flemington, 1982)

6. Media literacy curriculum documents, resource guides, textbooks and teachers’ guides. For example:
   - Television and Society (Ungerleider & Krieger, 1985)
   - Mass Media and Popular Culture (Duncan, 1988)
   - Mass Media and Popular Culture: Teacher’s Guide (Duncan, 1989a)
   - Media Works (Andersen, 1989a)
   - Media Works: Teacher’s Guide (Andersen, 1989b)
   - Media Images and Issues (Carpenter, 1989)
   - AML Anthology 1990 (Smart, 1990)
   - Meet the Media (Livesley, McMahon, Pungente, & Quin, 1990)
   - Media Focus series

Secondary sources are also vital to this study. The examination of the cultural debates on the role of mass media and mass schooling, the Canadian cultural policy, the changing concept of literacy and the worldwide media education movement depended largely
on secondary sources. Secondary sources include reports, books, periodicals, academic journals, newspaper clippings and other relevant materials. Examples are *Indirections* (Journal published by the Ontario Council of Teachers of English), *Education Forum* (magazine for the secondary school professionals), *English Quarterly* (official journal of the Canadian Council of Teachers of English and Language Arts), *Canadian Forum*, *Queen’s Quarterly*, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, *Canadian Journal of Communication*.

### 3.4 Document Analysis (II): Content Analysis Projects

In pursuing document analysis, two content analysis projects were conducted for special purposes. One is the media literacy textbook analysis, aiming to describe the Ontario media literacy curriculum. The second is the analysis of the *Canadian Journal of Communication*, aiming to explore the macro communication environment of media education in Canada.

The textbook project examined seven documents in total. Three mandated media literacy textbooks listed in *Circular 14* issued by the Ontario Ministry of Education and one curriculum anthology recommended by the AML were analyzed. They are *Mass Media and Popular Culture* (Duncan, 1988), *Media Works* (Andersen, 1989a), *Media images & issues* (Carpenter, 1989) and *The AML Anthology 1990* (Smart, 1990). One point of concentration was upon Duncan’s text because of its wide usage (Emme, 1991). Three related documents were also analyzed. The above four textbooks should be examined within the intertextuality of the documents and materials that accompany them. Therefore, three media literacy
curriculum "intertexts" were also examined: *Media Literacy Resource Guide* (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989), *Mass Media and Popular Culture: Teacher’s Guide* (Duncan, 1989a) and *Media Works: Teacher’s Guide* (Andersen, 1989b). Many textbook analyses do not include the intertext. But Derrida (1982) pointed out the great advantage of including the intertext in the study because through the "grafts" (points of contact between the text and its intertext), text will expose its "subtext." Subtext refers to "the clearly stated unsaid" (Dranch, 1983, p. 177). Harker (1992, p. 2) pointed out that "No text exists alone....Any text exists in a constant state of multiple references to other text."

The textbook analysis employed structuralist analysis (Gilbert, 1989). Structuralist analysis is particularly useful for critical analysis of ideological content and suits the research purpose of examining the underlying ideology in the media literacy textbooks. Ideology is also defined as "a framework of assumptions, ideas and values incorporated into the perspective an individual or collective uses to guide analyses, interests and commitments into a system of meaning" (Clement, 1975, p. 270). For Gilbert (1984), the production of ideology is a cultural symbolic practice which can be deconstructed to reveal its elements and organization. An ideological discourse usually has a manifest context of denotative meanings, and a latent content representing an underlying structure of connotation.

According to this conception of ideological discourse, "If one can identify the structure which give coherence to the message, if it is possible to discover the principle which presides over the organization of discourse and which unifies its elements, the analysis of ideology has largely been completed" (Larrain, 1979, p. 133). Following this logic, the structural analytical procedure is to first identify the small units of concepts or assumptions and then
try to derive the rules by which these basic units combine. In other words, structuralist analysis is the deconstruction of the components and structure of an ideological discourse.

Following Gilbert's suggestion, the procedure of performing structural analysis of the media literacy textbooks is as follows:

1. Detect the assumptions about the mass media, the audience and the overall consumption pattern.

2. Find out how the impact of mass media and the use of media literacy are conceptualized.

3. Identify the major themes and concepts in the media literacy curriculum documents and look for the linkage between these themes and concepts.

4. Try to mark the broad concepts and propositions which provide the organizing structure of the ideological discourse.

5. Figure out the underlying problems which have generated this discourse and how the discourse articulated these problems. Ask whose perspective was articulated.

6. Illustrate the ideological discourse and map out its structure. Understand what relationship, causes and consequences are proposed and what theories provide the descriptions and explanations.

7. Contemplate what perspectives, questions and theories are not acknowledged.

The strengths of structuralist analysis are twofold. First, instead of conducting fragmentary evaluation of separate issues of the curricular content (e.g., the range of materials or suitability of the vocabularies for a certain grade level), it provides a coherent and comprehensive analysis of the underlying ideology of the text. Second, it analyzes texts in ways that emphasize their structured and contextually grounded character, thus avoiding the shortcomings of traditional quantitative research. Quantitative analysis consists simply of frequency counts of the occurrence of pre-specified words, phrases or other semantic units. The suggestion that the units of analysis (e.g., a word or a phrase) can be isolated for
analysis oversimplifies the way textual meaning is produced by the reader. It also ignores
the way a text is sequenced and organized. Structuralist analysis, on the contrary, sees the
parts as a link to the whole.

But structuralist analysis also has its limitations. First, it assumes that structure exists
autonomously and is waiting to be discovered. To map the structure of the curricular content
is to construct a representation from the researcher’s perspective. This can be seen as the
overlay of one discourse on another. Therefore, there should be no claim that this method is
a value-free technique. Second, structuralist methods produce a static and deterministic
model emphasizing product rather than process. This points to a danger in synchronic
analysis, yet according to Gilbert (1984), this problem is not sufficient reason to discard the
 technique altogether.

The second content analysis project aims to detect in what way media education was
shaped by its communication milieu. The project explores the Canadian communication
environment through content analysis of 207 articles in the Canadian Journal of
Communication (CJC), which is the most prestigious journal in the field of communication in
Canada. Its articles reflect the spectrum of views and issues on Canadian communication.
Operating under a formal referee system, CJC is an affiliate of the Canadian Association of
Communication (CAC) whose members are communication scholars from all parts of
Canada. CJC is used by CAC to provide a forum for members of the Association to
communicate with each other, the government, as well as the industry (Ferguson, 1978). Its
articles are not only concerned with academic issues but also with government
communication policies, current media controversies and media industrial developments.
Excluding editorials and book reviews, all the articles (207 in number) published in CJC
between 1978 and 1990 (from Volume 5, Number 1 to Volume 15, Number 3) were analyzed. The reason for analyzing articles from 1978 onwards is that before that year, CJC was not the official periodical of CAC and did not operate under a formal referee system.

This study employs two forms of content analysis. One is quantitative and the other is structuralist. The former is used to identify the most prevalent communication discourse in the field and the purpose of the latter is to examine the ideology of such a discourse. Both forms of analysis share the same sample.

For the quantitative analysis, the basic unit of analysis is the individual article. First I surveyed all the CJC articles and developed the following argument statements and value judgment phrases for further coding (A detailed code book is attached as Appendix 1).

Argument Statements:

--There is no clearly defined Canadian identity.
--Canadian cultural sovereignty is undermined.
--Canadian identity is needed and should be built.
--Strong Canadian identity can strengthen the polity (national unity).
--Weak Canadian identity may weaken the polity (national unity).
--The US-Canada relationship is asymmetrical.
--Canada is different from the United States.

Value Judgment Phrases:

--Appraisal of American products or American ways of doing things.
--Appraisal of popular culture.
--Appraisal of free market mechanism.
--Appraisal of government communication policy.
--Appraisal of government intervention.
--Appraisal of the kind of impact communication exercises on Canada’s national culture.
--Appraisal of the role of communication technology in society.

For the qualitative analysis, this project also employs Gilbert’s (1989) structuralist analysis to identify the major communication discourse in the Canadian context and its
related technological ideology. Ideology is also defined as "a framework of assumptions, ideas and values incorporated into the perspective an individual or collective uses to guide analyses, interests and commitments into a system of meaning" (Clement, 1975, p. 270). The analytical procedure was basically the same as that of the above textbook analysis. In order to deconstruct the components and structure of the ideological communication discourse, the smaller units of assumptions must first be identified and then rules by which these basic units combine can be derived. Since what is analyzed is not a single coherent text but 207 independent articles, there is no way to tell whether the ideological discourse uncovered is a common view of a few articles or the consensus of a large group of articles. In other words, it is difficult to determine the popularity of the ideology. To tackle these limitations, data from the objective quantitative analysis are drawn to supplement the structuralist analysis. These two forms of analysis play complementary roles in this study.

3.5 In-depth Interview

Through document analysis, most of key people who were significant in creating the media literacy curriculum during the mid-1980s were identified for in-depth interviews. I was referred by these interviewees to other appropriate people for interviews. Through this reference network, 38 people were interviewed between October 1994 and June 1996. Some were interviewed twice, with a year between the first interview and the second. The second interview was used to ask follow-up questions. Most of the interviews were face-to-face. A few interviewees who were not available for personal meetings were interviewed by
telephone. On the average, each interview lasted for one and a half hours and the interviews were semi-structured. I conducted all the interviews myself. A copy of the sample interview questions is attached as Appendix 2.

The normal rule of assuring the confidentiality of the interviewees' identity does not apply in this study. The media literacy curriculum is basically a public issue in which confidentiality is not possible. Furthermore, most of the interviewees are/were public figures and it is not possible to withhold their identity. The interviews include the following people from various categories and organizations:

1. Officials of the Ontario Ministry of Education:
   - Cray Cavanagh (Former Education Officer, Ministry of Education)
   - Judy Coghill (Education Officer, Ministry of Education and Training)
   - Jerry George (Former Education Officer, Ministry of Education)
   - Bill Mitchell (Former Senior Manager of Curriculum and Resources, Ministry of Education and Training)
   - Mary Lou Soutar-Hynes (Education Officer, Ministry of Education and Training)

2. Leading members of the Association for Media Literacy:
   - Neil Andersen (Editor of Mediacy, AML)
   - Barry Duncan (President, AML)
   - Rick Shepherd (Executive Member, AML)

3. Leading members of the teachers' associations:
   - John Bray (Chairperson, ELAN)
   - Des Dixon (Former Director of Curriculum and Professional Development, OTF)
   - Pierre Lalonde (Executive Assistant, OTF)

4. Media literacy teachers:
   - Freda Appleyard (Coordinator, Toronto Board of Education)
   - James Fowlie (Media Teacher)
   - Claudine Goller (Former English Consultant/Coordinator, Scarborough Board of Education)
   - Mima Hoyes (Program Leader of Media Literacy, North York Board of Education)
   - Gwen Mowbray (Project Leader of English Curriculum Guideline 1987)
   - Ken Smith (Head of History, Scarborough Board of Education)
   - Chris Worsnop (Former Coordinator of English, Peel Board of Education)
5. Members of religious groups:
- Peter Flemmington (Program Director, Vision TV)
- Kristine Greenaway (Media Consultant, United Church)
- John Pungente (Executive Director, Jesuit Communication Project)

6. Members of women’s groups:
- Shari Graydon (President, MediaWatch)
- Meg Hogarth (Executive Director, MediaWatch)
- Mary Labatt (Editor, FWTAO Newsletter)
- Kay Sigurjousson (Associate Executive Director, FWTAO)
- Susan Vander Volt (Executive Director, METRAC)

7. Members of media concern groups:
- Joan DeNew (Former President, C-CAVE)
- Rose Dyson (President, C-CAVE)
- Ian Morrison (Spokesperson, Friends of Canadian Broadcasting)

8. Members of the National Film Board of Canada:
- Jan Clemson (Education Development Representative, NFB)
- Arlene Moscovitch (Former Education Officer/Freelance Producer, NFB)
- Terry Ryan (Former Co-Director of Summer Research Institute of Screen Study, NFB)
- Mark Slade (Former Director of Screen Study Program, NFB)
- Anne Taylor (Former Education Officer, NFB)

9. Members of TVOntario:
- Ellen Bear (Education Officer, TVO)
- Jack Livesley (Former Superintendent of Utilization, TVO)

10. Academic:
- Frank Peers (Retired Professor in Political Science, University of Toronto)

11. Media literacy books supplier:
- John Harvey (Co-owner of Theatre Books)

All the 38 interviewees (see Appendix 3 for the complete Interview List) were either key figures in the media literacy movement or public figures who were in a position to provide valuable information about media education in Ontario. Most of them know each other and they interacted in the movement. In order to better understand the roles they play...
in the making of the media literacy curriculum, it is important to have a sense of their origins and interpersonal relationships. Figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 illustrate their common origins and links.

3.6 Summary

This study of media education is situated in the context of societal shift to information society. Historical sociology, which is especially suitable for studying epochal shift, is helpful here in suggesting research emphasis on the analysis of structure and agency. Inspired by the research mentality of historical sociology, this study adopts a macro approach to formulate the research question and attempts to be critical and unorthodox.

A synthesis model, "dialectic structuring model" is put forward to guide the research. The model proposes to examine the legitimation of media education by investigating the dialectic relationship of structure and agency over time and linking what is studied to the present situation. Following this model, this study examines both the structural social forces and agency activities, which include the study of the Canadian communication environment, the advancement of media technology, the American cultural penetration, the impact of the mass media on Canadian society, the interaction between the media institution and other social institutions, the pressure group activities and the lobbying strategies. The research period of this study is from 1960 to 1990.

The Ontario media education program was chosen as a case study. While 38 people were contacted for in-depth interviews, large amount of primary and secondary sources were
collected for document analysis. The interviewees, including leading members of the AML, teachers' associations, religious groups, women's groups, media concern groups, cultural agencies as well as the officials from the Ministry of Education, were key figures who played important roles in the screen education movement and media literacy movement in Ontario.

Two content analysis projects were also conducted. The findings of the textbook analysis are going to be presented in Chapter Nine and the results of the analysis on the *Canadian Journal of Communication* will be discussed in the coming chapter.
Figure 3.1: Interviewees' Links with the NFB-McGill Summer Institute

NFB-McGill Summer Institute

Mark Slade
(Director of NFB Screen Study Program)

Terry Ryan
(Co-Director of Summer Research Institute on Screen Study)

Barry Duncan
(Summer Institute member)

Bill Mitchell
(Summer Institute member)

Chris Worsnop
(Summer Institute member)

Bill Mitchell
(Assistant Superintendent, Screen Education, Ontario Department of Education)

Elliot Lake Summer Media Program

Jerry George
(Summer Media Program member)
Figure 3.2: Interviewees' Links with Marshall McLuhan

- Freda Appleyard
  * read all McLuhan’s books and was inspired by McLuhan
  * wrote a media literacy resource document based on McLuhan’s theory of the two hemispheres of the brain
- Des Dixon
  * invited by McLuhan to join his regular seminar at the Centre of Culture and Technology, University of Toronto
- Barry Duncan
  * McLuhan’s graduate student
  * deeply influenced by McLuhan’s medium theory
  * frequently quoted McLuhan’s work in his writings
- Bill Mitchell
  * McLuhan’s graduate student
  * became a friend of McLuhan
- John Pungente
  * studied briefly under McLuhan at University of Toronto
- Kay Sigurjousson
  * a friend of McLuhan
- Mark Slade
  * a friend of McLuhan
  * a follower of McLuhan
  * promoted McLuhan’s ideas at the NFB Summer Institute
- Terry Ryan
  * McLuhan’s graduate student
  * discussed McLuhan’s work at the NFB Summer Institute
Figure 3.3: Interviewees' Links with Organizations

Note: Numbers in brackets represent different organizations. Some members belonged to more than one organization.

1 = Ministry of Education, Ontario
2 = AML Executive Committee
3 = Teachers' Associations
4 = Schools/School Boards
5 = Religious Groups
6 = Women's Groups
7 = Media Concern Groups
8 = National Film Board
9 = TVOntario

104
A media literacy movement emerged in Ontario in the 1980s, leading to the inclusion of media education in the formal school curriculum. This chapter traces the socio-historical roots of the movement and examines how the legacy of the screen education movement and the socio-cultural climate at the time gave rise to the quest for media literacy in the province.

The media education movement of the 1980s can be regarded as a continuation of the screen education movement of the 1960s. They were both concerned with the social implications of the development of communication technology. The focus of the screen education movement was on film while the media education movement addressed the mass media, with special concern for television. Although it was television that put screen education on the education agenda, screen studies were limited to film analysis and film production. The major teaching vehicle was the 16mm film. This discrepancy was due to technical constraints. Bill Mitchell (personal communication, October 21, 1994) explained that in the 1960s television was not as accessible to the classroom as it is now and videotape was not readily available. Educational television was all that was available. High schools were running on strict timetables and teachers had difficulty in aligning broadcast time with class time. The study of visual images was, therefore, limited to the study of film. Nevertheless, this was the beginning of the study of the language of moving images in schools. By the 1970s and 1980s, VCRs were widely available and the study of television became much more convenient. Media education also differed from screen education in terms of motive. Screen education was simply an answer to the call for social
accommodation to the new electronic epoch, while media education or media literacy was a response to the moral panic over negative media impact and the cultural concern about media domination by the United States.

4.1 Screen Education: The Prelude

Media education in Australia, Britain and other European countries emerged from film studies or screen education (Bazalgette, Bevort, & Savino, 1992d; Emme, 1991; IFTC, 1977a). Media education in Canada is no exception. Its roots can be traced to the screen education prevalent in the 1960s. During the period of 1965-1971, schools across the country were actively engaged in screen studies, particularly in the province of Ontario. Media education leaders call the screen education movement the "first wave of media education" (Carson, 1989; Pungente, 1993a). The movement planted the seed for the development of the media literacy movement in the 1980s and laid the foundation for the legitimation of media education in Ontario schools. A comprehensive understanding of media education in Ontario depends on a thorough grounding in the period.

The Society for Education in Film and Television (SEFT) was established in England in the 1950s. It coined the term "screen education" to refer to the study of film and television. In the 1960s, screen education began to gain momentum in Canada and screen studies were conducted in Canadian universities and secondary schools (Stewart & Nuttall, 1969b). It is important to note that screen education in Canada was fundamentally shaped by
the technological development of media and the educational priorities of Canadian society at the time.

4.1.1 Entering the electronic age: A new invisible environment

The invention of the motion picture, the popularity of radio broadcasting and, subsequently, the ability to transmit moving pictures and sound through the air to a television receiver gave rise to new forms of communication and moved Canada into the electronic age. Motion pictures were introduced to Canada in the 1920s, but only with television did people pay greater attention to the power of moving images. Television broadcasting started in Canada in 1952 and in a very short time, television viewing became a national habit. By 1955 it was estimated that 85 percent of Canadian families had installed television sets (quoted in Rutherford, 1992, p. 446). According to the 1996 Nielsen report, Canadian children watched 15.5 hours of television a week while teenagers viewed over 21 hours (quoted in Rutherford, 1992, p. 459). TV viewing, the report suggested, had become a significant part of the youth culture in the 1950s and 1960s. More importantly, television fostered the growth of mass communication. Television news headlines stimulated people to search out further information from other media. The popularity of television, therefore, coincided with an increase in the amount of time people spent on the mass media. Television moved mass media into a more central position in the lives of most Canadians.

According to a Goldfarb poll in the 1960s, three out of five Canadians thought television was the most influential medium because it was more pervasive and sensational than other media. Seeing was indeed believing. In most people minds, television was a
visual medium that brought "reality to life" (Rutherford, 1992, p. 466). Television’s representation became the most significant source of a common, second-hand experience for many Canadians. Television exerted its influence by invading public and private spaces, particularly the home. It affected the reading habits of Canadian by causing a drop in the popularity of fiction. It informed the style and content of children’s play (Rutherford, 1992).

Television brought information and entertainment to Canadians but it also raised serious social concerns. Children’s addictive passion for television alarmed both parents and teachers. In 1961, Wilbur Schramm conducted research on "Television in the Lives of Our Children" in the United States. His report attracted great attention from Canadians. The prevalent "magic bullet theory" of television intensified the so-called "TV phobia." Miriam Waddington (1956, p. 83), the television critic of Canadian Forum, accused television of having an "absorbing enslaving quality." Television was widely believed to be a technology with a sinister purpose. In a 1966 Gallup report, only about half the public thought television had a good influence on family life, compared with two-thirds of the people who thought so in 1956 (Rutherford, 1992). The reports about the social influence of television were diversified in opinion. This led to hot debate on what television was doing to Canadians. The intellectuals as well as the public were looking for scientific evidence and academic analysis to solve the puzzles about the electronic age.

As Canadians were wondering about the roles of film and television in their lives, Marshall McLuhan, a professor at the University of Toronto, who had a tremendous interest in new communication technology, emerged as an international star. He not only "captured the imagination of the 1960s" but also became "the foremost interpreter of the new language of the electric age" (Duffy, 1969, p. 5). He told the world that the electronic epoch had
already come and print was no longer the dominant mode of communication. Electronic
media changed people’s perception and world view by creating a totally different media

McLuhan was an English professor and the Director of the Centre for Culture and
Technology at the University of Toronto from 1946 until his retirement in the late 1970s.
For Terry Ryan, a screen education pioneer, McLuhan’s work is insightful because it does
not just talk about the technical change in the communication media but tells people how the
change of the dominant medium remade Canadian society (Ryan, personal communication,
June 5, 1995). McLuhan argued that a change in the dominant medium changes which
senses people use and, thereby, alters their world view. His famous phrase "the medium is
the message" advocates that the form of the medium alters the environment, shapes society,
and structures thought in a way that its content never could. He argued that television is a
medium that changes human perception, spatial relationships and social structure. Acting as
a technological extension of our central nervous system, television brings people together in
one large, involved and evolving community--the global village (McLuhan, 1962). Every
medium creates an environment that is the message of that medium. However, the media
environment is invisible to people. In order to understand the impact of the new electronic
media, people had to develop analytical awareness of the nature of their technological
environment (McLuhan, 1964).

To Canadians, McLuhan was a national hero. His works were highly influential at
the time and generated heated discussion among intellectuals as well as lay people. The so-
called "McLuhanesque Question"--how should people react to a new era which was brought
about by the new communication technology--rang the bell for many Canadians. In 1966,
Duncan did the first educational television interview with McLuhan in Ontario for the Metropolitan Educational Television which was the precursor to TVOntario (Duncan, personal communication, July 2, 1997). In fact, many Canadian educators, who were either McLuhan’s friends or his students, were deeply inspired by his epochal vision and his progressive educational philosophy. This group of people, including Mark Slade, Terry Ryan, Bill Mitchell and Barry Duncan, became pioneers and leaders in the screen education movement. Since McLuhan taught in Toronto, the "McLuhan effect" on screen education was especially strong in the province of Ontario.

In the mid-1960s, many people became interested in and concerned about the exposure of young people to television (Ryan, personal communication, June 5, 1995). Television came to Canada in the early 1950s and expanded rapidly. Children who were exposed to television from an early age attended schools in the early to mid-1960s. People were concerned about the "first television generation" entering the school system and believed that educational systems needed to respond. The influence of Marshall McLuhan was evident. Exposure to the McLuhanian debates on the electronic age raised Canadians’ concerns about the response of young people to the environment created by electronic media (Ryan, 1968).

The fact that Canadian children were surrounded by visual media from birth was regarded as sufficient rationale for introducing screen studies as an educational component. According to Ryan (personal communication, June 5, 1995), in the mid-1960s the CEA-NFB (Canadian Education Association-National Film Board) Committee and the Home and School Association initiated action on screen education. Finally the NFB, a federal cultural agency, took the lead in promoting screen study.
What the NFB decided to do about screen study was not to train the students directly but to provide experience and instruction for teachers who were interested in exploring the world of film and television. In 1966, the NFB organized the Summer Institute on Screen Study and conducted the first session by itself. During 1967-69, the NFB and McGill University worked together to run the NFB-McGill Summer Institute on Screen Study. The Summer Institute was first held in Montreal and then in Vancouver. Each summer around 30 participants, mostly high school teachers from across Canada, came together to study film and television. After attending the Summer Institute, these teachers were expected to go back to their local schools and conduct screen education. The aim of screen study at the Summer Institute was to develop strategies of criticism and the ability to read moving images of film and television. For Ryan (1968, p. 42), who was hired by Mark Slade to help run the Summer Institute, "Educators all over Canada were determined to do something about making it possible for the school system to address itself more immediately and more successfully to preparing their students for survival in a world where electronic media move information at the speed of light."

Mark Slade was the Director of Screen Study Program at NFB and the mastermind of the Summer Institute. As a friend of Marshall McLuhan, he was deeply influenced by McLuhan's "medium" theory. He even admitted that "McLuhan was a hero to me" (Slade, personal communication, August 17, 1995). All the Summer Institute participants were channelled into discussions on McLuhan's ideas, electronic technologies and the new era. Barry Duncan, one of the participants of the Summer Institute, said Slade was influential because he had studied McLuhan's work well and had a grasp of the changes that were taking place (Duncan, personal communication, June 20, 1995). Slade's rationale for
organizing the Summer Institute was based on the McLuhanian analysis of the invisible environment. Regarding film as a powerful visual language which created a special environment, he said people were surrounded and influenced by this environment without noticing their involvement. Moreover, he believed it was only through proper comprehension of the structural basis of the film environment that people could refrain from becoming its victims. As such, the objective of the Summer Institute was to create an informed awareness in teachers so that they could in turn raise their colleagues' and students' awareness (Irwin, 1967). He emphasized the invisibility of the electronic environment and insisted "the mask has to be pried off" (Slade, 1967, p. 45).

4.1.2 Screen education in Ontario

The majority of the NFB Summer Institute participants came from the province of Ontario. In the 1960s, at the high school level, Ontario was described by Ryan (1968, p. 41) as "plunging into screen study with a determination which had left all the other provinces far behind." A survey conducted by the Canadian Education Association found that most of the interest in screen education was centred in Ontario (Stewart & Nuttall, 1969c). Cruickshank's (1969) research on screen education in Toronto also confirmed that the study of film and television was popular in this part of the country. Ontario, particularly the city of Toronto, was the place where most of the English broadcasting stations and film production companies had their headquarters. Ontario was a province rich in visual culture. It was also the province in which Marshall McLuhan taught and lived.
Early in 1965, the Toronto Board of Education sponsored a conference on screen education. In the following three years, an informal committee, comprised mainly of interested teachers from the Toronto area, was set up to organize screen education conferences (Stewart & Nuttall, 1969c). The 1967 annual meeting of the Canadian Education Association organized a panel discussion on screen education. Practising teachers such as Duncan from Ontario and NFB officers such as Slade, were invited to talk about the impact of the media on young people (Duncan, personal communication, June 20, 1995). In 1969, a national conference of screen education was held at York University in Toronto. The theme of the conference was to help students "employ and respond to visual and aural language as effectively and richly as possible" (Screen Education Office, 1968a, p. i). Later that year, the Canadian Association for Screen Education (CASE) was formally established. As a Toronto-based organization, CASE had been running informally for a few years. Many screen teachers joined the Association. Leading members of the Association included Alan Coman and Arnold Bowers of the University of Toronto, Lou Wise of the Toronto Board of Education and Barry Duncan of the Etobicoke Board of Education. CASE became an unofficial representative for teachers across the province who were interested in the media (AML, 1978b). The development of screen education in Ontario was greatly fostered by the NFB Summer Institute on Screen Study. The NFB summer programs nurtured a large number of Ontario teachers who then returned to their schools to start screen education courses. Apart from initiating and conducting their own courses, Summer Institute participants played leadership roles on their school boards in promoting and advising screen education programs. Bob Sims was hired as the first screen education consultant for the North York Board of Education (Duncan, personal communication, June 20, 1995). In
Etobicoke, Duncan was appointed as an English consultant specializing in developing approaches to screen study in his school district. These consultants occasionally received assistance from Slade and Ryan. The NFB Summer Institute also trained Bill Mitchell, who later contributed a great deal to the screen education movement in Ontario. The Ontario Department of Education was so impressed by his media teaching that a new position called "Assistant Superintendent, Screen Education" was created for him in 1968. After entering government service, Mitchell had more resources at his disposal to advocate and support the study of the screen.

According to Duncan, the Summer Institute provided its participants with a sense of direction and community (Carson, 1989). The summer program not only channelled them to think about the significance of screen study, but also provided an environment for them to meet others who were interested in film and television. A large group of people from across the country with a mutual concern for media and an enthusiasm about screen education were brought together. The NFB published an occasional newsletter called Screen which was distributed to the members of the Summer Institute and others concerned with media. It helped create a sense of community. Steward and Nuttall (1969a, p. 45) concluded that the Summer Institute courses quietly contributed to "the steady growth and nurturing of the screen education concept."

The NFB played a significant role in Ontario screen education directly through its Toronto office. During the 1960s, Dan Driscoll was the NFB Toronto representative. He was very interested in screen education and provided film literature and practical guidance for interested teachers (Stewart & Nuttall, 1969c). His materials covered topics such as language of film, how to start your own film program, and books on motion pictures.
(Driscoll, 1967). The NFB's initiative in screen education focused the attention of the Ontario Department of Education on screen education. After the first year's Summer Institute, on October 28, 1966 the Policy and Development Committee of the Ontario Department of Education invited all the members of the Summer Institute from Ontario to a one-day conference. The object of the conference was to develop a strategy for how the Department and teachers might work together to develop screen education in schools (Screen Education Office, 1967).

The late 1960s marked a dramatic expansion of screen education in Ontario. A continuous stream of conferences, workshops and film festivals were organized. Several important conferences helped crystallize a growing movement (AML, 1978b). Even the Ontario Department of Education joined the movement. The Department's move in the direction of screen education was encouraged by the so-called "Hall-Dennis Report," Living and Learning (Hall & Dennis, 1968). In a letter from the Superintendent of Curriculum of the Ontario Department of Education to the Government Film Commissioner of NFB, it was said that since the Hall Committee Report "devotes several paragraphs to film study," the Department would like to invite Mark Slade of the National Film Board to give advice to the development of screen study in Ontario schools (Kinlin, 1968). Shortly afterwards, the Ontario Education Minister, William Davis, announced that Slade was on loan to the Department for five months, starting January 1968, to assist Ontario teachers and school board officials in the design and development of screen study programs (Kinlin, 1969). This event attracted wide media attention which was focused on the issue of "how a book-oriented school system can break into the world of film" (Hutton, 1968). During his five-month stay
in Ontario, Slade enthusiastically promoted his approach of "screen as environment" for
screen study in Ontario schools (Slade, 1968).

After Slade had fulfilled his duty and returned to the NFB, the Ontario Department of
Education immediately recruited Mitchell. Mitchell became the first and only provincial
assistant superintendent of screen education in North America. His job was to "undertake
the development of a program of screen education and film study" and "to be expected to act
as a resource for Ontario educators and to undertake the design and development of programs
in which film and other projected materials are studied as forms of communication" (Screen
Education Office, 1968b, p. 1). Both Slade's loan and Mitchell's appointment reflected the
progressive nature of the Ontario educational establishment in the late 1960s in the area of
media study. Commenting on this, Duncan pointed out that at that time, screen education
was very fashionable because of McLuhan's influence. Senior officials in the Department of
Education were sympathetic with McLuhan's view and supported screen education (Duncan,
personal communication, June 20, 1995).

Soon after Mitchell joined the Department, he formed a committee of teachers who
were pursuing media study. Committee members included media teachers and consultants
such as Robert Charlesworth, Barry Duncan, Peter Nightingale, Bob Sims, Lou Wise and
George Wright (Duncan, personal communication, July 2, 1997). They drew up guidelines
called Screen Education in Ontario (Ontario Department of Education, 1970). However,
screen education was not a mandated subject. Apart from publishing guidelines, Mitchell
followed the example of the NFB Summer Institute and organized an Elliot Lake Special
Media Study Program in the summers of 1970 and 1971 for Ontario teachers on behalf of the
Department. In the late 1960s, academics became part of this social movement. The
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education published several reports on screen education including *Experiments with Film in the Art Classroom* (Art Committee, 1970), *The Uses of Film in the Teaching of English* (English Study Committee, 1971) and *A Curriculum in Film* (Katz, Oliver, & Aird, 1972).

Unfortunately, after 1970, due to budget cuts and the back-to-the-basics movement in the education sector, the passion for screen education gradually faded. Screen education as a non-academic subject suffered as resources for education were reduced. Many experiments in curriculum development were carried out in the 1960s. However, entering the 1970s, some parents and educators insisted that educational priority should return to basic academic instruction instead of "wasting" school time on "extra" subjects. In this unfavorable climate, many consultants of screen education, including Duncan, returned to their classrooms. CASE was dissolved and media educators began to lose touch with one another. Since screen education was not an official subject, it was easily taken out of the curriculum. Mitchell in the Ontario Department of Education was shifted to another position in the Curriculum Division. The "first wave of media education" thus came to an end.

The Ontario screen education movement did not appear by accident in the 1960s and it was more than an extension of the international screen education movement. Its emergence and growth were the result of the advocacy of a number of key figures who reacted to the technological, social, political, economic and educational environment of the country as well as that of the province. For Giddens (1984), this movement was due to the "structuration" of the social totality and individual actors.

The technological climate of the 1960s was exciting. Film and television had gained their popularity among Canadians. Television gave Canadians a great cultural shock. This
new communication medium aroused great social and moral concerns. Canadian educators were particularly troubled by the impact of television on children. The school system was puzzled about how to deal with Canada's first generation of "television kids." Screen education was perceived as a way to tackle the problem. Mitchell of the Ontario Department of Education admitted that the entry of screen education into the school curriculum had to be supported by at least a social concern. The concern revolved around television and film, as people wondered whether students were or were not manipulated (Mitchell, personal communication, June 23, 1995).

In *The Medium is the Massage* (McLuhan & Fiore, 1967), McLuhan emphasized that education should be a form of "civil defence" against the influence of technology and called for a better understanding of the electronic environment. As a follower of McLuhan, Slade's perception of the social purpose of screen education is purely McLuhanian. To him, people are living in a changing world. In order to survive the change, they must exercise control over the new era by understanding. Only through understanding could they create "filtering devices" which keep their minds clear instead of blurred (Slade, 1970, p.1). In his (1970, p.4) view, all new ideas are waiting for synthesis into established patterns. An era of electrified change, however, requires "immediate synthesis." Assimilation cannot be delayed because the old world is collapsing and the young are restless. An urgent need exists for better mastery of the language of change--moving images. Slade expected that screen education would lead to "increased personal and social awareness." Mitchell also saw screen education as an educational process--a way to stimulate learning. He particularly recommended a "thematic approach." That was to use one or more films that address the same general theme to facilitate students' learning about their lives and their world (Steward
& Nuttall, 1969d). According to the findings of Cruickshank’s (1969, p. 25) study, Toronto consultants on screen education also stressed the importance of an increased understanding of self and environment. Their work aimed at developing students’ media sensitivity—"an ability to look at a film and relate it to their own world." A report published by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education further stated, "In preparing students for the complex society of the twentieth century, the school cannot overlook the power of the screen in setting values and patterns of emulation" (Art Committee, 1970, p.2).

In summary, Canadian educators met the electronic epoch with both excitement and anxieties. Screen education was their cautious attempt to provide young people with better survival skills in a new technological world. Social accommodation was the major objective of the advocacy for screen education.

4.1.3 The legacy of screen education

Screen Education did not last long in the Ontario educational system. Yet, the movement did have a profound impact on the later development of media education in the 1980s. Screen education brought media study directly into the classroom. Screen education established the legitimacy of teaching media in school. Students were able to learn about film and even produce film in a school setting, indicating that film study could be a part of the formal school curriculum rather than just an extra-curricular activity or hobby. Although screen education was short-lived, many students and young teachers across the province were exposed to the movement. This educational experience marked their lives and they grew with it into the 1970s and 1980s. In this way, screen education paved the way for social
acceptance of media education in schools. Mima Hoyes, program leader of media literacy of the North York Board of Education, recalled that she began to know about media education when she was a high school student in the 1970s (Hoyes, personal communication, October 27, 1994). Although screen education had ended, some individual teachers like her English teacher still taught about the media in classrooms and kept on planting the seeds for media education.

The "death" of screen education provided a lesson for media education advocates to strive for the legitimate status of media study. Screen education was not a mandated subject. Leaders of screen education in the 1960s advocated film study in school but they did not intend to make it a legitimate subject. Pioneers such as Slade even objected strongly to the idea of turning screen education into a subject. He said that if screen education were to become a subject, it would be a 19th century fossilized acronym and dead (Slade, personal communication, August 17, 1995). For Slade, the practice of school subject as categorized knowledge was antithetical to the needs of the electronic age. Slade is an idealist who hoped for the natural integration of screen study in every part of the educational process. He said, "Hopefully screen education is a learning process which can only be defined in action, by what students and teachers do with it" (Slade, 1968, p. 4). He was even against working out a guideline. Screen education as an environmental probe, in his opinion, should not be limited by any formula.

Mitchell and some other teachers did think a little bit differently from Slade. They believed that the provision of a guideline could facilitate the promotion and teaching of screen education and, therefore, they produced such a screen education guideline. For Mitchell, it was very important to get a document out legitimizing what the teachers were
doing, otherwise, their programs would always be experimental courses. But Mitchell emphasized that the document was only a guideline, not a mandate. It meant that individual teachers were permitted to teach media if they liked (Mitchell, personal communication, June 23, 1995). Mitchell seemed to be walking one step closer the legitimation of screen education. However, the general view at the time was still that screen education should not "be rigidly packaged into a precise course of study"—"guideline and encouragement, yes, ...but no formula" (Cruickshank, 1969, p. 16).

Afraid of turning screen education into a dull activity, screen educators in the 1960s made no effort to establish formal goals, curricular content or a pedagogic approach to screen education. As a result, other non-media teachers, school board members and parents viewed screen education as an unscholarly "frill" subject (Cruickshank, 1969, p. 51). Although the screen education guidelines allowed teachers to teach within English as well as to offer separate credits right up to Grade 13, the "frill" image of screen education made it difficult for teachers to persuade department heads in history and science to agree to the inclusion of screen study in their programs. This meant that screen study was limited to the classrooms of the enthusiastic English teachers. Screen education mainly became a part of the English course or merely an extracurricular activity (Cruickshank, 1969, p. 81). The development of screen education was then greatly constrained and it did not receive full acceptance from the educational community.

As a "frill" rather than a mandated subject, screen education was vulnerable to educational budget cuts in the early 1970s. Fortunately, the screen education guideline released by the Ontario Department of Education was still there to support a few individual teachers who wanted to include screen study as part of their teaching. A decade later, when
these few individuals wanted to launch the "second wave of media education," they understood the importance of fighting for mandatory status for media education. Duncan was one of the few who survived the screen education movement and was active again in the late 1970s to promote the study of the media. In the new round of advocacy, the primary goal of Duncan and his comrades was to lobby the Ministry of Education to include media education as a component of the formal curriculum.

Screen education had strong ties with the established subject of English in Ontario and this relationship continued to affect the development of media education in the 1980s. In Ontario, screen education was taught in most of the schools as part of English (Cruickshank, 1969). For Duncan (personal communication, June 20, 1995), every aspect of screen education was conceptualized or framed according to the English teachers' literary background. Screen education started out from English and became an important branch of English (Mitchell, personal communication, June 23, 1995). A survey conducted by the Canadian Education Association concluded that audio-visual specialists on school boards did not play a leadership role in the development of screen education. The survey found instead that English teachers were the core supporters of screen education. Stewart and Nuttall explained that English teachers seemed to have the kind of background and sensitivity which were suitable for the study of film. Therefore they suggested that "the most logical place for screen education to fit into a school's program is probably as part of the English course" (Stewart & Nuttall, 1969c, p. 10). McLuhan's ties with the English department also played an important part in stimulating the English teachers' interest in media study. This historical tie with English affected the later development of including media education as part of the English curriculum in Ontario.
The profound impact of McLuhan's thought on the Ontario approach to screen education was carried on to the "second wave of media education." A guest speaker at the 1969 Summer Institute, Andries Deinum, remarked, "In Europe film is studied for its own sake, as film, whereas in North America (Canada) film is used as a basis for talking about something else" (Petrie, 1969, p. 61). Screen education was unique in Canada because of its critical edge. Although some screen teachers adopted other approaches to the study of film such as "film as literature" and "film as art," cultivating students’ awareness of their world remained the dominant theme in many screen education programs. This approach aroused Ontarians' cognitive awareness about their media environment. Public sensitivity led to public support for media education in the 1980s.

The development of screen education in Ontario demonstrated the power of teacher initiative in educational change. Although the NFB played an important leadership role in promoting screen education, teachers were the driving force of the movement. Cruickshank's (1969) survey confirmed this by pointing out that it was the teachers who presented the opportunities for students to see and make films. The report of the Canadian Education Association on screen education also pointed out that the impetus of screen education came "from the bottom up, not from the top down" (Stewart & Nuttall, 1969c, p. 13). Very little concern for screen education was voiced from the school board level, except for a few English consultants or supervisors. Usually, teachers were the ones enthusiastically involved. Mitchell also remarked that teachers had no need to offer screen education, but they wanted to do it. Screen education in Ontario spread because of a grass roots type of enthusiasm (1994). It was natural for a similar educational initiative to be repeated in the media education movement in the 1980s. Encouraged by what they had seen
and experienced in the 1960s, advocates in the 1980s had strong faith in their mission. They avoided repeating the mistakes of the screen education movement. The short life of screen education was possibly due to its elitist orientation and lack of public support. Screen education rooted in film studies was considered largely a bourgeois activity, reflecting an intellectual concern about technological development and social change. However, this elitist concern was not transformed into public controversy. As already mentioned, screen education studied film primarily, not television. But in fact, it was television the public really cared about. The teachers' intellectual apprehension did not match public sentiment in the promotion of screen education. Therefore, teacher advocates in the 1980s had to work very hard to gain public support.

The most important legacy of screen education in the 1980s media education movement was leadership training. The NFB-McGill Summer Institute and later the Elliot Lake Summer Program nurtured a large group of young enthusiastic Ontario teachers. Mitchell's screen education guideline committee also pulled together some devoted screen teachers. These teachers went through screen education in the 1960s and then became key advocates in the 1980s media education campaigns. Slade (personal communication, August 17, 1995) called them "self-appointed leaders" because they chose to devote themselves to the development of media education in the province. They committed to the idea of media study and became the missionaries of the movement. Duncan was the most prominent example. He attended the NFB Summer Institute in 1966. Chris Worsnop was another important figure in media education who joined the NFB-McGill Summer Institute in 1968. Jerry George, who contributed significantly to the legitimation of media education in Ontario schools, attended the Elliot Lake special media study program in 1970. Mitchell, who was
also trained by the Summer Institute and joined the Ontario Department of Education, continued to give support to the development of media education in the 1980s. His support had a long-lasting effect on media education in Ontario. Without this group of people, media education could not have become a legitimized subject in Ontario schools.

Television led Canadians into the electronic age. Marshall McLuhan told Canadians about the difference between a printed world and an electronic society. Screen education was an educational concern about the social changes brought about by the electronic media. The focus was on the so-called first television generation. Through the study of visual images, screen education aimed at assisting students to cope with the new technological environment and to accommodate to life in the 20th century. Moral apprehension existed about whether or not students were manipulated by the new media. However, the emphasis of screen education was to simply raise media awareness and enhance media understanding, not to fight against the media. In the 1960s, the school system did not confront the new media industry. Screen education was a project of social accommodation, not social defence or criticism. Nevertheless, screen education reflected the educators' uneasiness about the new communication technology. Educators began to feel the pressure from the media on the school system and noticed the impact of the media on school children. Screen education was the first educational attempt to keep the media's technological influence under control. That is what Slade referred to as the "mastery of the language of change" (Slade, 1970). Screen education signalled the beginning of the strained relationship between the school and the media. The power struggle was to continue for years to come.

Looking back at the period of screen education, Duncan said those days were very stimulating. The McLuhan frame of mind regarding media studies as explorations and
probes caused thinkers to view the world in a new way. Creativity and open-endedness in the study of the media and society were the operating principles. However, Duncan criticized the screen education movement for being "too apolitical." It lacked of structure and sound critical principles. It only looked at media form and its consequence but the whole project did not have much political insight (Duncan, personal communication, October 21, 1994). Therefore, when Duncan and other advocates launched the "second wave of media education," they did it in a different way, which is not to say that screen education was not important to them. On the contrary, they benefited greatly from its legacy. The development of media education in the 1980s was founded on the experience of screen study two decades earlier. As a prelude, screen education paved the way for the inclusion of media education in Ontario schools.

4.2 Germination of Media Education in Ontario

Screen education, the "first wave" of media education, ended in 1971. Many media consultants returned to their classrooms (AML, 1978b). Individual teachers who were teaching media at that time found that, if they wanted to keep their courses going, they had to cover the costs themselves. Support from principals, parents and colleagues all but disappeared. The pioneer media teachers who were enthusiastic in the 1960s began to lose touch with one another (Carson, 1989). Gradually, some of them gave up teaching media (Worsnop, personal communication, June 19, 1995). Those who did not give up kept
teaching the media with a lower profile (AML, 1978b; Duncan, personal communication, October 21, 1994).

Although screen education faded out of the educational scene, it did not mean that the impact of the new communication technologies was lessened. On the contrary, with more rapid technological advances, the influence of the mass media became even greater. The growing impact of new communication technologies such as television and video aroused public scrutiny of the role of the mass media. In Ontario during the 1970s and 1980s, the general public, especially the traditional institutions of socialization such as school, family and church became concerned with the increasing impact of the mass media. Against this backdrop, a small group of media people and media educators began to think about the possibility of launching the "second wave" of media education.

In November 1977, several teachers and filmmakers gathered at the Ontario Art Gallery to screen some new experimental films from the National Film Board and the Canadian Filmmakers Distribution Centre. After the screening the talk on the role of Canadian experimental film led to the discussion of what could be done for media education in the 1970s. The group decided to organize a larger and open conference to address the issue (Schuyler, 1978). A steering committee was formed to prepare the conference. The conference, called "The Media: How to Talk Back," was held on April 28-29, 1978 at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute. About 70 people attended and it was considered a highly successful event (AML, 1978b). This conference provided an opportunity for people who shared a concern for the media to meet. Four people could take credit for the success of the Conference. They were Barry Duncan, a secondary school teacher, Arlene Moscovitch from the National Film Board, Jerry McNabb of the Canadian Filmmakers Distribution Centre and
Linda Schuyler who was at that time an elementary school teacher (Carson, 1989). The Association for Media Literacy (AML) was founded immediately after the Conference. These four individuals were key founders. The first issue of the AML Newsletter (1978b) said the Conference reflected the strong desire to continue the pursuit of media education and to lobby for some important goals. Thus, the conference at Ryerson was significant in three ways: it reflected the need for media awareness; it indicated that there was sufficient interest among media educators and community members to share ideas and networking (Duncan, 1984b); and it led to the establishment of the AML which was the major lobbying group for media education. This conference marked the beginning of the media education movement in Ontario.

Before we examining the movement itself, it is necessary to have an overview of the socio-cultural climate of that time.

4.2.1 Technological advancement

Canada is a country which has eagerly devoted itself to the development and adoption of new communication technologies. Particularly during the 1970s and 1980s there were significant developments in new technologies, networks and specialty services (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989). The introduction of colour TV, coaxial and fibre-optical cables, satellites, VCRs, pay-TV and educational TV has had profound social and cultural implications on Canadian society in general and the province of Ontario in particular.

CBC and CTV began broadcasting in colour in 1966. Due to the high cost of a colour TV set, colour TV was not that popular in the 1960s. By 1977, 70 percent of
Canadian households owned a colour set (Vipond, 1992). The accessibility of colour TV made TV viewing even more pleasurable. TV became the most powerful entertainment medium in the country.

Cable television was a widespread innovation during the 1970s and 1980s. According to Vipond (1992), coaxial cables were first introduced in 1952 for providing television service to distant communities. Later cable service was found useful in offering better reception in big cities where high-rise buildings blocked signals. The service was then extended to pick up TV messages from the United States. In the early 1970s, approval was formally granted to cable companies to carry American signals by microwave. This decision enabled Canadian households far from the border to have access to American TV. In 1984, Canada had the highest percentage (61 percent) of cable transmission in the world (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989). Canada was considered a wired nation. But the cable distribution technology entailed a major restructuring of the TV industry. With the introduction of cable service, rivalry between TV stations was no longer limited to a particular area but was nation-wide. Moreover, Canadian TV stations had to face keen competition from the American networks and PBS. In 1984, only 19 percent of Canadian households without cable watched American channels but 38 percent of households with cable tuned in the American channels (quoted in Vipond, 1992).

The advance of satellite technology offered Canadians additional viewing choices. In 1972, Anik A-1 was launched and Canada had its own domestic communications satellite. At first the primary use of the satellite was for telecommunications traffic. But soon the use was extended to broadcasting services. Satellite transmission made coast-to-coast live broadcasting possible. It also provided pay-TV services to major cities and offered
broadcasting services to remote communities. In 1983, the Canadian Radio-Telecommunication Commission (CRTC) granted permission to Cancom (Canadian Satellite Communications Inc.) to redistribute American signals (Lorimer & McNulty, 1991). Together with the cable service, satellite technology further facilitated access to American TV, particularly pay-TV services.

Pay-TV was introduced to Canada six years after its was first established in the United States because the CRTC was worried that the new service could become "the vehicle for more and more American programming" (Vipond, 1992, p. 141), but it finally granted permission in 1982 to set up several pay-channels. Meanwhile the video cassette recorder (VCR) had gained popularity. VCRs were first introduced to Canada in 1975 and in the 1980s more than 60 percent of Canadian families had videocassette recorders. This innovation further widened the viewing choice. The program time-shift function of VCRs allowed Canadians to watch more American programming (Einsiedel & Green, 1987).

There is no doubt that new technology increased consumer choice, but at the same time it led to serious moral and cultural concerns. The cultural concern was two-fold. First, as more than 30 television channels were available in Canada, the social impact of television was intensified. Teachers and parents expressed great worry about the influence of television on young children. Since VCRs are extremely difficult to control, there was also public debate about the convenient circulation of undesirable video materials. Second, as pointed out by Vipond (1992, p. 146), the new distribution technologies "have opened Canada up to American programming in unprecedented quantities and in forms beyond governmental control." Cables, broadcasting satellites and pay-TV brought American programs directly into Canadian homes. Vipond felt that Canada is expanding an infrastructure that allows and
encourages the entrance of more foreign programs, especially cheap and popular American shows.

4.2.2 The moral panic of media sex and violence

Advances in media technology produced a growing dilemma about the expanding use of graphic and detailed scenes of violence in television, films and videos in the mid-1970s. (LaMarsh, Beaulieu, & Young, 1976). Reports from teachers, parents and social workers indicated that media violence had become an alarming issue in the province (Scott, 1979). This led to the establishment of the Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry in 1975. William Davies, then Premier of Ontario, appointed Judy LaMarsh to lead the Commission. The aim was to "study the possible harm to the public interest of the increasing exploitation of violence in the communications industry" (LaMarsh, Beaulieu, & Young, 1976, p. 1). The Commission had the mandate to examine the entire communications system in Canada. Ontario was the first province in Canada to conduct a large scale investigation into the issue of media violence. Davies said the issue was so important that people in Ontario had a right to understand it better and express their concern. Moreover, he did not see anyone else in Canada doing it so he decided to do it in Ontario (Dyson, 1995b). Apart from studying past research on media violence, the Commission held public hearings throughout Ontario to record the views of the communication industry and opinions from members of the community. The Commission generated an enormous amount of publicity on media violence. As it travelled around the province, dozens of community groups such as the Vanier Institute of the Family and the Canadian Association of Social
Workers and Schools turned out to submit briefs. In 1977, the commission report, known as the LaMarsh Report, was released. The report concluded that while the "increased exploitation and depiction of violence in the media is only one of the many social factors contributing to crime, it is the largest single variable most amenable to rectification" (Royal Communication on Violence in the Communications Industry, 1977, p. 53). In short, violent media content had the potential to harm society. The commission's investigation also confirmed that television was the "Media Enemy No. 1" (LaMarsh, Beaulieu, & Young, 1976, p. I-5). The Report pointed out that "television's escalation of violence is drawing other sections of the media along like the tail of a comet" (Styles & Cavanagh, 1984, p. 78).

Throughout the 1980s, media violence was a concern for Ontarians. A 1984 Gallup poll showed that two-thirds of Canadians believed that exposing children under age 10 to television violence would make them aggressive adults (The Globe and Mail, 1984). A Toronto newspaper reported that by the age of 18, the average child had seen 18,000 murders on TV (Crawford, 1985). A new code was proposed on TV violence. Parents were encouraged by community groups to teach children how to watch TV critically and with discretion (The Toronto Star, 1986).

Beyond violence, the issue of pornography aroused an even greater public outcry. In 1977, the murder case of Emanuel Jacques, a twelve-year-old shoeshine boy in Yonge Street in Toronto, provoked a crackdown on pornography and prostitution. This violent sexual murder of a young child who was possibly a male prostitute alarmed Ontarians. They put the blame on massage parlours as well as shops selling pornographic magazines, movies, books and videos. A campaign was mounted to clean up the Yonge Street strip. Headed by the Roman Catholic archbishop, an anti-pornography church-politicians group was set up.
(Ng, 1981). The Ontario censorship Board then banned the American film "Pretty Baby" starring Brooke Shields. The film had no overt violence or sex but it "portrayed a twelve year-old girl in a brothel whose virginity was auctioned off to the highest bidder" (Andersen, 1988, p. 4). Ontario was the only Canadian jurisdiction to ban this movie. Entering the 1980s, public outcry on pornography and media sex content intensified. Anti-pornography activists, mostly women's groups, insisted that neighborhood stores should cover up sexy magazines and books. A group of 150 women tore up pornographic magazines in the lobby of the Don Valley Holiday Hotel to protest indecent material available at the "family hotel" (Fruman, 1983). Another group successfully pushed a chain store, 7-eleven, to discontinue the sale of Playboy, Penthouse and Forum magazines (The Globe and Mail, 1986).

VCRs became more affordable in the early 1980s, video viewing increased in popularity. At the same time, Ontario police warned that sexually explicit films that would be classified as "restricted" if shown in a theatre could be obtained at video stores even by children (Kieran, 1983). Project P, the pornography squad in Toronto, intensified its effort against undesirable videos. During 1983 and 1984, thousands of hard core pornographic videos were seized by Metro Toronto police and store owners told police officers that children loved them (Kashmeri, 1984). It raised the alarm about easy access to pornographic videos by children. Toronto Mayor, Art Eggleton, appealed to Justice Minister Jean Chretien for action to stop the growing flood of hard core video cassettes (Best, 1983). Metro Chairman Paul Godfrey urged Metro Toronto's legislation and licensing committee to set up a special body to lead the "crusade" against pornography (The Toronto Star, 1984). Finally in early 1985, an anti-pornographic bylaw was passed by municipalities to restrict the sale of erotic magazines and videos. Under the bylaw, store owners who carried adult
magazines and videos had to obtain a special licence. Moreover, according to the new
Theatres Amendment Act, the province’s video retailers were prohibited from renting violent
or sexually explicit videos to people under 18 (Welner, 1985). Mayors from other parts of
Ontario also regarded the widespread availability of pornographic videos to be beyond
tolerable community standards. Communities across Ontario, such as Waterloo, Kitchener,
Burlington, Newmarket, and Mississauga followed suit and imposed regulations on
pornographic materials. In 1986, the anti-pornography bylaw was replaced by one less strict
one (Byers, 1986). Nevertheless, control on indecent video rental remained one of the
central concerns of the municipalities’ members of parliament (MPs) and the public.

In addition to VCRs, another new communication technology, pay-TV, further
touched the nerves of the Ontario people. In February 1983, just a short while after the
introduction of pay-TV in Canada, Playboy movies were put on First Choice, one of the
largest pay-TV companies in the country (Fagan, 1984). Playboy programming generated
heated debates in Ontario. Women’s groups, such as The Canadian Coalition Against Media
Pornography and MediaWatch, lobbied against the program on a national level. In Ontario,
David Scott, chairman of the Action Group on Media Pornography, criticized the two major
pay-TV channels for showing too much violent and sexually explicit material, and for airing
half of the material when children could be watching. His group and other agitated groups
pressed the CRTC to issue guidelines for reducing violent and sexually explicit programming
(Keating, 1984).

With the growing anxiety about the issue of pornography, in 1983 a Special
Committee on Pornography and Prostitution was established by the Department of Justice.
Community leaders and educators in Ontario actively submitted briefs to the Committee.
The report of the Committee, known as the Fraser Report, found that "it is overwhelmingly apparent that the current legal proscriptions are unsatisfactory" regarding the availability and control of pornography (Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, 1985, p. 4). The Committee thought legal reform alone could not solve the problem. For long-term strategy, social policies and actions should be designed to address the issue. All in all, the Fraser Report stimulated further discussion of the negative effect of undesirable media products and called for immediate social actions and public education.

During the early 1980s, many reports were presented and many symposiums were held in Ontario on the subject of pornography and sex-role stereotyping in the media (Check, Heapy & Iwanyshyn, 1985; Macewan, 1984; METRAC, 1985; OECTA, 1985; Scorsone, 1982; Scott, 1985). The media industry not only gave wide coverage on the issue, but also conducted related polls and surveys. For example, during October 31 to November 21, 1985, CBC conducted a series entitled Sex and Violence on the weekly radio program Ideas (CBC, 1985). A 1985 CBC-TV poll revealed that Canadians believed equal restrictions on availability should apply to home video cassettes and movies in public theatres (The Toronto Star, 1985). The Toronto Star poll showed that the majority believed pornography increased the danger to women (Ruimy, 1986).

It is worth noting that the feminist movement played a very important role in alerting the public to the issues of media violence and pornography. In addition to opposing media sex and violence, women's groups were also dissatisfied with the portrayal of women and children in mass media (Vander Volt, personal communication, June 15, 1995). They urged that close attention should be paid to their representation in the media (Duncan, personal communication, October 21, 1994). The Canadian Radio-Television Telecommunications
Commission (CRTC) Task Force on Sex-role Stereotyping in the Broadcast Media developed sex-role stereotyping guidelines in 1981 to "encourage advertising in all media to portray women and men in a manner which reflects their emotional and intellectual equality and which respects their equal dignity" (Canadian Advertising Foundation, 1987). A national conference, "Adjusting the Image," was held in the mid-1980s and a document entitled *Adjusting the Image: Women and Canadian Broadcasting* was published in 1987 (Sanderson & Potvin, 1987). Therefore, in addition to media violence and pornography, stereotyping was also a prominent issue in Ontario (George, personal communication, June 11, 1996).

The whole political and social climate in the early 1980s was to give strong approval to censorship. Ontario chief censor, Mary Brown, made violent pornography a central political issue by declaring it had become "public enemy number 1" (DiManno & Coulter, 1985). Apart from calling for censorship, customs officers were also instructed to stop the flow of undesirable magazines and videos from the United States. The Federal Court of Appeal ruled that the section of the Customs Act which had been used to prevent the importation of pornographic material into Canada was invalid. The ruling said the section did not comply with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Winsor, 1985). As a consequence, the federal government gave speedy approval to an amendment to the Customs Tariff Act which restored the power of customs officers to stop pornography and hate literature from entering Canada (Canadian Press, 1985). The new customs legislation strictly banned sexual violence and child pornography, but opposition Liberal MPs still called for stricter border control. The pornography issue was closely related to the protest against the importation of media sex and violence from the United States. This led to a major controversy over the issue of American cultural imperialism.
4.2.3 American cultural penetration and techno-cultural nationalism

Apart from the negative effect of media sex and violence, another social dilemma generated by technological development in communication was the increasing cultural penetration by the United States into Canadian society. Canadians tuned in to a great number of American television programs which were broadcast on Canadian stations as well as on cable networks and via satellites. As communication technologies advanced and the American cultural bombardment intensified, Canadians were beginning to worry about their cultural survival.

Early in 1962, a book entitled *Poison for the Young: A Major Reason for Rising Juvenile Delinquency* (Mark, 1962) was published in Toronto, citing cases in Ontario about the negative media infiltration from the south. The book raised alarm about the ways Canadian youngsters were heavily influenced by American TV, movies, books and magazines. According to Mark, there was a need "to guard our national identity" and "the more disturbing fact is that the bulk of this material is distinctly undesirable." He described Canada as the "backyard dump" for undesirable American media products which undermined the spiritual and moral health of the nation. Quoting the speeches of community leaders, Mark (1962, p. 2) said the "tide of poison from the U.S. was shocking and offensive." The book concluded by strongly advocating for media censorship as well as tight restrictions at the border against the made-in-U.S.A. media products.

Canada has always had an identity crisis (McPhail & McPhail, 1990). Mathews (1988, p. 1) even remarked that "Canadians worry about their identity more than most other peoples in the world do." For Canada, American cultural penetration is not an illusion.
American media have been a continuing threat to Canada. In 1907 a single American weekly newspaper sold more copies in Canada than all domestic periodicals combined (Moffett, 1973). When Canada entered the television age, only 4 percent of television drama available on Canadian stations was Canadian-made (Meisel, 1987). Facing this domination, Canadians are deeply disturbed. Yet, as Fortner (1980, p. 45) put it, "Many Canadians were not willing to roll over and play dead." Canada has not given up the struggle for cultural autonomy. The history of Canadian communication, in fact, can be seen as a history of struggle for cultural autonomy.

This struggle is certainly observable in the *Canadian Journal of Communication*. My content analysis of the *Canadian Journal of Communication* from 1978 to 1990 indicates that cultural defence against American media imperialism is the most prominent communication discourse. This discourse is dominated by an ideology of techno-cultural nationalism. About one-fifth of the articles (39 articles) are devoted to topics related to "Canada-US relationship," "cultural identity," and "Canadian communication public policies" (see Table 4.1). Furthermore, 35 percent of the journal articles (73 in number) touch upon argument statements and value judgment statements which involve the discussion on the promotion of Canadian identity, American cultural domination and the role of communication technology in Canadian society (see Table 4.2). Cultural defence is the major concern.
Table 4.1: Topics of Sampled Articles in *Canadian Journal of Communication*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics:</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Media industry</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media effects</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication scholars/theories</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International communication</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian-US relationship/comparison</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication studies</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication public policies</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication technology/innovation</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication and education</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication and politics</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian cultural identity</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 207 100.0%

Table 4.2: The Major Communication Discourse in *Canadian Journal of Communication*

Does the journal article discuss at least one of the above argument statements (in Table 4.3) or value judgment statements (in Table 4.4)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 207 100%
Table 4.3: Frequency Counts on Argument Statements in *Canadian Journal of Communication*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Argument Statements</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Hard to Say</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>No. of Articles</th>
<th>Proportion of Total No. of Articles (N=207)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is no clearly defined Canadian identity.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(72.7%)</td>
<td>(9.1%)</td>
<td>(18.2%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian cultural sovereignty is undermined.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(92.3%)</td>
<td>(3.9%)</td>
<td>(3.9%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian identity is needed and should be built.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Canadian cultural identity can strengthen the polity (national unity).</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(90.0%)</td>
<td>(10.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak Canadian identity may weaken the polity (national unity).</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(83.3%)</td>
<td>(16.7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US-Canada relationship is asymmetrical.</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(94.4%)</td>
<td>(5.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada is different from the United States.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(89.5%)</td>
<td>(10.5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4: Frequency Counts on Value Judgment Phrases in *Canadian Journal of Communication*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value Judgment Phrases</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>No. of Articles</th>
<th>Proportion of Total No. of Articles (N=207)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appraisal of American products or ways of doing things.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(12.0%)</td>
<td>(16.0%)</td>
<td>(72.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appraisal of popular culture.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(23.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(77.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appraisal of free market mechanism.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(18.0%)</td>
<td>(82.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appraisal of government communication policy.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(15.4%)</td>
<td>(19.2%)</td>
<td>(65.4%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appraisal of government intervention.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(67.7%)</td>
<td>(19.4%)</td>
<td>(12.9%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appraisal of the kind of impact communication exercises on Canada’s national culture.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(28.9%)</td>
<td>(64.4%)</td>
<td>(6.7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appraisal of the role of comm. technology in society.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(20.0%)</td>
<td>(36.4%)</td>
<td>(43.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4.1: The Ideological Structure of Techno-Cultural Nationalism

- **Destructive force**: A: Regulating by market force
- **Constructive force**: a: Regulating by government

B: Exercising cultural domination
b: Seeking cultural autonomy

C: Weakening national unity
c: Strengthening national unity
Structuralist analysis of the cultural defence communication discourse reveals a unique ideological structure, which I name "techno-cultural nationalism." This ideological structure has two components: (1) the trinity of communication, national culture and polity; and (2) technological ambivalence. The interweaving of these two components produces two circles which represent the technological destructive force and technological constructive force (see Figure 4.1). In the Canadian context, the destructive force is American cultural domination while the constructive force is the Canadian cultural defence. The ideology of techno-cultural nationalism reflects how Canadians on the one hand viewed their inevitable struggle between the two dialectical forces, and on the other hand, explains how they evaluated the role of communication in this struggle. The following is an elaboration of this Canadian technological thought:

**Trinity of Communication, National Culture and Polity:** Canadians are more conscious about the importance of communication technology than people in other countries. Communication technology cannot and should not be separated from the issues of national culture and political sovereignty. These three subjects are closely linked. According to Collins (1990), Canadians assume culture and polity should be congruent. Cultural nationalists constantly argue that polity and culture cannot be decoupled, otherwise Canada would disintegrate (Attallah, 1992). Tremblay (1981) pointed out that communication and culture are mutually dependent concepts. To him, "without communication, no culture is possible" (Tremblay, 1981, p. 21). Pierre Juneau, former Deputy Minister of Communications and former President of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, acknowledged this marriage of culture and communication by labelling the Canadian communication industry as "the nation's cultural delivery system" (Gillies, 1990, p. 3).
Similarly, the position of successive Canadian governments has been that cultural industries are on a par with national defence, education and the judiciary (Maule, 1989).

As such, communication is not only viewed as essential to Canadian culture but also vital to Canada's national survival. A number of journal articles trace the history of communication policies to explain how important communication technology is in the Canadian mind. According to Hutchison, Canada has always regarded communication as fundamental to the creation and maintenance of the Canadian nation. From Sir John MacDonald's determination to push the railroad through the Rockies to the Pacific as part of his grand plan for the federal unification of the country, to the provision of satellite television for indigenous communities, "one can see the same underlying belief that in a country as large and as sparsely populated as Canada, development and control of communication is a sine qua non of the nation's existence" (Hutchison, 1990, p. 76).

Thomas (1992) made the same argument. Railroad construction served as the model for the development of broadcasting. In both instances, technology was used in an attempt to forge a nation into being. Moreover, according to the amendment of the Constitution Act of 1867, many aspects of communication policy are under the jurisdiction of the federal government. Communication is so important to the nation that even the provincial governments are not allowed to share control with Ottawa. Thus, there is a common view that Canada is a country built by communications--a prime factor for Canada "staying alive" and "keeping it together" (de la Garde, 1981). Canadians do not view communication, national culture and polity as separate entities but regard them as an interlocking whole. Table 4.3 shows that there are 10 articles mentioning the relationship between Canadian
cultural identity and national unity. Nine of them maintain that a strong Canadian cultural
identity can strengthen the Canadian polity.

**Technological Ambivalence:** McPhail and McPhail (1990) argued that an
examination of technology, communication and culture should begin with the work of
Canada's two most influential scholars, Harold Innis and Marshall McLuhan. In fact, many
of the sampled articles in my study frequently cite and discuss their theories. Innis is the
author most cited. For Innis, communication technology not only influences our
communication pattern but also our consciousness, social organization, and cultural
orientation. Moreover, communication technology can exert domination but also can serve
the purpose of emancipation. He argued that the predominant medium of communication in
any society creates a monopoly or an oligopoly of knowledge and power. The hegemony of
one or the other has implications for all institutions and patterns of human association within
a society. The rise and fall of successive civilizations or empires can be seen as the result of
the competition among media for domination. A new form of communication starts a new
civilization and it also ends a civilization. It gives rise to an empire but also destroys one.
The Innisian view of communication technology is thus a dialectical one: communication can
be associated with both domination and emancipation, destruction and creation. It is also
about balancing power to avoid monopoly.

Innis also discussed how people use technology to counter technology. In his time,
Innis already acknowledged the effectiveness of the American media that threatened Canada's
national cultural life. Canada's one chance for national survival, Innis argued, is its ability
to exploit the new media of communication to its own advantage. This means that Canada
has to take technological innovations in communication under its control to protect the national interest.

McLuhan also acknowledged the importance of communication technology. He argued that a change in the dominant medium changes which senses we use and, thereby, alters our world view. His famous, but often misunderstood, phrase "the medium is the message" advocates that the form of the medium alters the environment, shapes society, and structures thought in a way that its content never can. It also encloses and processes us, transforming our way of thinking and understanding. In a Playboy interview (reprinted in the Canadian Journal of Communication, 1989), McLuhan expressed an ambivalent view on communication technology and proposed a way for solving the dilemma. McLuhan argued that unlike previous environmental changes, the electronic media constitute a total and near-instantaneous transformation of culture, values and attitudes. This upheaval generates great pain and identity loss, which can be ameliorated only through a conscious awareness of its dynamics. According to McLuhan, if we understand the revolutionary transformations caused by the new media, we can anticipate and control them; but if we continue our self-induced subliminal trance, we will be their slaves. In other words, one may become a happy master in a media paradise, but there is also a possibility that one remains a miserable slave in a confused world. The key to survival or happiness is to understand the nature of our new environment so that one can turn disadvantage to advantage.

The notion of technological ambivalence is quite prominent among the articles in the Canadian Journal of Communication. In response to the question of what kind of impact communication exercises on Canada's national culture, 29 (out of 45) articles identify both negative and positive impacts, while 13 articles mention only the positive influences and 3
articles mentioned only the negative influences (see Table 4.4). This indicates that most Canadian scholars are able to see both the bright and dark sides of technology. On the one hand, they blame the American media products for exercising profound damaging influence on their consciousness and social institutions; on the other hand, they think the media could play a positive role in identity formation and national integration.

The Canadian government’s stand on technology projects a "simplistic dilemma of technology-driven utopia or disaster" (Gillies, 1990). A former minister of communications said, "We can use our technology to foster and develop a vibrant culture in the nation, or we can allow the technology to vanquish the dreams of generations of Canadians" (Fox, 1981, p. 16). Many journal articles in the areas of film (Pendakur, 1985), native press (Raudsepp, 1985), TV drama (Tate & Trach, 1980), and VCR (Einsiedel & Green, 1987) illustrate how communication technology is able to exert both constructive and destructive influences. Appeals such as "Canadians should be able to communicate with Canadians over the facilities which they control" (emphasis mine) can be found in the sampled articles (Siegel, 1979, p. 2). Authors are enthusiastic about encouraging control over communication technology to the advantage of Canada. Godbout (1985, p. 343) argued that "those who dominate the discourse of communications create the myths that are the oxygen of a society." By citing Jacques Attali’s motto--"He who controls the noise controls the world"--Godbout proposed that Canadian society must give itself the means to produce and control its own noise (p. 350). These assertions reflect that in the minds of Canadians the view of technological ambivalence is vivid and the desire for controlling communication technology is strong.

**The Destructive Force--American Media Imperialism:** The negative aspect of technological ambivalence states that the media industry is dictated by free market
mechanism and under United States control. This situation undermines Canadian culture and further weakens Canada's national unity. For Americans, cultural products are simply commodities just like any other products. Their production and distribution should be subject to free market rules. Many Canadians, however, have a deep distrust of the free market and free trade ideology. Nine out of 11 articles (82 percent) which discuss free market mechanism hold a negative attitude towards it. Two articles do not take a stand and no article supports the free market mechanism (see Table 4.4). This sentiment is particularly strong on the Free Trade Agreement issue. Several articles share the view that Canada "would lose those last remaining policy protection in the cultural industry central to maintaining national sovereignty" (Mosco, 1990, p. 47). A number of journal articles also display reservations about the United States' advocacy of freedom of information. They argue that under certain circumstances such freedom cannot be considered an absolute good and conflicts with the national interest. For national security and survival, it is necessary to impede the totally unbridled exchange of information (Godbout, 1985; Meisel, 1987; Smythe, 1986). Smythe (1986) accused the United States of using the concept of free flow of information to justify market control.

Table 4.3 shows that 24 out of 26 journal articles (92.3 percent of the relevant articles) claim that Canadian culture is unmistakably threatened by the massive presence of American media goods in the country. As expressed by Meisel (1987), American cultural artifacts crowd out domestic voices. The space occupied by the imports "prevented the fragile home-grown plants from taking root, growing and being seen." In another article, Godbout (1985, p. 343) made the analogy that the influence of American popular culture is like "acid rain on Canadian lakes and forests." All these comments are in line with the Innis
lament. In Innis's last years he was pessimistic about the alarming fact that Canada had become a communications dependency of the United States (Vipond, 1992).

The Constructive Force--Canadian Culture Defence: Communication technology can be a constructive force but it must be under the regulation of the government. Canadians have little objection to government intervention in the area of communication. There are 31 journal articles that discuss government intervention in communication policy. Of them, 21 articles (67.7 percent) find government intervention acceptable and only 4 articles (12.9 percent) are against government intervention (see Table 4.4). Transborder data flow, broadcast contents and certain aspects of publishing are some of the areas considered by Canadians to be so crucial to their national survival that regulation, control and subvention by the government are justified (Meisel, 1987). As reflected in many of the journal articles, the Canadian government has used a number of ways to protect and support the media industry. These include government ownership or funding of enterprises such as the CBC and the NFB, subsidies and tax incentives for Canadian television and film production, tax laws favouring Canadian-owned newspapers and periodicals, and Canadian content regulation. Under these regulations and protection measures, the media industry is believed to be able to promote a Canadian identity. There are 32 journal articles touching on the issue of Canadian identity and all of them insist that communication technology should play an instrumental role in formulating a Canadian identity which is considered to be greatly needed (see Table 4.3). "In both the print and broadcast media in this country, there has been some expectation that communications will serve particular Canadian needs" (Siegel, 1979, p. 2). Smythe (1986) also claimed that the Canadian struggle for autonomy is best pursued by cultivating Canadians' own values. In his opinion, a "cultural screen" should be
built up through communication to protect Canada’s culture. Hence, the CBC should "contribute to the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity" and the Canadian broadcasting system should "safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada" (Broadcasting Act, 1978). Techno-cultural nationalism is an ideology for resisting American media domination and searching for cultural identity by means of communication technology. This ideology has influenced much of the Canadian perception of its communication environment and necessities. It directs communication public policies as well as guides the path of communication development.

In Ontario, the ideology of techno-cultural nationalism influenced the attitudes of government, intellectuals as well as the general public towards developments in communication media. The province of Ontario has a long history of concern regarding American cultural imperialism. In the 1970s, the Ontario Report of the Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry (1977, p. 2) pointed out that "a great deal of Canadian media violence is imported, constituting, in effect, the imposition of an alien culture on Canadians." Furthermore, the Royal Commission urged the awareness of the phenomenon that "some media, especially television and films, inject us with such massive doses of U.S. culture that our own is endangered." The LaMarsh Commission, as pointed out by Dyson (personal communication, June 13, 1995), examined the entire Canadian media industry with the assumption that the media environment in Canada is influenced by the American media. The report recommended that Canadian broadcasting be restructured not only to reduce violent content but also to be "more responsive to Canada’s cultural identity" (Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, 1977, p. 55). Survey of
The Canadian Forum, University of Toronto Quarterly and Queen's Quarterly in the past 20 to 30 years reveals that there has been keen interest in the cultural role of the mass media, particularly television, in modern society. The discussion of the role of CBC, American cultural imperialism and Canadian cultural policy were and continue to be major topics.

Up to the 1980s, there were calls for stricter control on the importation of undesirable United States media products, and censorship was regarded as a necessary measure to stop the "poison from the south." The free trade negotiation between Canada and the United States in the mid-1980s aroused great concern over the threat to Canadian culture and identity. Ontario's Minister of Citizenship and Culture, Lily Munro, alleged that "people say free trade can never destroy our identity but I don’t believe that" (Ward, 1987, p. B1). Ontarians believed that free trade with the United States would open Canadian markets to a deluge of pornography and violent media materials (METRAC, 1986b; Rauhala, 1986). Public opinion in the province pressed the federal government to make culture part of the free trade bargaining process (Ward, 1987).

At the same time, the province had deep faith in the constructive force of communication technologies, provided they were under the control of Canadians. For example, when William G. Davis was the Ontario Minister of Education in the 1960s, he had already seen the potential of television for education and set up the branch of educational television (ETV). Later, when he became the Premier of Ontario in the early 1970s, he established TVOntario (TVO) as the first provincial educational television network in Canada (Ide, 1994). Ontarians in the 1970s and 1980s called for the strengthening the TVO educational programs to counter the influence of American TV. The creation of the Ontario
Film Institute was also an attempt to balance a Canadian perspective against the Hollywood view of the world (Uhde, 1990).

4.3 Summary

In the 1970s and 1980s, communication technology further advanced and technological innovations, such as colour TV, cable TV, satellite TV, pay-TV and VCRs, were introduced in the province. Moral concern about the negative effects of media sex and violence combined with anxiety about further cultural penetration from the Americans. All these concerns and debates on the role of the mass media shaped the socio-cultural milieu of Ontario which germinated the media education movement.

Most of the advocates for media literacy in Ontario agreed that the media literacy movement gained momentum in the early 1980s because of the growing controversies over the issues of sexuality, pornography, violence, stereotyping and children's excessive television viewing (Duncan, 1985c). Duncan pointed out that all these concerns mean that "people were finally beginning to notice the pervasiveness of the media and some were even beginning to see it as a matter for the schools to address" (Carson, 1989, p. 33).

For instance, the LaMarsh Report aroused public awareness of media impact on their lives. According to media literacy advocates, the LaMarsh Commission contributed significantly to the media literacy movement in Ontario (Duncan, personal communication, June 20, 1995). Among the many recommendations calling for changes within the communications industry, the Commission proposed that the Ontario government should
encourage "the development of public and high school courses on mass media, and the addition of new instruction designed to promote media literacy at all school levels" (Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, 1977, p. 63). The Fraser Report on pornography also suggested that the issue of pornography should "enter the public debate whether that debate be over educational programs, social service allocations, media policies or questions of economic and social disparity" (Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, 1985, p. 5). According to the report, the school should promote a fuller appreciation of the impact of the mass media in creating or maintaining beliefs and attitudes about human behaviour. The Report also urged the federal government in cooperation with provincial governments to initiate and support such public education program.

Andersen, a leading advocate, strongly suggested that the media literacy movement rose from the moral concern about sex videos, crimes and Playboy programming on pay-TV. He wrote:

The Ontario Censorship Board, whose mandate covered film but not video, could not satisfy the demands for video censorship. Satellite signals (from the U.S.) could be jammed, but that would also exclude those who had licenses to receive them. A government agency could be established to watchdog the offerings of video rental stores, but there were many outlets to police and the action would more likely drive the operators underground than eradicate the problem....The people at the centre of all this concern were children. It was their developing value system and citizenship that was targeted as being at risk (Andersen, 1988, p. 6).

According to Andersen, parents, clergy and concerned citizens began to turn to media education in the hope that it would shield children from media harm. Since changing the messages was unworkable, they wanted to change the receivers in order to make children media literate so that they were capable of discriminating between good and bad programs.
Women's groups also recognized the need for media education at home as well as in school to teach children about intelligent viewing of television (Sigurjousson, personal communication, June 12, 1995). Moscovitch (personal communication, May 26, 1995) said these people turned to media education looking for inoculation programs to counter the "media virus." Another major advocate, Rick Shepherd (personal communication, June 20, 1995), remarked that it was rather opportunistic on their part to take advantage of the public discourse on media violence and pornography but at that time it really helped. Many interest groups had realized that censorship undermined freedom of speech and thought media education was the best way to address the issues of adverse media effects and cultural pollution from the United States.

Screen education was the first provincial response to the technological advancement of the electronic media. It was, however, only a project of social accommodation to the television age. Although screen education did not take root in Ontario schools, it planted the seed for the development of media education in the 1980s. Further advancement in communication technology led province-wide anxiety about media violence, pornography and American cultural penetration. As analyzed in this chapter, the ideology of techno-cultural nationalism played an important role in directing public opinion towards media-related issues. As media censorship by itself was not an effective way to deal with the perceived social crisis generated by the media, media education became an alternative. In the following chapter, I will document how the people of Ontario responded to the challenge imposed by the new communication technologies in the 1980s by launching a media literacy movement.
As discussed in the previous chapter, many organizations and social groups in Ontario were concerned with the impact of the mass media. A media education movement was gradually gaining momentum during the late 1970s and the early 1980s. The general objective of the movement was to raise consciousness about the profound impact of mass media and to educate young people for critical media consumption.

In Ontario, the media education movement was usually referred to the "media literacy movement." In this chapter, I first take a close look at the general history of the movement and see whether the media literacy movement is a social movement. Then, I will discuss whether it shares the characteristic features of new social movements.

**5.1 Initiatives for Media Literacy**

The initiative for media literacy did not originate from the educational authority but came from the "field" as George described (personal communication, June 11, 1996). The field refers to the educational organizations and community groups in the province. People involved in the media literacy movement included school teachers, women's groups, religious groups, media concern groups, parents' groups, educational broadcasting stations and cultural agencies.
Among these people, English teachers were the most enthusiastic advocates. Many of them got support from their school boards. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Etobicoke Board, North York Board and Toronto Board are the school boards in Ontario most supportive to the development of media education. For example, early in 1979, at the request of Etobicoke teachers and the Etobicoke University Women’s Club, the Etobicoke School Board established a Media Literacy Task Force to study the possible role of media literacy in education. This group was made up of teachers, principals, members of the administration and curriculum services branch and the general public (AML, 1979b).

Teachers’ associations, such as the Association for Media Literacy (AML) and the Ontario Teachers’ Federation (OTF), were major advocacy organizations, while the Ontario council of Teachers of English (OCTE) and English Co-ordinators and Consultants of Ontario (ECCO) also play important roles in supporting the promotion of media literacy.

The feminist movement in Ontario contributed a great deal to the media literacy movement. Women’s groups in Ontario were keen on promoting media literacy. The Metro Action Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children (METRAC) and the Federation of Women Teachers’ Associations of Ontario (FWTAO) were active advocacy organizations. The religious groups coming from both the Christian and Catholic camps also participated in the movement. The United Church of Canada and the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) were key organizations in fostering the development of media literacy.

A number of media concern groups at national level took part in the media literacy movement in Ontario. They were the Canadians Concerned About Violence in Entertainment (C-CAVE), Canadian Association for the Prevention of Crime (CAPC) and Friends of Canadian Broadcasting (FCB). The parents/teacher groups had long-standing concern about
the impact of the mass media on school children's lives, contributing greatly to the mobilization of the media literacy movement. The Home and School Associations and the Alliance for Children and Television (ACT) advocated enthusiastically for media awareness. Cultural agencies, such as TVOntario (TVO) and the National Film Board of Canada (NFB), played a great role in promoting media literacy both in schools and in the community.

Groups involved in promoting social awareness about the mass media in Ontario were not limited to organizations listed above. The mobilization of media education was an autonomous process which responded to the social, cultural and media environment at that time. In the following section, I will analyze the activities of these organizations in the light of social movement.

5.2 Defining Media Literacy Movement as a Social Movement

As outlined above, the advocacy for media literacy in Ontario was not only supported by one particular group of people but was promoted by a wide range of interest groups in the province. Duncan (1987/88, p. 46) wrote about this in his column Media Beat:

Much of the pressure to have media literacy programs came from groups within education and from the community at large who were concerned about such media-generated issues.

In the early 1980s, various group activities addressing the issue of media influence had already joined together as a social force which was identified by the advocates as a "movement" for media literacy (Duncan, 1984b; Duncan, personal communication, June 20,
The media literacy movement in Ontario fits the criteria of an ideal type of social movement in many ways, as was described in the last section of Chapter Two.

Organized Collectivity: The media literacy movement was an organized collectivity with leaders and followers. As outlined, a number of organizations were involved in the movement. Among them, the AML was created as an advocacy organization (AML, 1978b).

The AML is a teacher-based organization whose goal is to promote media literacy in Ontario. Most of its members are English teachers but some are media professionals and community leaders. In the late 1970s, after the release of the Report of the Ontario Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, the growing concern about media violence and pornography raised public awareness of the impact of the mass media. A conference entitled "The Media: How to Talk Back" was organized by a small group of media educators and filmmakers (AML, 1978b). Judy LaMarsh, the chair of the Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, attended the conference as a keynote speaker. During the luncheon meeting she encouraged the enthusiastic media educators to organize themselves for the future promotion of media literacy. Duncan stepped forward to take up the task and, together with other enthusiasts, founded the Association (Livesley, personal communication, June 13, 1995).

The AML worked together with other organizations such as women’s groups, teachers’ associations, church groups and parents’ groups and media concern groups to promote media literacy in the province. Duncan described AML as "the system disk in the recent Ontario movement" (Duncan, 1992). Since its establishment in 1978, the AML has
acted as a clearinghouse, collecting and distributing course outlines and resources on media literacy (AML, 1978b; Andersen, 1988). It provided a forum for media teachers throughout the province to meet and exchange ideas. Through newsletters, workshops and joint seminars, the AML also linked up with other media literacy associations. At that time, the pressing need for the movement was "a cadre of leadership" (Carson, 1989, p. 34). The AML thought they needed "a body of teachers with the skills and expertise to act as media literate mentors to their respective school boards." Therefore, the AML attempted to train teachers by providing personnel to any group or organization that was interested in media literacy (AML, 1978b).

The AML was a major lobbying group asking for the inclusion of media education in the school curriculum and later was a developer of the media literacy curriculum. Neil Andersen (1988, p. 3), one of the AML members, claimed that "since 1978 the history of media literacy education in Ontario has been the history of the Association for Media Literacy." The AML's president, Duncan, played an important leadership role in the movement. According to Jack Livesley (personal communication, June 13, 1995), without Duncan, media studies in Ontario would not be where it stood.

In Ontario, most of the teachers organizations supported the idea of teaching media literacy. Of them, the Ontario Teachers' Federation (OTF) played the most important role in the media literacy movement. The OTF is composed of five teacher federations and it has strong bargaining power. According to Pierre Lalonde, teachers such as Duncan, who were interested in media literacy but saw that it did not have an appropriate place in Ontario schools, expressed their concerns to the Federation and asked for help. The Federation members such as the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO) and
the Ontario English Catholic Teachers’ Associations (OECTA) were keen supporters of media education. FWTAO was very much concerned with the social damage of media violence on women and children while OECTA was anti-pornography. According to an internal document of the Federation, FWTAO was very supportive of the Federation’s move to lobby the Ministry on the issue of media literacy (FWTAO, 1985). At its 1984 Annual Meeting, the OECTA delegates demanded that Catholic teachers in Ontario’s separate schools launch an educational campaign to combat the spread of pornography and its destructiveness (OECTA, 1985, p. 5). In the following year, the Associations established a work group to study the problem and published a booklet called Pornography: An Issue for Educators.

Another OTF member, the Ontario Secondary School Teachers’ Federation (OSSTF), was also a great supporter of media literacy. It invited the AML president, Duncan, to write a column series "Media Beat" in its journal, Education Forum. For a number of years this column spread the idea of media literacy to secondary school teachers.

Des Dixon, the Director of Curriculum and Professional Development of OTF, was a forward-looking person who supported media literacy. Under his charge, the OTF’s audio-visual workshops generated discussion on critical assessment of the media. Some of the executives attending the workshops were familiar with the philosophy of media literacy. In the early 1980s, as social concern about pornography grew, so did the pressure increase on the OTF to take a stand. Since the OTF decision-makers were reluctant to commit themselves on censorship and as media literacy had gained enough supporters at the time, Dixon thought the two could be brought together. He proposed the inclusion of media literacy in school to tackle the influence of pornography. The OTF accepted this proposal
and began to lobby the Ministry of Education for media literacy in schools (Dixon, personal communication, June 12, 1995).

The Ontario Council of Teachers of English (OCTE) and the English Co-ordinators and Consultants of Ontario (ECCO) are both English teachers' organizations. They were not major lobbying groups but they did show their support for the media literacy movement. Early in 1979, the OCTE assembly passed a resolution recommending that the Ministry of Education revise the outdated Screen Education Guidelines. Further, they suggested media should be a separate or integrated course in the curriculum. In 1984, OCTE arranged a special issue on media literacy published in its influential journal, Indirections, to popularize media literacy among English teachers. According to Duncan (personal communication, July 2, 1997), OCTE's contribution had been as an organization that had an important annual conference. He made presentations at many of its annual conferences to promote media literacy, especially in those crucial years including 1980, 1984 and 1986. Other media literacy advocates also presented their ideas there frequently. The ECCO were always supportive. Goller (personal communication, June 21, 1995) recounted her presentations on media literacy to the ECCO. John Bray (personal communication, June 15, 1995), the chairman of the English Language Arts Network (ELAN), confirmed that a group of members of the English Consultants and Co-ordinators of Ontario (ECCO) were strong advocates. The ECCO was formerly ELAN.

As a provincial educational television station, TVOntario has played an active role in promoting media literacy. A draft statement of the goals of the Ontario Educational Communications Authority (OECA), which manages TVOntario, distributed in December 1973 stated that one of the objectives was to "examine the problems related to media literacy.
within the Ontario context, and review and recommend OECA's role in media literacy by April 1, 1975" (Syrett, 1976, p. 1). OECA commissioned several reports on media literacy. A research paper entitled "Media and Visual Literacy" was presented in 1974 and later a second paper, "Dimensions of Visual Literacy," was also released. In addition, articles and monographs from other sources were circulated. At the same time a number of initiatives were undertaken by individuals at several levels of the organization. Furthermore, a Media Literacy Committee was formed to develop a "White Paper" on media literacy and a Draft White Paper was ready by 1976. The Draft White Paper suggested that OECA should approach the Ministry of Education "to propose the study of audio-visual language as a regular and distinct component of the language and literature curriculum" (Syrett, 1976, p. 15). It also urged the OECA to play a greater role in promoting media literacy "by means of a media-literacy seminar for interested parties, leading to policy decisions by management" (Syrett, 1976, p. 16).

Due to a reshuffle in the OECA in the mid-1970s, many recommendations in the Draft White Paper were not crystallized. Nevertheless, committed individuals at TVOntario still carried on their work to extend media literacy. In fact, even before the release of the Draft White Paper, TVOntario was doing a great deal in the area of media literacy. For example, it published materials designed to increase media literacy (e.g., The Third Eye, Behind the Third Eye, Picture This). It produced a series and programs to explore media impact (e.g., Media Circus, Mindscape). After the White Paper, although there was no official policy on promoting media literacy, some useful media literacy resource materials were developed. An outstanding example was Let's Play TV, developed by Jack Livesley who was also an AML member. It offered elementary school teachers an engaging and
informative tool for teaching television literacy. TVOntario also produced a resource book, *Television and Your Children*, to help parents encourage critical viewing skills in the home (C-CAVE, 1988).

In general, TVOntario promoted media literacy from a production standpoint. It taught young people how the production process shaped the reality. Ellen Bear, an education officer of TVOntario, pointed out that her organization has long been a believer in teaching children about television. TVOntario taught them about how to put together a program and how to construct images. It wanted children to be aware of how visual images are carefully put together to sell something, to tell something, or to convince them of something. With media literacy training, it wanted children to be able to "look at television in a different way that they have never looked at it before" (Bear, personal communication, June 22, 1995).

The National Film Board participated in the Ontario media literacy movement from the start. From 1966 to 1969, the NFB organized the Summer Institute on Screen Study, which nurtured a group of young Ontario educators. Summer Institute members, such as Barry Duncan, Chris Worsnop, Jerry George and Bill Mitchell, later became leaders in the media education movement in Ontario.

The NFB Toronto office provided strong support for teachers who were interested in media education. Staff offered films for use and information for reference. It also conducted workshops discussing media literacy. Arlene Moscovitch, an NFB education officer at the Toronto office in the 1970s, provided both "financial and moral support" to organize the conference "The Media: How to Talk Back" which generated the "second wave" of media education in Ontario (Schuyler, 1978). She was also one of the founding members of the AML. The NFB has always been supportive of media education. Under the
supervision of Ann Taylor, a number of films and videos were produced by the NFB to facilitate the teaching of media literacy in the classroom. In the 1980s, the NFB was also "active in the exploration of alternatives to pornography and other forms of violent entertainment" (Dyson, 1988). It also produced educational children’s and family home videos whose contents were based on Canadian experience. NFB members such as Mark Slade, Terry Ryan, Arlene Moscovitch and Ann Taylor were leaders in the screen education movement and the media literacy movement in Ontario.

The above mentioned organizations did not work in isolation but they co-operated with one another to promote media literacy in the province. Among them, the AML played a leading role.

**Common Concern:** Members of the media literacy movement had a common concern and shared beliefs. As mentioned, all the groups involved in the movement were concerned about the profound impact of mass media on Ontarians, particularly on children.

According to the AML manifesto, the three traditional cornerstones of social development (church, family and school) had become considerably less influential than the mass media. AML was concerned with "helping students respond to the new media language as effectively and richly as possible." Only in this way could educators hope to prepare their students for "a world that requires both print and media literacy as basic survival skills."

The AML was established to foster media literacy in Ontario (AML, 1978a, p. 4).

Claudine Goller, a Scarborough Board English teacher and consultant, devoted most of her teaching years to the promotion of TV literacy. For Goller (1985), television was the principal teacher of values. Students needed to think about this teacher and the amount of control it had over their lives. Goller started teaching media during the period of screen
education and continued into the 1970s. Goller said that she always made sure to write
texts to the editor and articles for all kinds of publications, so that people would know that
somebody was doing something about media literacy. She conducted regular workshops for
teachers and advocated media literacy at meetings of English teachers. During her term as
English consultant, she tried everything to get teachers involved in educating their students
about television. In the mid-1980s she wrote a resource book for the Board of Education of
Scarborough entitled *TV Literacy: Teaching Kids to Watch TV Wisely*. This resource
document received wide media coverage and public attention, and contributed to the
popularity of media education in Ontario. Scarborough teachers were in the forefront of
media curriculum development in the elementary grades as they worked on TV literacy for
very young children.

Freda Appleyard was a coordinator of the Language Study Centre at the Toronto
Board of Education in Ontario. As a teacher and coordinator in English, Appleyard was
very interested in media education. In the early 1980s, she and her colleagues saw an
excellent Australian resource document on media education. It inspired them to develop a
new media education document of their own. With a great deal of effort, they finally
finished a media resource document entitled *Media and Mind Course* (1988), which
highlighted the importance of visual literacy in the electronic age. Interestingly, it stressed
that more attention should be paid to the development of the right side of the brain which
"appears to function on a holistic level, comprehending physical and spatial relationships,
processing the sensory input of the body, developing analogy and metaphor" (Language
Study Centre, 1988, p. 1). The teachers were encouraged to develop skills in both
hemispheric modes. Appleyard admitted that like many other English teachers in Ontario,
she was under the influence of McLuhan (Appleyard, personal communication, October 19, 1994). Appleyard was convinced that media influence human cognition and can help people develop values. That was why she thought media education was so important.

Rick Shepherd, a school teacher in North York, was stunned by the results when he first introduced the analysis of commercial television to his students. Discussions were heated and involved many students who did not normally become engaged. His three media classes grew to six. In a few years, he evolved from being an English teacher who sometimes taught media, to a media teacher who formerly taught English (Shepherd, 1995). In 1986 he convinced the North York Board of Education to create a support staff position in media literacy to further develop media education in his school district.

Mima Hoyes, an art teacher in the same board, shared a similar experience with Shepherd about teaching the media. She said she could tell from the students’ eyes that they were interested in media studies (Hoyes, personal communication, October 27, 1994). For many teachers, teaching media analysis transformed the way their students learned. The students wanted something that could be related to their media-saturated world. According to Elizabeth Flynn, a drama teacher, it was a wonderful way of learning by addressing the involvement that the kids had in the media. She suggested using media studies "as a springboard...to deal with discussions on values, questions of racism, social justice, relationships" (quoted in Greer, 1990, p. 7). The teachers saw that students not only enjoyed media studies but also benefited greatly from it. The response encouraged teachers to keep going with their media classes. Clemson (personal communication, August 22, 1995) described teachers of media education as dedicated individuals who got excited by their media teaching.
When English teachers were surveyed on Senior English Review 84-85, a majority said they would teach media literacy if there were good support materials (Pungente, 1993a). In the survey, many English teachers also expressed their views on media studies in writing to the Ministry of Education, asking for more emphasis in this area. In 1985 a group of English teachers and consultants was invited by the Ministry of Education to form a curriculum guide committee to develop a new English guideline. Gwen Mowbray led this committee. Mowbray was not experienced in media education but she was very open-minded about media teaching. She and her team were conscious about the coming of the information age. They developed a basic philosophy that English language should have a broader definition. Apart from reading, writing, listening and speaking, there should be viewing/observing and doing/representing. Together with her team she initiated a new concept for English. The study of English should include language, literature and media. It was proposed that media literacy be included as part of the English curriculum (Mowbray, personal communication, June 16, 1995).

Many pressure groups in Ontario shared the concern from the educational community with the effect of the mass media. The support from the women’s group for media literacy was mainly based on their opposition to media sex and violence (Sigurjousson, personal communication, June 12, 1995). In the early 1980s, the Metro Action Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children (METRAC) was probably one of the most active feminist groups in Ontario. METRAC was established by the Metro Toronto Council in 1984 to take action to prevent violence against women and children (METRAC pamphlet, nondated). It took a stand on pornography and media sex stereotyping because these issues promoted violence against women and children (C-CAVE, 1987a). METRAC encouraged
the development of programming in curricular areas such as media literacy to address the problem of coercive sexuality. In 1986 Pat Marshall, the chair of METRAC, worked together with AML to organize a symposium called "Moving beyond Coercive Sexuality: A Symposium for Educators." The symposium brought together educators and experts on such topics as assault, sex role stereotyping, pornography and rock video (AML, 1986a).

The other feminist group taking initiative in media literacy was the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO). As already mentioned, it was one of the affiliates of the OTF and was keen on issues of media violence. The FWTAO Newsletter carried many articles on media literacy and encouraged teachers to develop media literacy in their classrooms. FWTAO worked closely with media teacher Goller. For example, it organized the workshop "Kids and TV: How Can Teachers Help?" which was developed and presented by Goller (1984). Goller also frequently wrote on media violence for the FWTAO Newsletter (Labatt, personal communication, October 26, 1994).

The Christian church in Ontario has always been concerned with the adverse effect of mass media and takes an initiative to tackle the problem. Early in the 1960s, the United Church of Canada in Toronto published The Mind Benders (Teringo & Sweet, 1970), a book in the format of media literacy text with discussion questions at the end of each chapter. The book explored the basic workings of perception and illustrated how the media used the power of perception to manipulate human behaviour.

In the 1970s the United Church arranged for the American Television Awareness Training (TAT) to be tested in Canada and fostered the development of TAT/Canada. TAT/Canada was an autonomous, non-profit organization designed to promote TAT (workshop-type courses) throughout Canada. According to the Executive Director of
TAT/Canada, Sanderson Layng, while the United Church financed the establishment of the program, the training itself was completely non-sectarian and was available to any interested person (Layng, 1979). Layng wrote articles in the *AML Newsletter* to promote the TAT program among school teachers.

In the early 1980s, the United Church redesigned TAT/Canada and developed a new workshop curriculum called "TVScope" written by Peter Flemington. It was a curriculum unit dealing with the scope of TV and how to creatively copy with it individually, in the family and in society (Woollard, 1982). TVScope, according to Flemington (personal communication, June 28, 1995), was targeted for church people, high school groups and community members. Compared with the TAT programs which aimed at training members of the Church, TVScope was more "secular-based."

Greenaway (personal communication, June 22, 1995), the Media Consultant of the United Church, expressed that her church believed the communication media to be very powerful. As Christians, church members were very much concerned with the media environment in Canada and felt it their responsibility to ensure the media were not negative forces in the community. The United Church participated in the media literacy movement in several ways. Since the 1970s, a staff at the Division of Communication at the Toronto headquarters of the United Church conducted media awareness workshops and supported media awareness training within the church. The Church wanted people to examine the impact of secular media on their lives and respond to media messages in a proper way. The Church produced its own materials and conducted its own programs. The TAT and TVScope programs resulted from this kind of involvement. The United Church also supported a number of affiliated organizations in the production of media literacy materials.
The best example was the sponsorship for the Media Action Research Centre in New York City, which publishes the renowned media literacy magazine *Media and Values* and a number of media literacy kits. Additionally, the United Church aligned itself with organizations that were not church-based but shared the same concerns, such as the AML, C-CAVE, TVO and NFB. Furthermore, the United Church also encouraged media teaching in school.

While the United Church promoted media literacy among Protestants, the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), a Catholic organization, also played a crucial role in the Ontario media literacy movement. The Roman Catholic church has a long history of promoting media education. In 1936, Pope Pius XI wrote an encyclical letter on "motion pictures" to encourage the church to develop a better understanding of this important medium (Pungente, 1993b, p. 14). Numerous church documents have continued to urge Catholic schools and parishes to implement media literacy. For example, in 1963, the Second Vatican Council in its Decree on the Instructions of Social Communication (Inter Mirifica) stated: "Methods of media education, especially when designed for young people, should be encouraged, developed and oriented according to Christian moral principles. This should be done in Catholic Schools at all levels" (Pungente, 1985, p. 19). The Catholic church's readiness to "handle" mass media effect is evident from the following statements:

The media can be used to proclaim the Gospel or to reduce it to silence in human hearts....Reality, for many, is what the media recognize as real; what media do not acknowledge seems of little importance. Thus de facto silence can be imposed upon individuals and groups whom the media ignore, and even the voice of the Gospel can be muted, though not entirely stilled, in this way (Novae, 1992, p. 80).

The three traditional agents of education have been the home, the school and the church. These have now been joined by the fourth educator--the mass media of social
communication....It is vitally important to ensure that the media complement and do not displace the traditional educators (Pungente, 1985, p. 20).

Following this prescription, the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) insisted that the means of social communication (mass media) "should be integrated into the mission of the society and this must include the apostolate of secondary education" (Pungente, 1985, p. 22). In 1977, the Jesuits established the Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture in London which promoted research in media education. In 1982, the Centre initiated a project to develop a program to equip students in Jesuit secondary schools around the world, including those in Canada, with the critical tools needed to live in a media-saturated world (Pungente, 1985).

In 1984, the media education initiative was extended to Canada and the Jesuit Communication Project was set up in Toronto. John Pungente, a Canadian Jesuit priest and media teacher, took charge of the Project in the following year. The major work of the Jesuit Communication Project was to encourage, promote, and develop media education in schools across Canada, particularly in Ontario. According to the Jesuit Communication Project pamphlet, the Project was working in response to the call from the Church and society.

Before John Pungente arrived in Toronto in 1985, he was sent by the Jesuits to conduct media education research at the London Centre as well as in 29 other countries. His research results were published in his book, Getting Started on Media Education, which aimed at introducing media education to educators (Pungente, 1985). The book was circulated among Ontario teachers and it encouraged teachers to start media studies in the classroom.
Pungente joined the Association for Media Literacy and became an active member. He knew he could not work alone to get media education started in Ontario, therefore, the Jesuit Communication Project established a close partnership with the AML to advocate media literacy. Pungente's contribution to the development of media education curriculum in Ontario was unique, as he was able to put Ontario media educators in touch with the work of key media education theorists/educators such as Len Masterman of England, Eddie Dick of Scotland, and Barrie McMahon and Robyn Quin of Australia (Shepherd, 1995). Pungente linked up the Ontario media education initiative with the international media education movement. Ontario media teachers were motivated when they felt they were part of a global project and they learned a great deal from this exposure. The Jesuit Communication Project extended the Ontario media education horizon beyond the provincial boundary.

At the same time, a number of media concern groups paid their attention to the influence of the mass media on Canadian society. Early in the 1970s, the Council of Arts Administrators put out a document throughout Canada called "What the Children are Watching." It was a brief survey of children's television in Canada. The survey report recommended that media literacy training should be conducted in schools and in the community (AML, 1979a).

The Canadians Concerned About Violence in Entertainment (C-CAVE), a national consumer organization based in Ontario, included the promotion of media literacy in its goals (Dyson, 1995a). C-CAVE was founded in 1983 in response to growing anxiety about the high level of violence in entertainment programs. Teachers and parents in Hamilton, Ontario formed a group to publicize the new research on entertainment violence and assist other concerned Canadians to counteract the negative effects of media violence (DeNew, personal
communication, June 15, 1995). C-CAVE members believed that the increase in real violence was directly related to entertainment violence. They saw the problem of entertainment violence as a community mental health issue (C-CAVE, 1986). C-CAVE acted as an educational resource centre by collecting and making available to the public current information about violence in entertainment. This organization took a stand in support of media literacy. Its mission statement said that "C-CAVE promotes media literacy as an essential and positive way to achieve a safer and healthier environment along with responsible regulation through government and within the industry itself" (Dyson, 1995a). Duncan, President of AML, was a board member of C-CAVE. Duncan said C-CAVE was very much aware of AML’s activities and it supported media literacy during the movement (Duncan, personal communication, June 20, 1995).

The Canadian Association for the Prevention of Crime (CAPC) was another social group involved with media impact and media education. Out of concern about the effect of televised violence on children, it carried out a project called "Television and the Consumer" from 1981 to 1984 (CAPC, 1981). The project organized a national conference entitled "Society’s Response--Ability for Its Use of Television: A Public Challenge." The Association was aware of the attempts to promote media literacy as an essential component of the school curriculum and it encouraged discussion on media literacy in the conference.

Friends of Canadian Broadcasting (FCB) was not a media literacy advocacy organization but it aimed to raise Canadian’s awareness about their media environment and American cultural influence. This group emerged from the adult education movement’s long standing concern with public broadcasting. Its spokesperson, Ian Morrison, said his organization recognized the importance of media literacy. Since many FCB members came
from Ontario, its platform did raise the awareness of some Ontarians of their unhealthy media environment and reminded them to do something about it. In this sense, FCB's activities could be regarded as part of the media literacy movement. When FCB was founded in 1985, it called itself Friends of Public Broadcasting, but changed its name to the present one in 1987. Its mission was to expand the quality and quantity of Canadian programming. FCB was anxious about the fact that 96 percent of the entertainment programming watched by Canadians was foreign, almost exclusively American. In 1988, FCB place a full page advertisement in The Globe and Mail showing a little girl named Michelle sitting on a TV set. The message the organization wanted to send to Canadians was that "a foreign power has control of Michelle's mind for 725 hours a year...that is about as long as she goes to school...all that time she spends watching and experiencing Los Angeles" (Morrison, personal communication, June 15, 1995). Morrison and his colleagues believe television is a very powerful medium in the unification of Canada. With special support from adult educators, FCB is working on the issues of cultural sovereignty and Canadian identity, which involves building a sense of belonging as a kind of cultural and national defense.

The impact of the mass media also attracted attention from the parent/teacher groups. Home and School Associations have traditionally supported media education. In 1966, S.R. Laycock, Honorary President of the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation, pointed out that the impact of film and television was as great as the printed page. He urged that "educators must consider whether the time has not come for teaching in these media as art forms, rather than merely using them as audio-visual aids" (Edwards, 1967, p. 149). From time to time, the Ontario Home and School Associations invited media
literacy advocates, such as Goller, to give presentations to parents and teachers (Goller, personal communication, June 21, 1995). In 1985, the Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations, together with the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation and the Quebec Federation of Home and School Associations took the lead by requesting provincial Ministries of Education to recognize media literacy as an essential component in the school curriculum (C-CAVE, 1987b).

The Alliance for Children and Television (ACT) supports media education. The ACT, formerly known as the Children's Broadcast Institute (CBI), was founded in 1974 by a group of parents, broadcasters, educators, producers, researchers, advertisers and child advocates who were concerned about the state of children's television in Canada. The major target of the Alliance is parents because the Alliance regards the family as the best place to make decisions about the role of television in children's lives (The Alliance for Children and Television, 1995). From 1976 to 1983, CBI carried out the Power of Television Project, conducting workshops, first in Ontario and then in other parts of the country. Through Home and School newsletters and conferences, the message of the workshops reached a large number of teachers and parents. The report of the Project put forward a list of recommendations. One of them stated:

The CBI (former name of the Alliance) should begin research and planning ways in which it can encourage the study of television in the classroom....The CBI stands to play an important role in influencing provincial ministries, school board officials and teachers themselves to incorporate the study of media and, in particular, television into the curriculum (Nostbakken & Nostbakken, 1983, p. 43).

Although ACT is a national organization, it is stationed in Toronto. Over the years, ACT has conducted many media literacy workshops for teachers and parents in Ontario and
provided handouts on TV literacy skills. ACT has contributed to the promotion of media education in the province of Ontario. According to Flemington (personal communication, June 28, 1995), the two dedicated members of CBI, David and Janice Nostbakken, were Marshall McLuhan's students who strongly believed in the power of television. As a couple, they toured the province of Ontario, giving talks to church groups, home and school associations, teachers' groups and community organizations about the appropriate way to view television programs.

As we can see, the advocacy groups shared the conviction that media literacy could help children consume media messages critically and avoid being manipulated. Media literacy was considered useful in enabling audience to "develop a discriminating, critical response to media messages" and to be "less likely to continue as the typically passive consumer" (Duncan & Wilkinson, 1989, p. 33). The common goal of the media literacy movement was to promote media awareness and to popularize media literacy skills. Its advocates had a shared identity and a sense of community as Canadian media concern groups dedicated to the improvement of the cultural experience of their youth.

Social Change: The goal of the media literacy movement was to bring about social change. On the one hand, the movement wanted to transform the way people consumed media. People were regarded as consuming the mass media unreflectively and without self-determination. The media literacy movement promoted the development of critical media consumption. On the other hand, the media literacy movement encouraged a critique of the media's constructions and called for a broader analysis of the social, economic and political powers. The movement leadership believed that the promotion of media literacy could offer a new way of looking at the economic, political and social realities (Duncan, 1987/88).
Informed by the feminist movement, the media literacy movement also directed attention to inaccurate gender stereotyping of women and demanded a change. The movement raised awareness about cultural imperialism from the United States hoping to promote a cultural struggle for Canadian identity.

**Social Conflict:** As with other social movements, the media literacy movement was involved in social conflict and was countered by the established order. As the movement promoted change in media consumption and called for resistance to media manipulation, it inevitably stood in opposition to the media establishment. Young people were reminded by media literacy advocates to be aware of the social, political and commercial implications of the mass media (Duncan & Wilkinson, 1989). The media literacy movement in Ontario addressed two levels of social conflict: the conflict between the dominant groups and the "oppressed" groups within the country (intra-societal conflict), and the conflict between Canada and the United States across the border (inter-societal conflict). Adopting the argument of the "dominant ideology thesis," the media literacy movement in Ontario accused the mass media of sustaining dominant values and relations of power. Mass media were seen as one of the powerful forces for transmission, reproduction and maintenance of the established economic and social order (Repo, 1989). Media literacy advocates, particularly in Ontario, focused on criticizing the commercial motives behind the sex and violence programming and on questioning the media promotion of consumerism. Meanwhile, media literacy advocates concluded that "the domination of American media means that the struggle for distinctive Canadian identity continues to be difficult" (Repo, 1989, p. 152). As such, the media literacy movement addressed the necessity to defend a national culture, but it is
worth noting that the movement did not radically challenge the established economic and political power. This point will be elaborated in the following section.

**Uninstitutionalized Collectivity:** The media literacy movement was an uninstitutionalized collectivity. The preceding analysis shows that the media literacy initiative came mainly from school teachers, parents, church people, feminists and media concern activists. Although government cultural agencies such as the NFB and the TVOntario were involved in the movement, the movement was not a top-down campaign. Hoyes (personal communication, October 27, 1994) at North York School Board described the media literacy movement as a "grass-roots movement" while others used the label "teacher-driven" (Shepherd, personal communication, June 20, 1995).

**Visibility:** The media literacy movement in Ontario was highly visible. It was significantly large in scope in terms of the number of participants, geographical area, duration and frequency of events. As indicated above, the movement involved many sizeable education and community groups. The AML is an example. Its membership grew from less than a hundred in the late 1970s to almost one thousand in the late 1980s. Although most of the advocacy organizations were stationed in Toronto, the media literacy movement was province-wide. According to the AML, in 1986 its 375 members represented 41 out of 78 Ontario school boards. These members came from all parts of Ontario including Burlington, Belleville, Elliot Lake, Hamilton, Kitchener, London, Mississauga, Owen Sound, Parry Sound, Thunderbay, and Waterloo, demonstrating that the interest in media literacy extended beyond Metro Toronto (AML, 1986b). The movement was sustained through the 1970s and 1980s.
The advocates employed a number of strategies and tactics to motivate the movement on media literacy. Their advocacy had a double mission. The first was to introduce the importance of media literacy to people from all walks of life (e.g., parents, media professionals, educators, community leaders) in order to win their support for media education. The second and more important was to get the teachers and parents involved in media education. In other words, they wanted to show teachers and parents how to introduce media literacy into their classrooms and homes.

Teachers of English were among the strongest advocates of media literacy (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989). However, teachers did not and could not work alone to yield results and so they created a wide support system and worked closely with other committed groups. Of the advocates in the media education movement, the Association for Media Literacy, though not very powerful, is still the most persistent and devoted group to lobby for media education in the educational system. During the period between 1978 (AML founding year) and 1987 (media literacy was included in school curriculum), the AML, together with other groups, worked hard to advocate media literacy. These advocates used the following six ways to mobilize the media literacy movement.

First, giving talks and presentations: AML members, Pungente from the Jesuit Communication Centre, and leaders and staff members of other organizations often gave talks and presentations on media literacy to teacher groups, parent groups and community members. For example, Duncan from the AML frequently offered Professional Activity Day (P.A. Day) presentations and gave talks to school boards, teacher associations and various organizations. Pat Marshall of METRAC and Rose Dyson of C-CAVE talked on pornography and media violence. Presentations on P.A. Days, the time when classroom
teachers receive in-service training, are considered an especially effective way to get the media literacy message across to teachers.

Second, organizing workshops, conferences, seminars and forums: The AML coordinated workshops at the local school board level which is the place to evangelize about media literacy (AML, 1979a). Many organizations such as the Alliance for Children and Television, TVOntario, National Film Board, the United Church and FWTAO regularly held workshops helping teachers and parents develop media literacy skills. These groups also organized conferences which contributed to the growth of the media education movement in Ontario. The AML organized a number of successful media education conferences and seminars in the 1970s and 1980s, namely "Beyond the Basics: Becoming Media Literate," "Media Awareness 86" and "Media and sexuality: Educators Are Focusing Their Concerns."

Third, publishing newsletters: Through their newsletters, promotion groups got communicated messages to fellow members as well as the public. The AML Newsletter reported on current developments in the media literacy movement, made AML progress reports, provided ideas, events, workshop information and news on the media community. Newsletters from other groups such as the FWTAO Newsletter, Clipboard, C-CAVE News and Alliance Info also offered information on media literacy.

Fourth, writing articles and monographs: Experienced media teachers such as Goller and Duncan wrote articles in journals and magazines to introduce and publicize media education. As mentioned before, Goller contributed many articles to the FWTAO Newsletter on topics such as media violence and TV literacy. Duncan was a more prolific writer. He wrote the "Media Beat" column in OSSTF (Ontario Secondary School Teachers’ Federation) Forum Magazine which enabled him to reach 38,000 teachers (Duncan, 1987a). His topics
ranged from studying rock videos to exploring popular cultural trends. Together with other AML members and educators in Ontario, he contributed to a special issue on media literacy in *Indirections* (a journal published by the Ontario Council of Teachers of English). This special issue was later reprinted as an AML monograph and reached even more readers.

Fifth, developing resource materials: Enthusiastic teachers helped their school boards develop media literacy resources to facilitate media teaching in classrooms. The best example was *TV Literacy: Teaching Kids to Watch TV Wisely* developed by Goller (1985) in Scarborough. Teachers in Etobicoke, North York, Peel and Toronto also assisted and encouraged their boards to write resource books on media literacy. They were *Elementary Screen Education Guidelines* (Board of Education for the City of North York, 1982), *Media Literacy 1: Television—A Resource Book for Junior and Middle Schools* (The Board of Education for the City of Etobicoke, 1984) and *Media and Mind Course* (Language Study Centre, 1988).

Sixth, teaching: There is no better way to promote media literacy than by providing quality media courses taught by committed teachers. The enthusiasm of media teachers and the favorable response of the students encouraged other teachers in the same school or the same school board to give media studies a try.

As the above analysis shows the media literacy movement was an organized collectivity. Members had a common concern about the impact of mass media and a shared belief that media literacy could contribute to the development of cultural democracy in the province. As do many social movements, the media literacy movement aimed at bringing about social change. It involved social conflicts and stood in opposition to the media establishment. The movement was not an institutionalized collectivity and it was highly
visible. In sum, the media literacy movement in Ontario fits the criteria of social movements and therefore should be regarded as a social movement.

5.3 Media Literacy Movement as a New Social Movement

The media literacy movement not only matches the ideal type of a social movement, but also shares the characteristics of other "new social movements" emerging after the 1960s:

**Issue-oriented:** New social movements are usually issue-oriented. The issues involved are non-political in the sense that they do not involve party politics. The media literacy movement in Ontario was clearly issue-oriented. It focused on issues such as media violence, pornography, media representation, consumerism and American cultural penetration, and these were organized around the distinct theme of mass media impact. These issues are social and cultural in nature. Engaged with symbolic struggle, the media literacy movement was a cultural movement. It was different from the "old" movements which were politically oriented. New social movement literature indicates that in postindustrial society, the dominant issues of social movements involve personal and intimate aspects of human life (Johnston, Larana, & Gusfield, 1994). The media literacy movement was about how individuals should deal with mass media in their everyday lives. The general objectives of media literacy were to regulate people's media choice, transform their media behavior and raise their awareness of the cultural environment. Furthermore, the issue of media literacy was beyond the scope of the nation-state. Like many new social movement issues such as gender equality, abortion rights and environmental protection, media literacy
had a universal appeal. What the media literacy movement tried to address was a global and universal social problem generated by media technological development. Similar concern exists in many other countries.

**New Middle Class Activists:** According to the literature of new social movements, two groups of people have a great tendency to participate in new social movements. One is the group who suffers from social change and the other consists of people who are sensitive to the new social conflicts. In the media literacy movement, we can find these two groups of people. The first was comprised mainly of teachers, parents and church people.

Technological advancement in media was accompanied by a tremendous mass media influence on young people, greater than that exerted by their schools, families and churches. Teachers', parents' and church authority's socialization control on the youth was greatly challenged by the mass media. When they realized the seriousness of their loss of control on the young, they thought it was time to do something about it. The second group included feminists, media concern activists, media professionals from non-commercial cultural agencies (e.g., NFB and TVO) and community leaders. They were sensitive to the social influences brought by the new media technologies. Their values and professional needs motivated them to participate in the collective action of advocating media literacy. As with many other new social movements, participants of the media literacy movement were largely recruited from the so-called "new middle class." Teachers, well-educated housewives, media concern people and media professionals involved in the media literacy movement all belonged to this social category. These activists did not, however, define themselves in terms of their socioeconomic class background. They acted as teachers, parents or social activists but not on behalf of their class.
Alternative Goal of Social Change: The notion of social change in new social movements is different from that of the old social movements. The concern is to effect change in social norms, values and life-styles, not change in the political and economic order. The movement opposes social domination not through a direct challenge to the power of the establishment but through a request for the lessening of social oppression. The media literacy movement opposed media manipulation and raised objections to social domination resulting from media hegemony. The movement tried to energize social equality by urging proper media representation. It neither demanded any power share from the government to have media policy changed nor asked for intervention in the functioning of the media industry. It only aimed at bringing along change in the way people consume mass media and the way people understand the world by enhancing media literacy. Duncan submitted that what media literacy attempted to do was to demystify the media so that the audience could understand "how it is constructed, why it is constructed and for whom it is constructed" (Carson, 1989, p. 33). Media education acted as a type of ideological resistance (Fuenzalida, 1992). It urged people to take a critical look at the problematic social values transmitted through the mass media. The movement especially articulated the audience's right to exercise independent judgment and enjoy the mass media in its own way. Media literacy encouraged a life-style using the media freely and wisely.

Distinctive Values: A major value of new social movements is their fundamental belief in human liberation and personal autonomy. All the new social movements, in one way or another, raise objections to social domination and oppression. The central concern of the media literacy movement was to help young people resist media manipulation. The ultimate goal of media literacy, emphasized by Duncan, was to help young audiences
maintain "critical autonomy" and to become "informed and empowered recipients of the media forces" which were affecting almost every aspect of their lives (Carson, 1989, p. 30). Arlene Moscovitch (personal communication, May 26, 1995), one of the advocates, was interested in promoting media literacy because she deeply believed in the principle that people should have a choice and a chance to speak in their own voice. She thought media education could help people free themselves from media manipulation and could educate people to better use the media in self-expression, thus media literacy was strongly associated with the concepts of self-determination, individual freedom, emancipation and opposition to manipulation.

Anti-authoritarianism is another basic value of new social movements shared by the media literacy movement. On the one hand, it emphasized grass roots actions, such as parents’ and teachers’ involvement in media education at home and at school, and on the other hand, it stressed the importance of student-centred learning.

Another major characteristic of new social movements is a search for personal or collective identity. The media literacy movement certainly touched upon the identity issue. People were urged to reflect on who they were and how they were represented in the media as women, minority groups and working class. Ontarians were particularly concerned with the issue of Canadian identity. Pungente (personal communication, October 25, 1994), explained that one of the aspects of studying media literacy was the idea of studying what it meant to be a Canadian in the media. Students needed to pay attention to the way in which Canadians were being represented in the media. As Ontarians have historically consumed popular culture in a foreign media environment, their worry about cultural identity is predictable.
Finally, a common value in new social movements is anti-modernity. According to the literature, new social movements do not accept the values of industrial society and are critical of the irrational drive for endless military, economic, political and technological expansion. The media literacy movement in Ontario was anti-modernity in the sense that it was a critique of the improper use of media technologies and the deceptive influence of the mass media. The new developments in cable TV, satellite TV, pay-TV and VCRs were said to make the control of violence and pornographic programming difficult. The advancement of electronic media was criticized as fostering global consumerism. The expansion of the Canadian media infrastructure was accused of encouraging the inflow of even more foreign programs with a competitive advantage in the Canadian marketplace (Vipond, 1992). The Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States was condemned for helping to further erase the Canadian cultural identity.

Social Struggle within Civil Society: For new social movements, the location of social struggle is in civil society. These movements operate outside the polity. The media literacy movement was a typical example which targeted change in civil society rather than the state. The aim was to transform the cultural arena of the province of Ontario without attempting to challenge its established economic and political order. It could be seen as an attempt of a province to liberate itself from the hegemony of the mass media. Media literacy advocates did not ask for any revolutionary change in the media industry. On the contrary, they accepted the fact that it was difficult to ask government to tighten its control on the media. It was also hard to demand the media industry to exercise self-regulation. Since the media messages were difficult to change, they wanted to change the receivers. They promoted media literacy as a "life skill" or "survival skill" (Duncan, 1993; Repo, 1989).
Later, when they wanted media literacy to be included as part of the school curriculum, they adopted a lobbying strategy instead of radical means of political mobilization to achieve their goal.

**Informal Organizational Pattern:** Due to its anti-authoritarian ideology and proximity to the grass roots, most new social movements put emphasis on informal networks and grass roots participation. The media literacy movement in Ontario was not mobilized by formal and hierarchical organizations, but instead by preexisting private social networks (see Figure 3.3). For example, some of the key leaders of the movement, such as Duncan, George, Mitchell and Worsnop, knew each other well in the 1960s through their involvement in screen education, participation in the NFB Summer Institute and the collaboration on the curriculum guide *Screen Education in Ontario*. Since Joan De New, the founder of C-CAVE, was a member of the United Church, C-CAVE had the close cooperation of the United Church Communication Division on media matters (Greenaway, personal communication, June 22, 1995). Livesley, a member of TVO, was an old friend of Duncan, the President of AML (Livesley, personal communication, June 13, 1995). Arlene Moscovitch, the educational officer at NFB, was also an acquaintance of Duncan (Moscovitch, personal communication, May 26, 1995). Duncan held memberships in a number of organizations such as the Ontario Council of Teachers of English (OCTE), the English Co-ordinators and Consultants of Ontario (ECCO) and the C-CAVE. Most of the advocacy groups were linked by private, individual relationships. Key AML members, such as Andersen, Shepherd, Duncan, Livesley, Pungente and Bill Smart, were motivated by strong friendship ties. These friendships also grew out of their joint commitment to screen education and media literacy.
Apart from the informal and loose organizational pattern, the media literacy movement was also characterized by its diversity in motives and goals. While all the organizations involved in the movement supported the idea of media literacy, they differed in terms of their objectives, philosophies and priorities. For instance, C-CAVE saw media literacy as one of the strategies but not an alternative to censorship. This organization put priority on demanding censorship, strict government control and self-regulation in the media industry (Dyson, personal communication, June 13, 1995). Many AML members disagreed with C-CAVE’s negative attitude towards the mass media and its stand on censorship (Andersen, personal communication, June 20, 1995; Fowlie, personal communication, June 18, 1995; Pungente, personal communication, June 9, 1995; Shepherd, personal communication, June 20, 1995). Despite their differences, during the movement they were on the same side of addressing the importance of media awareness. Religious groups joined the media literacy movement with their religious and moral concerns which were not necessarily shared by other advocacy organizations. In recent decades, the churches have been actively involved in the social and political process (Zald & McCarthy, 1987). Their involvement in the civil rights and anti-abortion movements in North America is well-documented (Blanchard, 1994; Morris, 1984). In the media literacy movement in Ontario, the Catholic as well as the Protestant churches were also active and quite willing to form alliances with other organizations to address the social problems generated by the mass media.

The above analysis indicates that the media literacy movement in Ontario was one of the new social movements prevailing in the 1980s. According to Touraine (1985, p. 781), mass media are one of the four main components of postindustrial society. He expounded
that postindustrial society is defined by the "technological production of symbolic goods" which shape human representation. The social struggle in postindustrial society has then moved from the competition for the control of means of production to the challenge of the control on the production of symbolic goods (e.g., information and images). Following this line of analysis, mass media have become a site of struggle for the symbolic control of the new society. The media literacy movement in Ontario in the early 1980s was generated by this new social conflict in postindustrial society and developed into a struggle for cultural autonomy. Melucci (1994) suggested that in a postindustrial information society it is necessary for individuals to possess a certain degree of autonomy in order to function efficiently as self-regulating units. Learning the analytical use of information becomes increasingly vital as people move into an age of "information overload" (Cortes, 1992). Similarly, media literacy advocates in Ontario conceptualized media literacy as a "survival skill" in the information age. For Duncan (1987a, p. 2), media education can foster critical thinking and media literacy skills which "sounds like a good way to survive and possibly transcend the 1980s." As a new social movement, the media literacy movement addressed the postindustrial theme of symbolic struggle. The cultural concern about the influence of popular media not only led to collective actions but also to the lobbying for curriculum change in schools.
5.4 A Call for the Legitimation of Media Education in Schools

For many new social movements such as the feminist movement, peace movement and environment movement, the location of struggle moved gradually from the community to the school. As a movement had secured its position by gaining enough public support in the society, its advocates began to persuade the school to address the issues which they thought were vital to society. The development of the media literacy movement in Ontario followed a similar pattern. The only difference is that school teachers were the major participants of the movement and so the lobbying for a place for media literacy in school started in the early stage of the movement.

The media literacy movement in Ontario emerged out of an awareness about the negative influence of mass media and the call for a better understanding of the mass media, particularly television. The Television Awareness Training Program conducted by the United Church, the Power of Television Project developed by the Children's Broadcast Institute, the media representation symposium held by feminist groups and the media literacy resource materials developed by TVOntario, were all used to promote media literacy at home, school and church. Workshops and presentations were held to train parents, teachers and church leaders so they could help children in their domain to become media literate. As in many other countries, media education was largely conducted outside the official school curriculum. However, some media literacy advocates argued it would be difficult for media literacy to get a tight political foothold in the province if it was not legitimized in some way. The Association for Media Literacy (AML) led the appeal on behalf of media literacy for a legitimate place in the school curriculum. It maintained that in order to have more young
people receive media literacy training, media studies must be mandated in the educational
system.

School teachers who were interested in promoting media literacy saw the need to
legitimize media education. Andersen (personal communication, June 20, 1995) said without
some form of legal or institutional credibility, it was difficult for them to pursue media
education in the classroom. No institutional mandate meant no money, no equipment and no
administrative support. In the period of screen education, a curriculum guide, *Screen
Education in Ontario*, was produced. Mitchell (personal communication, June 23, 1995) at
the Ministry of Education allocated significance to the guide because it legitimized screen
education courses in schools. Teachers could teach media courses if they liked. However,
by the early 1980s, the guide was completely outdated and its validation had lapsed. This
was a great threat to the development of media literacy in the province (Andersen, 1988).
Duncan (personal communication, July 2, 1997) added that at that time the guide had limited
distribution and offered little practical advice.

For Andersen (personal communication, June 20, 1995), the strategy of Duncan,
President of AML, to acquire the validation media education needed was crucial. The
leadership were not satisfied with an up-dated curriculum guide but wanted media education
to be mandated and included as part of the formal school curriculum. This idea was
supported by other interest groups involved in the movement and so the lobbying began. In
the early 1980s, when the Children’s Broadcast Institute was launching the nation-wide
Project "The Power of Television," it found that in Ontario "there was considerable
discussion of the development of curriculum in schools to study media experience"
(Nostbakken & Nostbakken, 1983). The Canadian Association for the Prevention of Crime
(1981, p. 1) also reported there were organizations "attempting to promote media literacy as an essential ingredient of the school curriculum."

In the 1980s, the concern about the impact of the mass media was not limited to the province of Ontario. A number of reports document the tremendous amount of activity in media literacy on the part of individuals and groups across the country (CAPC, 1981; Nostbakken & Nostbakken, 1983; Sanderson & Potvin, 1987; Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, 1985). However, it was only in Ontario that media education obtained its mandatory status. The media literacy movement in Ontario certainly played an important role in mobilizing and supporting the legitimation of media education in the province.

5.5 Summary

This chapter describes and analyzes the activities of the media literacy movement in Ontario. Research findings indicate that the AML, constituted of school teachers, was the major advocacy group in the movement. Apart from the AML, a number of interest groups and cultural organizations participated in the movement and formed a dynamic social force. In this study there is a need to establish that the media literacy movement under examination is a social movement, so that I can proceed to investigate the ways through which this social movement led to the legitimation of media education.

The analysis of this chapter supports the postulate that the media literacy movement is a social movement. First, the media literacy movement was an organized collectivity with
leaders and followers. The AML performed a leadership role in building the alliance of advocacy. Second, members of the movement had a common concern about the impact of the mass media and believed that media literacy could promote critical media awareness. Third, the media literacy movement aimed at bringing about social change in the way people consume media. Fourth, the movement was countered by an established order. Fifth, it was an uninstitutionalized collectivity and finally it was highly visible in Ontario.

The media literacy movement also shares the characteristic features of other new social movements which emerged after the 1960s. It was issue-oriented, with new middle class such as teachers, feminists and media professionals as major participants. It opposed media manipulation and aimed at bringing change in social norms, values and life-styles. Emphasizing the importance of human liberation, the media literacy movement encouraged young audience to maintain "critical autonomy." The movement also embraced values of anti-authoritarianism and anti-modernity. It targeted change in civil society rather than the state. Regarding organizational pattern, the media literacy movement was characterized by its preexisting private social networks. The movement called for increased awareness of the social and cultural impact of the mass media, and its development led to an attempt to legitimize media education in the Ontario educational system.

In the following chapters, I will analyze how the advocates of the media literacy movement in Ontario successfully included media education as in the formal school curriculum.
In the 1980s, as communication technologies advanced, the influence of mass media increased. The growing impact of new communication technologies on Canadian society created a great deal of social tension and conflict. Since new technologies had brought in more United States TV programs, the cultural sovereignty dispute between Canada and the United States escalated. The profit motive behind the distribution of media materials with sex and violence provoked a confrontation between the media industry and community groups. As technology further developed, there was evidence of new social inequalities between the "media rich" and the "media poor." The media rich had easy access to the media and had the power to define the public discourse, while the media poor had little access to the media and its views could hardly be heard in the existing media system (Masterman, 1994). The lack of democratic participation and control in the media led to serious questions about media representation of less powerful social groups such as women and minorities, and the mass media were accused of sustaining the dominant economic and social order (Repo, 1989). Moreover, the development of the mass media as major information distribution channels and influential socialization agents threatened the role of traditional schooling.

Media education advocates in Ontario addressed all these conflicts and problems by highlighting the mass media as a kind of "invisible curriculum." They argued that media literacy was needed to tackle the problems by arming young people against the destructive effect of mass media. Media literacy as an extension of traditional literacy was presented as
a survival skill in a postindustrial information society. This chapter illustrates that media education advocates in Ontario did not justify media education in terms of utilitarian or academic values, but emphasized the social and cultural need to deal with the challenge imposed by the mass media.

6.1 Mass Media as an Educational Force

Early in the 1960s, Canadian educators had already begun to sense the challenge of the mass media to the educational system. Particularly, when the "television children" entered the educational system, school teachers were at a loss to handle the situation (Ryan, 1968). In 1966, in his address to the CEA annual meeting, Dr. Herbert Couts, then President of the Canadian Education Association (CEA) and Dean of the Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, made reference to two schools that claimed about equal time from children: ordinary school and television school. Couts suggested that Canadian educators should "help prepare children and youth to get the most from their second school (television school) and to begin laying the basis of taste that may help them influence the kind of television and radio fare they will have" (in Edwards, 1967, p. 149).

Approaching the late 1970s and early 1980s, educators in Canada as well as those in other countries seriously acknowledged the educational and cultural importance of the mass media. They recognized that the new communication technologies had created a new means of presenting and gaining access to knowledge which was unlike anything they had known before (Dieuzeide, 1984). Moles (1984) claimed the impact from mass media, especially
television, had in 20 years changed the structure of daily life more than schools had succeeded in doing in 10 centuries. This new awareness of the role of the mass media in the development of modern culture and knowledge transmission attracted the attention of many international cultural organizations, including UNESCO. The impact of the new communication technologies on the educational process was regarded by UNESCO as one of its most urgent challenges. In 1984, UNESCO published the book *Media Education* to raise awareness of mass media as a powerful educational force (Morsy, 1984).

In Europe, similar analysis described the mass media as a sort of "parallel school" or "second educator" (Jospin, 1992; Morsy, 1984; Roncagliolo, 1992; Schaeffer, 1984). Morsy (1984) said that people in contemporary society are embedded in a tight web of information of diverse origins. The mass media are not mere vehicles of communication but they constitute a real environment which conditions thought and determines behavior. The educational system must, therefore, respond to these new developments. It is his view that all over the world, two sources of information and knowledge for young people coexist: the traditional school and the "parallel school" of the mass media. The latter is disseminating a huge volume of information and imposing values which may contradict (emphasis mine) those emphasized in school education. Therefore, school should react to this challenge.

From an educational point of view, the mass media can be looked at from two perspectives (Desimoni, 1992). First, media messages are interesting and educational in their content, language and imaginative quality. Children can be positively stimulated by these messages. Second, the mass media can also be a source of stereotyped behavior, oversimplified opinions and improper judgments. In the 1970s and 1980s, however, the focus was on the negative. The mass media were regarded as a rival to the school with regard to
their impact on the young (Dufour, 1990b; Roncagliolo, 1992). The charge against the mass media, particularly television, was usually based on the "displacement" and "distraction" hypotheses (Roberts, Henriksen, & Voelker, 1993). The mass media were accused of occupying too much time as well as making the young intolerant of the pace of ordinary schooling.

In the United States, Cortes (1979) raised the issue of the "societal curriculum" and the "school curriculum." As students learned from various sources, he pointed out that educators need to know what was being taught by television and other societal "teachers." Postman (1979) described television as "the first curriculum" and school as "the second curriculum." Postman (1985) had a negative appraisal of the "first curriculum." In his view, after the rise of television, American culture was shaped by television and became "the age of show business," which means the age of entertainment. Since television is entertaining in nature, it has made entertainment itself the natural format for the representation of all experience.

The Ontario media educators agreed with Postman. His work was widely quoted in Canadian journal articles on media education. Repo (1989) claimed that media had long provided the "first curriculum" for most Canadian students. Duncan supported Postman's view of television as the "first curriculum." Duncan said Canadian young people brought to the classrooms the images of watching thousands of hours of television and listening to an enormous amount of popular music. Their media perceptions "condition the ways they look at themselves, their education and view of the world" (Duncan, 1990a, p. 22). According to Duncan, the fact that contemporary culture was shaped in large part by the mass media should be sufficient reason for schools to introduce media literacy to young students. The
Media Literacy Resource Guide (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 6) quoted Postman’s distinction between the first curriculum and the second curriculum and agreed that "it is the job of school to mitigate and moderate the effects of the first."

The pamphlet delivered to the teachers, parents and community groups in Ontario by the Jesuit Communication Project also treated the mass media as an educator. The pamphlet informed its readers that the mass media not only offer knowledge, but also present role models and help form attitudes and values. It maintained that the mass media offer students a persuasive alternative curriculum.

Like their counterparts in the United States and Europe, Ontario media education advocates perceived the mass media as influential educational forces. However, they differed from their counterparts in their emphasis on the invisibility and the "taken-for-grantedness" of the mass media curriculum. They treated the mass media as a sort of "invisible curriculum" alongside the ordinary school curriculum. Their concept of the invisibility of the mass media curriculum came from McLuhan’s media theory and the legacy of screen education. To McLuhan, the media environment is always invisible. His notion of media studies is to make the invisible visible. Slade, the NFB Summer Institute Director, reminded the screen educators in the 1960s that people were influenced by the media environment without noticing their involvement. Duncan often quoted McLuhan on the invisibility of the media influence. He elaborated on McLuhan’s idea and argued that "media literacy is all about making the world of television highly visible so that we learn to 'read' it with a critical response." (Duncan, 1991, p. 7). Duncan (1987b) also viewed advertisements as hidden persuaders (Packard, 1980) which control people’s daily life without their noticing. For Moscovitch (personal communication, May 26, 1995), another key figure in the media
literacy movement, media influence was invisible in the same way that water is invisible to fish. The job of media education was to make the water visible. When Moscovitch produced her media education video "Media and Society," she fully acknowledged that the mass media were a significant educational and cultural force.

6.2 The Invisible Curriculum of Mass Media

As outlined above, Ontario media educators did perceive the mass media, particularly television, as a curriculum. The *Media Literacy Resource Guide* (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 6) stated that "the mass media do, in fact, offer a dynamic and persuasive curriculum." In other words, Ontario educators recognized the fact that mass media teach, and the young people learn.

Here I use the concept of "invisible curriculum" to illustrate how the media education advocates in Ontario justified the need of legitimating media education in schools. Although the advocates did not specifically call the mass media an invisible curriculum, my research leads to the conclusion that in many ways they portrayed the mass media as an invisible educational force. According to their views on the mass media, the "invisible curriculum" has the following characteristics which differ greatly from the ordinary school curriculum.

**Invisibility:** Formal school curricula are openly acknowledged and are formally carried out in classrooms. However, the mass media curriculum is invisible in the sense that it is not openly acknowledged and exists as a kind of hidden and latent curriculum. The learning of the invisible curriculum of mass media takes place in an informal and unspecified
setting. Age limits are non-existent. The distribution of the curriculum is built on a
different premise of time and space. *Ontario Screen Education Curriculum Guide* (Ontario
Department of Education, 1970, p. 1) endorsed McLuhan’s view that in the 19th century,
education took place inside the walls of schools but in the world of the 1970s and onwards,
teaching and learning went on in the outside environment. Media, such as film, television
and video-tape, brought an incredible flow of information to Canadians’ door-step. McLuhan
elaborated on his ideas on education in his later work—*City as Classroom: Understanding
Language and Media* (McLuhan, Hutchon, & McLuhan, 1977). McLuhan thought young
people could learn more from their environment (which includes various media) than from
ordinary schools. If we follow McLuhan’s idea of the invisibility of media environment,
then the curriculum offered by the mass media is invisible as well.

Although the invisible curriculum is not openly acknowledged, children and young
people learn from it. According to Clifford Edwards (1967, p. 149), chairman of AV
Education Committee of the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation,
from the mass media Canadian children "learn more in facts, attitudes and values than they
learn from books."

**Unintended Teaching and Unconscious Learning:** Another important feature of the
invisible curriculum is that the mass media teach unintentionally and the young people learn
unconsciously. Kelly (1984) remarked that popular culture moulds the minds of those
also pointed out that while "mass media dominate so many aspects of the society and
individual consciousness, it is a tribute to their power to influence people on levels of which
they are unaware" (emphasis mine). Most media programs are entertainment-oriented.
Young people learn as they are being entertained. Very often they do not even notice they are involved in a learning process. They internalize media messages and values unconsciously instead of processing them in a rational way. As a result, they are not able to reflect and resist the offerings of the mass media. They appear to be programmed to become passive recipients (Melamed, 1989). Slade (1970) worried that the moving images excite young people's sensibilities in many ways and induce in them countless stock reactions and stereotyped predispositions. Slade found this kind of learning very problematic.

Many media education advocates stressed that television has become the principal educator (Goller, 1985; Mathewson, 1994; Melamed, 1989). Goller argued that television is one of the primary teachers of attitudes about human behavior in Canada. For Mitchell (personal communication, October 21, 1994), all teachers in Ontario should be encouraged to be familiar with the media because that was how the children were learning at home in their leisure time.

Stimuli with High Intensity and Regularity: Although the invisible curriculum is not deliberately offered, its stimuli on young people result from high density and repetition. In the 1980s, the average Canadian student spent 23 hours a week watching television, which means children spent too much time in front of the television set (O'Brien, 1989). Time, according to the Ontario Jesuit pamphlet and the Media Literacy Resource Guide, is one of the key indicators which illustrates the centrality of the media in Canadians' lives. Media education advocates frequently cited statistics to show that by the time students finish high school, they will have spent an average of 11,000 hours in school, compared to more than 15,000 hours watching television and 10,500 hours listening to popular music, seen 350,000 television commercials and witnessed 18,000 violent television deaths (French, 1989;
Pungente, 1985). Pungente maintained that television viewing seriously interferes with the educational process. As the mass media occupies more of a child's waking hours than any other activity, it is impossible to ignore their influence. Goller (1985) echoed this view and said it is time to think about the television teacher and the amount of control it has over children's lives. Most children have been watching TV since they were infants and their lives have been guided and moulded by the medium.

The students' connection with the invisible curriculum is characterized not only by its high intensity in terms of contact hours but also marked by the regularity of contact. The invisible curriculum strengthens its control on students on a continual basis. The systematic influence has a cumulative, long-term effect in shaping the values and behavior of the students. Acknowledging the fact that students spend a large amount of time with the media, Ontario educators and parents are urged to share the responsibility for ensuring that students have an understanding of the implications of what they have learned from the media.

**Large Amount and Wide Variety of Curricular Content:** Through the mass media, young people receive vast amounts of information on a regular basis. The information is high in variety and has no subject boundary. It is imaginative and related to the latest discoveries. Therefore, it is far more interesting than the standardized school knowledge. Some argue that young people get only "information", not "knowledge", from the media. But Ericson and his associates (1987) dismissed the distinction between the two terms. He thought the real issue is that the mass media provide not only information about the world, but also ways of seeing and understanding the world. As the media curricula are "important shapers" of perceptions and values (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 5), this raises
the concern of Ontario educators. Goller (1985) urged teachers and parents to question the
integrity of television as the principal teacher of values.

Media education advocates raised serious doubts about what children were seeing and
what was being learned from the mass media (Goller, 1985; Melamed, 1989). They were
particularly concerned with three types of content offered by the invisible curriculum. The
first was the fostering of negative social attitudes and behaviors by undesirable media
products, especially those depicting sex and violence. The second was the tendency to
reinforce social inequalities because of unequal representation of groups. The third was the
promotion of consumerism. As Canadians were watching programs with a minimum of six
violent acts per hour, teachers and parents were afraid that they were subliminally picking up
the message that violence was a legitimate means to solve problems (Melamed, 1989).
Moreover, they were being taught that most professionals were males and most males were
white and competent. The distorted stereotypes about women, minorities and other less
powerful groups were considered socially harmful to a democratic society.

Since the invisible curriculum of the mass media is not subject based, information
presented is usually incoherent, heterogeneous, superficial, fragmented, disconnected,
sensational and over-simplified. According to Pungente (1985), the content and method of
the invisible curriculum differ from the ordinary school curriculum. Although the news and
documentaries as invisible curricula are quite similar to the social studies or civics course
provided by the ordinary school, the former make no attempt to present the subject matter in
an integrated manner. Therefore, the invisible curriculum presents only a fragmented view
of society and it evokes serious criticism from media educators in Ontario.
High Correspondence to Daily Life: School knowledge is often accused of being detached from real life situations and irrelevant to students' lives. On the contrary, invisible curriculum is rooted in popular culture and links the students to their everyday experience. For Goller (1985), TV tells the children what to eat, what to wear, how to behave, how to talk and even how to think. Advertisements in newspapers, magazines and television instruct people what and how to consume. The invisible curriculum contains contemporary information, unlike the school curriculum which deals mostly with knowledge about the past. The media curriculum is current and appealing to youngsters. It makes the traditional curriculum look dull and boring. The question is whether the information and values it provides are useful in a constructive sense to young people's everyday life.

Transnational Curricular Sources: The invisible curriculum does not necessarily come from Canadian sources. Statistics Canada revealed the average Canadian watched 24.2 hours of television per week. However, viewers took in only 8.4 hours a week of Canadian programming. This piece of information was quoted on the front page of an Ontario media textbook published in 1989 (Carpenter, 1989). It reflected the Ontario educators' concern with the cultural irrelevancy of the invisible curriculum of the mass media.

Under the influence of the Canadian technological ideology of "techno-cultural nationalism," media educators in Ontario were very much aware that the American media dominated the Canadian media environment almost completely (Boles, 1984; Duncan, personal communication, June 20, 1995). School teacher Neil Andersen (personal communication, June 20, 1995) complained that they were overwhelmed by United States culture. According to another teacher (Goller, personal communication, June 21, 1995), it was necessary to differentiate between Canadian and United States culture for Canadian
students. Their reactions to the "American content" of the invisible curriculum revealed the anxiety of Ontario's school teachers on the issue of cultural identity.

Duncan had strong views on cultural penetration through the media. Duncan (1984a) lamented that the television genres and cultural values were primarily American and did not reflect Canadian identity and traditions. In his "Media Beat" column, he mourned, "Image, image on the screen, whose cultural reflection have I seen?" (Duncan, 1986a, p. 49). As a school teacher, Duncan (1986a) could not avoid his students' total immersion in American popular culture. In his view, through the teaching of the mass media, "Americans have projected the images and stereotypes of what they wanted Canada to abound in" (Duncan, 1985b, p. 47). He asked why Canadians should raise a whole generation whose values are drawn from American films, TV shows and sit-coms. Therefore, he thought that classroom teachers had an obligation to help students develop a Canadian perspective to look at themselves and the rest of the world. This view was echoed by Pungente (personal communication, October 25, 1994), who considered it was important for young people to understand how Canadians were represented in the media and know what it meant to be a Canadian. In the United Church media curriculum, Peter Flemington (personal communication, June 28, 1995) also included a section about the American cultural penetration in his TVScope to remind young people about the American content and values in television programs.

Clemson (personal communication, August 22, 1995) of the National Film Board stated that his organization had tried to express Canadian viewpoints and wanted to counter the cultural influence from the American media. However, the invisible curriculum of mass media in Canada was still dominated by "American curriculum materials" which invaded
Canadian cultural sovereignty. Media education advocate Jack Livesley (personal communication, June 13, 1995) described the situation as disastrous and suggested that media literacy may be one of the ways of tackling the problem.

**Powerful Influence:** The invisible curriculum is very powerful. Media education advocates in Ontario fully recognized its power. The manifesto of the Association for Media Literacy states:

> There is increasing evidence that the mass media is perhaps the single most persuasive influence of modern times....School, the church and family, the three traditional cornerstones of social development are now considerably less influential than the mass media (AML, 1978a, p. 4).

In promoting media education in Ontario, Pungente (1985) quoted the Australian Bishop in his denomination to say that the three traditional agents of education (the home, school and church) had been joined by a fourth educator of the mass media. Gillam (1992) claimed that television had largely replaced parents and school as the principal socializer of young people. Thus, in the age of the invisible curriculum, it was believed that "never before in history have so many been influenced so constantly, expertly, and scientifically by so few" (Braithwaite, 1968, p. 9).

**Negative Impact:** As analyzed earlier, Ontario educators were critical of the content and values of the invisible curriculum. They were anxious about its negative influence on students. Young viewers, as receivers of the invisible curriculum, seemed to be free to choose their source of exposure. Media educators questioned whether students indeed had "real freedom." They argued that students seemed free but were actually captured by the media. Duncan (1990a) shared Postman’s anxiety over the so-called "Huxleyan scenario"
which referred to the claim that people were getting too much entertainment from TV. Melamed (1989) also complained that the norms of entertainment television, with their prescribed number of jokes per minute to ensure audience attention, "are seeping into the classroom." Melamed doubted whether the school curriculum could compete with the invisible curriculum of the mass media.

The above analysis shows that in Ontario the mass media were portrayed as very powerful educational forces but apparently the Ontario educators did not think that the invisible curriculum had a positive influence on their students. The criticism of invisible curriculum is quite similar to the condemnation of the hidden curriculum. In fact, the invisible curriculum can be regarded as a kind of hidden curriculum. Like hidden curriculum, the invisible curriculum of mass media is very influential and is considered even more effective than the formal curriculum. However, it is not neutral and is often accused of disseminating the dominant ideology which reproduces social injustice. Similar to the hidden curriculum, invisible curriculum has no special subject matter, but its messages are delivered to most of the learners in the community setting. Since its curriculum is also not openly acknowledged and its influence not evaluated, its impact is, therefore, usually ignored. However, while the students are not aware of the invisible curriculum, teachers want to make it visible. Critical education theorists, such as Henry Giroux (Giroux & Penna, 1983), Jane Martin (1983) and Maxine Greene (1983), suggested dealing with the hidden curriculum through consciousness raising so that the students could be empowered. Regarding the invisible curriculum, media education advocates stressed the need to cultivate a critical consciousness of its impact on young people and recommended the development of media literacy skills as a solution to the problem. Critical education theorists claimed the school
should take up the responsibility of consciousness raising and the media educators were in agreement. They also thought the school should provide courses to increase students’ awareness about the influence of the invisible curriculum of the mass media.

6.3 The Responsibility of the School to Teach about the Media

As the mass media had occupied a central position in Canadian cultural and political life and the invisible curriculum profoundly mediated young people’s daily experience, predictably, the school was urged to assume responsibility and teach students about the media (Glass, 1983). Media educators in Ontario argued strongly that the mass media constructed reality and that media messages had social, cultural, economic and political consequences. They argued that media education in school could enable teachers and students "to challenge the great inequalities in knowledge and power that exist between those who manufacture information in their own interests and those who consume it innocently as news or entertainment" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 6).

The AML newsletter cited the findings of the Ontario Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry to show the potentially adverse effects of the media (AML, 1978a). Sanderson Layng, the Executive Director of TAT/Canada, reminded Ontarians that although all television is educational television, it was necessary to look closely at what "education" had been provided (Layng, 1979). Media education advocates stressed that the mass media were not a neutral, educational force. Instead, the media deceived and manipulated in an invisible way. The advocates also pinpointed that the critical processing of
the media messages was not a skill that came automatically but must be taught (Lennon, 1988).

Early in the 1970s, the Ontario Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry had suggested that schools should provide media literacy courses to help young people consume media presentations. They recommended the courses be "designed to promote better understanding of individual media biases, political and commercial, and to enhance public ability to digest the media diet—for instance, to do so without accepting as truth everything they see, hear or read" (Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, 1977, p. 63). A report prepared for the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada on aggressive behavior also recommended that educational programs should be prepared in schools to counteract the negative effects of media portrayals. The report placed emphasis on training critical media consumers (Heald & Wormith, 1986). Based on the recommendations of these reports, media education advocates argued for the need to teach the media in schools. Since the family and the church were not effective in raising children's awareness about the undesirable aspects of the media, the school was perceived as capable of constructing the conceptual and interpretive codes with which mass media information could be mastered and integrated (Morsy, 1984). Ellen Bear (personal communication, June 22, 1995) of the TVO insisted that it was the school's job to teach about the media. Wide-spread media literacy was regarded as essential to help students "make rational decisions, become effective agents of change, and have an active relationship with the media." Only in this way could students cope efficiently with the information age (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 6). The life-skills program of media literacy was placed on the official educational agenda (Scott, 1979).
Apart from claiming the school had the responsibility to counter the adverse effects of
the mass media, it was also argued that the school had the obligation to counter the cultural
penetration from the United States through the media. Since the 19th century, Canadian
schools have engaged in the struggle against American cultural imperialism (Enstace, 1972;
Luke, 1988; McDonald, 1979; Tomkins, 1986). As the issue of cultural autonomy continues
as a vibrant societal concern in Canada, education plays a key role in promoting Canadian
identity and counteracting the impact of American culture. Canadianization has been a
concern that most educators are anxious to accommodate (Barber, 1978; Huel, 1978;
McDonald, 1978; Tomkins, 1977), and very often the concern for Canadianization was
turned into anxiety over the Americanization of the Canadian young. In 1839, Lord
Durham's report condemned imported American textbooks in Canada (Enstace, 1972). Since
then there have been continuing complaints against the use of American curriculum materials
in Canadian schools (Luke, 1988). These complaints are based on the assumption that the
school is influential in shaping the attitudes of youth. Canadian curriculum is considered to
have a responsibility for reflecting national objectives (McDonald, 1979).

More recently concern has been expressed over the influence of textbooks published
by American multinational publishing corporations. These textbooks suggest a transnational
or pan-cultural world view, where societies exist in an ahistorical and acultural setting
(Lorimer & Keeney, 1989). It has been argued that these textbooks and curriculum materials
constrain the choices which Canadian educators are able to make. Moreover, the wide use
of these texts signifies the ideological penetration and economic hegemony by American
corporations. Tomkins (1986) observed a new educational configuration had given
prominence to the mass media, particularly television. This new phenomenon had relegated
schools and teachers to a lesser, if not minor, educational role. At the same time, considerable attention has been given to the influence of the electronic media in promoting a sense of national community, since most of the broadcasting programs are imported from the United States. All these concerns indicate that Canadian schools are in a constant battle to defend Canada from American domination.

Ontario schools are particularly progressive in this aspect. Tomkins’s (1986) study showed Ontario has a long provincial tradition of advocating cultural independence and national unity. The influential report Living and Learning: Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario stated that schools must meet the needs for a national identity "rooted in the soul of the people" (Hall & Dennis, 1968).

Although Tomkins saw many changes in the history of Canadian curriculum, he was able to identify nationalizing imperatives as a continuing element underlying Canadian educational policy. Moreover, even now, there is still a strong tendency to see "education as a panacea for social, cultural, economic, political and moral ills" (Tomkins, 1986, p. 437). Thus, the early 20th century motto that schools produce good Christians and good Canadians is still influential in reminding Canadian educators that schools should produce good citizens and patriotic Canadians. When the mass media offered invisible curriculum and imposed a negative social and cultural influence on Canadian society, Canadian schools were again urged by media education advocates to take up their traditional moral responsibility and counter the challenge.
6.4 The Changing Concept of Literacy

Literacy generally refers to the ability to read and write. This traditional concept of literacy is based on the assumption that print is the dominant mode of communication. Since there is a symbiotic relationship between the development of literacy and that of communication technology, the definition of literacy is in constant flux. The traditional view of literacy is under challenge as people move from an industrial society which is print-oriented to a postindustrial society which is electronic-oriented. For example, Duncan (personal communication, July 2, 1997) no longer treated literacy as just reading and writing, but saw it as understanding codes.

In the new information age, social and technological changes give rise to the development of new literacies (Kress, 1992). In the past two decades, the concept of literacy has undergone great change in the educational arena. Ely (1984) proposed that it is necessary to redefine a literate person in today's world. The traditional view of literacy as acquired skills of reading and writing is no longer sufficient for people who live in a much more technologically sophisticated world that requires the understanding of symbols, message carriers and non-verbal communication channels. In Ely's view, the concept of literacy should be extended to include visual/media literacy and computer literacy. This argument is supported by Barber's (1985) study on the relationship between technological change and English teaching. Acknowledging that rapidly expanding technologies had altered the ways which people communicate, Barber set up a panel of 77 distinguished English educators from Canada, Britain and the United States to address specific ways English teaching might change by the year 2000 as a result of technology's impact on the society and the schools. The
panellists foresaw little change before the year 2000, but they concurred that by the end of the century, the teaching of English will be based on a new definition of literacy—expanded to include all message systems. They recommended that in future more emphasis should be put on media studies and computer studies.

From the 1980s, educators around the world have been paying close attention to the changing concept of literacy. They were aware that as new communication patterns emerged, the nature and function of literacy were accordingly transformed (Adams & Hamm, 1989). Cortes (1992, p. 496) argued that media literacy is an educational basic for the information age because of the necessity of training students to be thoughtful consumers of the "omnipresent lifelong educator, the mass media."

In the 1980s electronic media became the dominant mode of communication in Canada. Some Canadian educators also began to recognize that their students needed a broader definition of literacy. A literate person in a modern world naturally needs to learn not only the traditional language, but also visual language, in order to communicate effectively. Moreover, the new communication technologies transformed Canadians' social environment and challenged their cultural identity. There was a need to help students cope with the new media environment. The goal of literacy (the ability to read and write) is to help people make sense of their world so that they can function efficiently in it. It is used to interpret the world. Since the world is being shaped by the electronic media, there is naturally, a need to expand literacy to those areas in order to better understand the social and cultural formation.

In Ontario, the Scarborough Board of Education announced in its Language Arts Guide that the traditional definition of literacy as the ability to read and write should be
revised (Program Department, Scarborough Board of Education, 1980). Media literacy should be part of literacy training. The CAPC document (1981) stated that Canadians had passed through an oral and written tradition to an era where their children must become visually "literate" in order to be competent in the modern world. Duncan (1990a) saw media literacy as an expanded definition of literacy. In his view, media literacy should be regarded as one of the basics in contemporary education (Duncan, 1986/87). He reminded teachers that they must learn how to read the electronic media and understand their special codes and conventions (Duncan, 1991). Pungente (1985) told educators that they were living in a world which uses words, images and sounds. Schools therefore must teach students to be literate in all three modes. According to their view, traditional literacy training which was print-based had to undergo change. To most young people, audio-visual language is more immediate and meaningful than the boring verbal language of books. The proposal, therefore, was that the school should teach all forms of communication to help young people cope with the flow of incoming audio-visual information (Program Department, Scarborough Board of Education, 1982). Media education advocates, such as Des Dixon, Jack Livesley and Rick Shepherd, viewed that media literacy was a new kind of literacy which was badly needed in their information culture. The FWTAO newsletter labelled the intelligent viewing of television as "the new literacy" (Goller, 1987).

The English teachers in Ontario were well aware of the changing concept of literacy. Gwen Mowbray (personal communication, June 16, 1995), Project Leader of the English Curriculum Guideline 1987, regarded media literacy as another vehicle of communication. In an information society, she maintained that language had a broader definition. Apart from reading, writing, listening and speaking, there should be viewing and representing. Mary
Lou Soutar-Hynes (personal communication, June 19, 1995) at the Ministry of Education who is responsible for language arts and literacy training, considers literacy as a way of reading the world and media as a way of representing the world and ideas. She likes the concept of "literacy as media and media as literacy." She sees media literacy as a new kind of literacy in the sense that it is a new way of making sense of the world.

Treating media literacy as an extension of the traditional concept of literacy, some advocates of media education suggested that people should watch electronic media in the same way they read books. Students were encouraged to apply the skills of analysis, criticism, interpretation and comparison (Moore, 1989). Duncan (1991) explained that traditional literacy is about decoding the printed word, so media literacy is about decoding the mass media, especially television. He stressed that this new literacy should be regarded as a survival skill in the information age (Duncan, 1986b, 1987/88).

6.5 Critical Dimension of Media Literacy

Media literacy as a life skill has several components. The first component is critical awareness. Media education advocates in Ontario pointed out that all media were constructs. Duncan (personal communication, October 21, 1994) proposed the essence of media literacy was to become aware that media construct reality instead of reflecting reality. Looking at media literacy from the production side, Bear (personal communication, June 22, 1995) also claimed that the most important element of media literacy was to understand media as a construct. She encouraged students "to take TV apart, have a deep look at it and see how
viewers were being manipulated." Shepherd (personal communication, June 20, 1995) felt that teachers should guide their students to realize that they were being controlled by the media. Flemington (personal communication, June 28, 1995) insisted that it was important to let young people know what the media were doing to them. Thus, critical awareness implied discovering the hidden persuasion of the mass media. With critical awareness, students were expected to know how to use the media more intelligently (Cavanagh, personal communication, June 8, 1995; Kelly, 1984). For many advocates, media literacy meant educating the students to develop a critical consciousness about the techniques used in different types of mass media to convey information and construct reality (Greer, 1987; Pungente, 1985). They did not want young people to accept everything offered by the media at face value.

The second component is understanding about the media. If a person is able to actively and intelligently engage the media, he or she must be knowledgeable about the media. Media literacy was concerned with understanding the nature, the techniques used and the impact of the mass media (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989). Duncan further added that media literacy tried to assist students to understand how, why and for whom the media was constructed (Carson, 1989).

Deconstruction (or critical analysis) of the media is the third component of media literacy. Media advocates claimed that media literacy skills could enable students to deconstruct the constructed media reality and examine its underlying values and messages (Carson, 1989; Duncan, 1987/88). These skills also involved the investigation of how media messages affected human emotion (Draine, 1990). Media literacy meant thinking critically about media and interpreting the messages wisely (Goller, personal communication, June 21,
1995; Greenaway, personal communication, June 22, 1995; Lalonde, personal communication, October 20, 1994; Morrison, personal communication, June 15, 1995; Pungente, personal communication, June 9, 1995; Sigurjousson, personal communication, June 12, 1995). Mowbray (personal communication, June 16, 1995) believed it was essential that students be critical media consumers. That means to know how to ask questions, interpret them and select the suitable part for knowledge integration.

The fourth component of media literacy is learning to use the media. Media education advocates from the TVOntario and the National Film Board put particular emphasis on this component. To them, media literacy involved teaching the students how to express themselves by using the media (Clemson, personal communication, August 22, 1995). Students were expected to "read" and "write" in television and film (Livesley, personal communication, June 13, 1995). Moscovitch (personal communication, May 26, 1995) considered that people should learn how to use the media to voice their opinions.

The fifth component is learning through the media. Through the critique of the media’s construction, media education advocates suggested that media study could stimulate a broader analysis of the social, economic and political structures of society. They believed that media literacy could help students understand social issues better so that they could become competent participants in the democratic process and better citizens (Clemson, personal communication, August 22, 1995; Melamed, 1989). George (personal communication, October 6, 1994) claimed media literacy was essential for students to cope with the modern environment.

As we can see, critical thinking constituted the core concept of media literacy in Ontario. Duncan (personal communication, June 20, 1995) explained that the advocacy and
lobbying for media education were very much informed by the critical thinking movement in the 1980s. Duncan, as a key advocate of media education, co-authored a book entitled *The Critical Concept: Strategies for Critical and Creative Thinking* (Duncan & Walker, 1984). He was also a supporter of the alternative school movement which promoted educating students in an unconventional way.

### 6.6 Summary

Media education advocates justified media education by highlighting the problematic impact of the mass media and the social tensions generated by new media technologies. The social conflict about media access and power, the social struggle over the symbolic control of media representation, the tensions between high culture and popular culture, the cultural sovereignty dispute between the United States and Canada and the social controversy over media sex and violence all contributed to the argument for legitimating media literacy. But more important was the portrayal of the mass media as an invisible curriculum and the questioning about the positive educational power of the mass media. My earlier review of the international development of media education indicated that in the 1980s, when mass media were regarded as a rival of the ordinary school, in many countries such as Australia and Britain, media education was rapidly demanded by educators as a compulsory part of the school curriculum. In Canada, the situation was similar. Although media education advocates in the 1980s did not identify the mass media as an enemy, they certainly regarded them as a competitive socializing agent.
According to Gouldner (1990), considerable tension is created in an advanced society between the cultural apparatus (academic communities and educational institutions) and the consciousness industry (the mass media). The cultural apparatus is particularly critical of the consciousness industry for producing and selling whatever makes a profit, but then disregards the consequences. The consciousness industry is viewed as a "dirty business" which threatens society's "purity" or authenticity. With the rise of televisions, Gouldner maintained, the consciousness industry of the mass media has gained wide popularity and exercises far more influence on the population than the elite-oriented cultural apparatus.

The promotion of media literacy is a good example to illustrate the power struggle between media, which belong to the consciousness industry, and school, which is part of the cultural apparatus. The rise of the mass media, television in particular, threatens the power of ordinary schools and lessens their influence.

Invisible curriculum offered by the mass media over-shadowed traditional public schooling. Schools wanted to use media education as a "counter-offensive strategy" to maintain their influence on the young. Traditional socialization institutions, such as the family and the church, also shared the school's anxiety about the growing impact of the invisible curriculum of the mass media. Parents formed organizations such as Children's Broadcast Institute and Canadians Concerned About Violence in Entertainment (C-CAVE). Naturally, these groups supported the idea of media education. The United Church of Canada and the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in Canada played a very active role in promoting media education.

As Canada entered the information age, so the concept of literacy was expanded to include media literacy. As there is a strong critical dimension to the meaning of media
literacy, it clearly shows that the rationale of media education was built on the mistrust of the media and the need for tackling social problems brought on by the media. Media education advocates justified the need of media education by adopting a problem-solving approach. The conceptualization by the advocates of the mass media as an invisible curriculum and the emphasis on media literacy as a survival skill in an information society illustrate this approach well.
Effective lobbying was vital for legitimizing media education in Ontario. As media education was a bottom-up curricular initiative, vigorous lobbying was an essential ingredient to its success. Bottom-up or "grass roots" does not imply the groups involved were lower or working class. It only means the initiative did not come from those in authority, but rather from teachers' groups and interest groups. Many media education advocates in Ontario claimed that the lobbying was built-in to the media literacy movement (Pungente, 1993a; Shepherd, 1995; Worsnop, personal communication, June 19, 1995). This chapter analyzes how media education advocates in Ontario employed effective lobbying strategies to achieve their goal. Specifically, I examine the way these advocates exercised public pressure through the media literacy movement to create a "climate of opinion" to push the Ministry of Education to mandate the media education program.

7.1 Lobbying the Ministry of Education

Lobbying is defined here as the formal and informal influences which can exercise upward political pressure. Lobbying was the effort to win the approval of the Ontario Ministry of Education to mandate media education in Ontario schools. The main objective of the media literacy movement in Ontario was to raise critical awareness of the impact of mass media. Activists promoted media literacy in schools, parents' associations and the churches.
But some advocacy groups, particularly the teachers’ groups, found it insufficient to promote media literacy in parent’s workshops, church meetings and students’ extra-curricular activities, nor were they satisfied with teaching media literacy as an unofficial course in school. In order for media literacy to have a wider impact in the province, they insisted that it must be mandated as an essential component of the school curriculum, because only then would all young people have an opportunity to be trained in media literacy. The call for legitimating media education intensified. In the media literacy movement, the Association for Media Literacy (AML), whose members were largely English teachers, was the most enthusiastic lobbying group for media education. From its establishment in 1978, the AML started a prolonged lobbying effort. The movement gathered support on the issue of legitimation from professional teachers’ groups and other interest groups in the movement. Perhaps that is why Jack Livesley defined the lobbying for media education in Ontario as educator-driven. Apart from the AML, the Ontario Teachers’ Federation (OTF), the Home and School and Parent/Teacher Federation, and various women’s groups were keen lobbyists for media education in schools.

In essence, lobbying for media literacy took three forms. One was to submit letters or petitions to the Ministry of Education. The second was to try to influence people in the Ministry through personal contact in formal or informal settings. The third was to express opinions and make requests in government educational surveys and consultations.

In the late 1970s, soon after the AML was created, a letter was sent by the AML to the Ministry of Education in an attempt to convince the Ministry on the necessity to revise the 1970 screen education guidelines, which were outdated and of little practical value for teachers who were trying to develop a substantial media program. The Ministry responded
and a meeting was scheduled for AML members with Ministry curriculum officials. At the same time, other groups of teachers were expressing their support. Media teachers in North York submitted a petition in support of the AML letter. The English Consultants and Coordinators of Ontario wrote their own letter expressing concern about the issue. A resolution passed at the assembly of the Ontario Council of Teachers of English recommending that the Ministry immediately revise the screen education guidelines and that the new guidelines should recognize media studies as part of the school curriculum (AML, 1979a). These initial lobbying efforts did not bear fruitful results, but they let the Ministry people know school teachers were serious about media education.

The AML continued lobbying the Ministry of Education, but it failed to convince the government to take any action regarding media education. According to Duncan, from 1978 to 1984 the AML "existed as a small, dedicated group who shared ideas and concerns, wrote briefs and lived with the frustrations of limited recognition" (AML, 1986a, p. 1). During the same period, other formal and informal lobbying was conducted by Des Dixon from the OTF and Pat Marshall from the METRAC. For example, Des Dixon of the Ontario Teachers' Federation, made a point of casually discussing the idea of media literacy with people at the Ministry of Education. Dixon supported media education. He worked closely with the Ministry people, and was, therefore, able to wield personal influence at the lunch table or during the coffee break. He described his lobbying effort as "needling" because it stimulated people in power to pay attention to the issue. Dixon knew very little about media literacy skills. He defined his own contribution to the media literacy movement as political, while Duncan's was practical (Dixon, personal communication, June 12, 1995). Later Dixon
played more important role in the lobbying process by helping the OTF Secretary-Treasurer
draft a formal petition letter to the Ministry.

From 1984, lobbying for media education became active due to the public outcry for
combating media violence and pornography. METRAC, a newly established feminist group,
began to actively lobby the government to teach media literacy in school. A METRAC
progress document reported that:

METRAC’s work with the Ministry of Education focuses on encouraging development
of programming to address coercive sexuality issues in curriculum areas such as
media literacy, family life and human sexuality for senior grades....We are
encouraging other Cabinet support for the comprehensive provincial response to the
Fraser Report which will include such educational initiatives (METRAC, 1986a, p.
18).

Jerry George, an education officer at the Ministry of Education in charge of the media
literacy project, recalled that the women’s group conducted an intensive lobby at that time on
the issue of media literacy. They mainly targeted at combating media sex, violence and
distorted gender representation (George, personal communication, October 6, 1994).

In early 1985, the following policy resolution was passed by the Ontario Federation of
Home and School Associations:

WHEREAS school systems are concerned mainly with print literacy, and
WHEREAS statistical studies indicate that most young people spend more time
watching television and films and listening to pop music than they
spend in school, and
WHEREAS there may be little or no guidance given in decoding the value systems
in media, and
WHEREAS the pervasiveness of sexuality in the media includes, at one of the
spectrum, its exploitive use in advertising and, at the other, the easy
access to video pornography at the local stores,
THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Home and School and
Parent/Teacher Federation, through its provincial federations, petition
the provincial Ministers of Education to require media literacy skills to be an essential component in existing curricula from kindergarten through high school, so that young people will have the opportunity to understand the nature of the mass media’s pervasive value messages (C-CAVE, 1987b, p. 1).

This resolution was soon quoted at length in the lobbying letter sent by the Ontario Teachers’ Federation (OTF). The OTF, as a teacher federation, was obliged to speak on the issue of pornography. On March 1, 1985 the Secretary-Treasurer of the OTF, Margaret Wilson, sent a formal letter to the Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Education, requesting the inclusion of media literacy as part of the school curriculum for all students from kindergarten onward, and the development of media literacy resource documents as well as relevant teacher education programs (Wilson, 1985, p. 1). The letter asserted:

We feel that increased media literacy education is a more appropriate response than increased censorship to the growing concern about pornography. If the freedom to exercise responsible judgment is the right and duty of every citizen, then it is the obligation of the school system to participate wholeheartedly and deliberately in the development of the knowledge, skills and attitudes that are the basis of responsible judgment.

In the letter, Wilson reminded the Deputy Minister that they were not alone in their wish to enhance media literacy education, since the Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations also expressed the same hope. In Screen Education Guidelines (Ontario Department of Education, 1970) and other documents, she said that there already existed references to media literacy and these "good beginnings" had led to creative approaches to media literacy within some school boards. The OTF encouraged the Ministry to take a bold step to foster growth in this field. At the end of the letter, the OTF recommended that the
Ministry convene a meeting of interested parties to define an approach to begin the curriculum development process in media literacy.

In his response, the Deputy Minister cited financial and personnel constraints as the reasons why the Ministry would not be able to undertake an additional project dealing with media literacy. However, he promised that the Ministry would give the matter serious consideration and would examine the possibility of initiating a project the following year (Podrebarac, 1985).

The OTF letter seems to have brought about a significant breakthrough in the marathon lobbying. In a newspaper interview, Claudine Goller said it was only through the strenuous efforts of the Ontario Teachers' Federation that the government finally decided to move on the issue (Ferri, 1986). George at the Ministry also regarded the formal request from the OTF as the "final push" to press on the government to do something on media literacy in schools (George, personal communication, October 6, 1994).

It seems that the Ministry took the OTF’s advice seriously because a meeting was soon scheduled with the AML for consultation. The AML was told by George of the Ministry that because of numerous letters and concerns of community groups about media impact on young people, the Ministry had decided to take action regarding media literacy in 1986. George asked for input from the AML (AML, 1985, p. 2), a request that greatly pleased this small advocacy group. The AML rejoiced over the opportunity. Through school board workshops and AML workshops, the AML collected views from teachers and forwarded a proposal to the Ministry in July 1985 to advise on ways of introducing media literacy in schools (Duncan, 1985a).
Alongside these lobbying efforts, the curriculum branch of the Ministry carried out a provincial review on senior division English during 1984-85. All English teachers in Ontario were surveyed on the existing curriculum and their views on teaching media. English teachers who were interested in media education grasped this opportunity to advance their cause.

According to the provincial review report, on the one hand, approximately one-half of the respondents of the survey supported the existing media policy and about one-third wanted increased emphasis on it. On the other hand, approximately 88 percent of the respondents "supported the study of the language and devices of persuasion used in advertising, news reporting, and politics" (Ministry of Education, 1986, p. 20). Of 1695 respondents, 564 included written comment with the teacher questionnaire. The written comments were compiled together in Appendix C of the report. Among comments on a wide range of issues, 24 focused on "units on media." One teacher wrote, "I feel very strongly that media units should be included at all grade levels" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1986, p. 6C). Another pronounced that "Media study should be mandatory. Only when students analyze the media and produce their own programs do they become aware of the tacit manipulation of their thoughts and emotions" (p. 66C). One teacher claimed that he/she supported the resolution on media passed by the OTF to urge the inclusion of media studies in future curriculum studies. Another comment was, "Could we not add to the 5 traditional genres, film study and lyrics? Times are changing and the programs aren't! We have to face a changing world with change. What gets these adolescents excited today?" (p. 66C). Many other comments concluded that more emphasis should be put on media studies.
With the petition letters and the survey outcome, the Ministry of Education in Ontario found it was necessary to take action. Concurrently, the English Guideline Committee suggested that the new guide for the study of English should include not only language and literature but also media. The Committee believed that in doing so, the students were acquiring skills and knowledge that would assist them in managing their own lives in the so-called "information age" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1987). The Ministry decided to mandate media literacy in the new English curriculum guideline and produce a supporting resource document.

7.2 Political Strategies of the Lobbyists

Media education advocates made a series of strategically important moves in their battle for recognition. First was the establishment of an independent lobbying organization. The advocates needed a place to come together, share experience, discuss ideas and develop strategies. The establishment of the AML fulfilled this need. Although most of the members of the AML were school teachers, this organization was also able to recruit members from the media industry and the media-concerned public. In its mission statement the AML also described itself as an organization ready to fight (AML, 1978a). In fact, the AML did serve as a base for advocating and fighting for media literacy. Over the years it also established its representative status for media literacy lobbyists. During the period of 1978 to 1985, the AML held two major conferences and numerous workshops and its membership gradually grew to 600. The Association became the centre of the lobbying effort. Alliances were
formed with other groups to lobby the Ministry of Education (Duncan, 1992). Duncan described his Association as a "system disk." When the OTF suggested the Ministry consult with the interested parties on developing a media literacy program, the Ministry immediately knew to contact the AML.

Second, advocates in Ontario attempted to build a favorable image for the new subject. They used the term "media literacy" instead of media education. In other parts of the world, the study of media in school is commonly called media education. When John Pungente (personal communication, October 25, 1994) first arrived in Ontario in 1985 after his world tour on media education, he was surprised to find everybody in the province using the term media literacy. It took him a while to get used to this special term. Ontario media educators were unique in using the media literacy label. As a name signifies the ideology of classification (Solomon, 1988), so the use of the term media literacy already had political purposes. None of the activists I interviewed could identify the origins of the term. In the early 1970s, terms such as visual literacy, TV literacy, media literacy and computer literacy were in common use. For example, Scarborough teachers tended to use the term TV literacy while TVOntario frequently used the term media literacy in its internal reports (Syrett, 1976). However, the term media literacy gained its permanent place in Ontario when Duncan and other media education advocates decided to name their organization "Association for Media Literacy" in 1978. When asked why the term "media literacy" was chosen, Duncan (personal communication, June 20, 1995), Livesley (personal communication, June 13, 1995), Fowlie (personal communication, October 23, 1994) and other interviewees were conscious that it assisted the movement to obtain political currency. "Literacy" had long been recognized as something significant, and literacy training had been an essential part of pubic
schooling. To call media education media literacy enhanced its status in the educational arena. It increased cognitive authority and legitimacy. It was easier to get support from teachers and it was also easier to "sell" the idea to the Ministry. Obviously, the term "media literacy" was strategically used in the lobbying for media education in Ontario.

Third was networking. Through their personal network, media education advocates were able to establish an informal alliance of advocacy and lobbying. For example, John Pungente (personal communication, October 25, 1994) thought he could not work alone in Ontario to promote media education, so he linked up his Jesuit efforts with the AML's. METRAC cooperated with AML to hold media literacy seminars (AML, 1986a) and C-CAVE invited AML's Duncan to become a member of its board (Dyson, personal communication, June 13, 1995). Duncan and other AML members gave support to other organizations and participated in TVO workshops and school boards' professional activity days (Bear, personal communication, June 22, 1995; Livesley, personal communication, June 13, 1995). Scarborough media teacher Goller also worked with FWTAO. The Alliance for Children and Television received assistance from the Home and School Associations. The National Film Board intentionally built up a teachers' network on media education so that they could go back to their schools and teach about the media (Moscovitch, personal communication, May 26, 1995). The advocates did not limit their work to the educational arena but reached out to the community. For instance, AML members presented talks to different groups. In addition to speaking to teachers, they gave presentations to groups such as the Ontario Library Association and the Ontario Association for Curriculum Development. They also took part in a dialogue with parents, feminists, church people and media professionals. The AML regularly invited media professionals as guest speakers at AML
functions. The advocates formed a large network which promoted media literacy as a social movement. These interorganizational links strengthened the base of the lobbying. Although this coalition was loose in an organizational sense, it gathered bargaining power to fight for a legitimate place for media education in school. As pointed out by Housego (1972, p. 14), organized groups "represent a concentration of resources of various kinds toward the realization of political influence."

Political-minded advocates such as Dixon at the OTF also built up a communication network among the officials of the Ontario Teachers' Federation (OTF), Ministry of Education and the Ontario Educational Communications Authority (OECA). Through casual conversations and private discussions, Dixon promoted a positive common understanding about media literacy among these people. This communication network had a subtle but significant effect on facilitating the official recognition of media literacy (Dixon, personal communication, June 12, 1995). According to Housego (1972, p. 15), interest group politics in education at the provincial level in Canada are characterized by "linkages between the elites of unofficial interest groups and the bureaucracy of the department of education." In other words, if the lobbyists could establish trustful personal relationships with the educational bureaucrats, the excellent communication between them might lead to an educational decision which was favorable to the lobbyists. What Dixon at the Ontario Teachers' Federation attempted to do was to exercise influence through this long-term informal network with the educational officials. The politics of education, in Housego's opinion, is a "politics of insiders" (p. 20). The lobbyists in Ontario, therefore, tried hard to establish personal contacts with the educational officials in the Ministry of Education.
In terms of international liaison, Pungente, as Executive Director of the Jesuit Communication Project, put the Ontario advocates in touch with the work of key media educators in the United Kingdom and Australia. The Ontario teachers realized that they were part of a global movement. They "felt strengthened and validated by the recognition that our ideas and practices were substantially the same as those in other parts of the world" (Shepherd, 1995, p. 6). Like the environmentalists, they "think globally, act locally" and this increased their growth rate (p. 6). Moreover, the AML invited well-known foreign media education theorists to visit Toronto to give domestic media educators some international credibility. Andersen (personal communication, June 20, 1995) said people like exotic things and the AML's contacts with Len Masterman, a renowned British media education theorist, made the domestic promotion of media education look more important and glamorous.

The fourth political strategy was the development of expertise and theoretical concepts. The advocates learned together and taught each other. The AML and the Jesuit Communication Centre provided good opportunities for these people to develop their knowledge about media literacy. The AML Newsletter carried book reviews and film reviews to introduce new publications and films on media studies to keep their members up to date. The Jesuit Communication Centre collected a library of books, journals, research reports, curriculum materials, course outlines and teaching models on media education for reference. Furthermore, through Pungente's introduction, the AML members became familiar with the work of Len Masterman. Masterman was regarded as an ideal media educator by the AML members. They said that from Masterman they learned about teaching point of view, ideology, decoding techniques and ways of making students problematize their media
experience (AML, 1986c). Stimulated by Masterman's work, the AML group developed its own theoretical concepts and further built up its expertise in the area of media teaching. For Shepherd (1995, p. 2), "educational change required a firm and clearly articulated theoretical base...in the absence of a clear understanding of the nature and role of the media, or of the ideological implications of media education, usually far too little was accomplished." In other words, as the media literacy advocates were mature enough to provide their audience with a clear rationale for action, a distinct approach to follow and convincing theoretical concepts to work on, the movement moved forward. Moreover, since the Ministry people knew that there was a team of people who had expertise in media education and was available to provide support in curriculum development and teacher training, they dared to take a bold step to mandate the program.

The fifth strategy was minimizing opposition. Lobbying for media education did meet with resistance and indifference in Ontario (Duncan, 1985c, 1992). Many teachers were reluctant to work with the electronic media because their training was deeply rooted in the printed word. The advocates tried their best to eliminate this hesitation by emphasizing the importance of media literacy in the information age. The media industry, however, had no role to play in the process (Duncan, personal communication, June 20, 1995). People in the industry raised no objection to media education. Perhaps because they did not feel threatened by it. Even though the advocates promoted a critical analysis of the media and advertising industry, they did nothing to threaten big business and the media enterprises. Pungente (personal communication, June 9, 1995) also pointed out that the media industry generally reacted well once they understood media literacy. The notion of media literacy was to enhance the students' analytical skills vis-a-vis the media; it did not call for any
critical action to control the media or condemn the government. Media advocates even opposed a censorship stand on media. In effect, media education did not oppose the power base of the political and economic order. The advocates adopted a form of "elite-lobbying" which used peaceful and conventional ways to persuade the policy makers. From the government's point of view, the underlying values of media literacy were not controversial. Rather, the idea of media literacy seemed quite appealing for the common good of society.

Sixth, the lobbyists were able to create a "climate of opinion" about the necessity of media literacy. The AML members worked for many years to try to interest teachers in media literacy. Their Newsletter helped to spread up-dated information about the development of media education in the province. Their workshops brought outstanding educators and media professionals to communicate with the teachers. Other groups concerned with media education also organized conferences and seminars to promote media literacy. In the early 1980s, there was public outcry about the negative influence of media violence and pornography. The cultural penetration from the United States in the form of American media products also aroused alarm. The advocates took the opportunity to articulate the importance of critical analysis of media impact on everyday life, however, they stressed the ineffectiveness of using censorship to counter the adverse effect of the media. Media literacy was highlighted as a desirable alternative to meet the challenge posed by the media.

The above strategies worked out effectively in Ontario. Credit for its smooth implementation should be given to those individuals who were dedicated leaders. Duncan played an outstanding leadership role in the media literacy movement as well as in the lobbying for recognition of media education as an official curriculum. Andersen described
Duncan as "a consummate strategist" (Carson, 1989) and "a captain" in the lobbying process (Andersen, personal communication, June 20, 1995). Key members in the media literacy movement, such as Livesley, Worsnop, Shepherd and Dixon, agreed that Duncan deserved a great deal of credit for his role in winning legitimacy for media education in Ontario.

Duncan was a "charismatic leader" (Friedland, 1969) and an "enthusiastic leader" (Roche & Sachs, 1969). He not only possessed the personal qualities to lead, but was also an outstanding speaker and a good writer. He made numerous presentations on media education and wrote extensively on the subject. Many media educators in Ontario confirmed that they were inspired by him. Good at building an alliance with other lobbying groups, Duncan was the centre of the personal network of the lobbying coalition. As a McLuhan student and an enthusiastic participant in the NFB Summer Institute, he was able to apply the legacy of the screen education movement to the mobilization of the media literacy movement in the 1980s.

He has always been enthusiastic about media education. His devotion to media studies started in the 1960s and he never gave up. Even in the 1970s when screen education faded from the educational scene, he continued to teach media in his classroom. He persistently led the advocates in Ontario to pursue their goal of including media education in schools.

In fact, backup from the media literacy movement was vital to the success of legitimating media education. Lobbying was an integral part of the media literacy movement. The lobbyists converted the support they received from the media literacy movement into public pressure on the Ministry of Education. The media literacy movement had already achieved considerable impact in the province. The bargaining power of the lobbyists was found on wide community support from the movement. The movement paved the way for the proposal to include media education in school, having already created a
"climate of opinion" for the need for media literacy. As the lobbyists further portrayed media literacy as a "new literacy" in the information age, they made it difficult for the Ministry of Education to deny its importance. By building a domestic and international network on media education, the lobbyists were able to mobilize resources and expertise in the media literacy movement to back up the call for media education in schools. Their greatest "bargaining chip" was public support from the media literacy movement. Literature on educational lobbying confirms that grass roots support was essential to the success of the lobbying (Newman, 1995; Peterson & Rabe, 1983; Saks, 1993).

This study finds that although the AML was the most enthusiastic lobbying group and it contributed greatly to create the "climate of opinion" for media education, it was not able to make the Ministry of Education take direct action. According to George at the Ministry, it was the official lobbying letter from the OTF that pushed the educational officials to mandate media literacy. This finding underscores the important role of those "established institutions" in educational lobbying. Like other established institutions, the OTF had the skill and experience in conventional methods of political influence. As Dixon pointed out, the OTF was politically more effective than other lobbying groups. It was a powerful group in Ontario in terms of influencing educational decisions. Duncan and other media teachers could merely mobilize public support, but they were not powerful enough to convert this support into an effective weapon. The OTF, on the other hand, was able to use the "bargaining chip" of public support to exercise political influence on government officials through institutional lobbying. Ten years later, Duncan (personal communication, June 20, 1995) still expressed his appreciation to Dixon for sending the lobbying letter on behalf of the OTF to the Ministry of Education.
7.3 The "Public Pressure" Perceived by the Government

George at the Ministry admitted that the decision to mandate media literacy was made mainly in response to public pressure. The lobbying groups wanted media education, and they lobbied and exercised pressure. From the Ministry's perspective, mandating media literacy was a way to relieve this pressure (George, personal communication, October 6, 1994). According to George (personal communication, June 11, 1996), the major "problems" were pornography and media violence. Media representation, particularly gender stereotyping, was also a controversial topic. These public issues demanded immediate government action. The political pressure was so great that politicians in the province could not ignore it.

According to Johnson (1984, p. 10), in the early 1980s pornography and violent videotapes were such hot subjects at Queen's Park that "dissenters from the 'correct' political line have been forced underground." In the 1984 provincial throne speech, the Conservative government in Ontario responded to the public concern by promising it would make changes to "provide reasonable and clear-cut protection against exploitive film and video production" (p. 10). The Ontario Liberals, as the opposition party, still charged the Tory government for not acting firmly enough against pornography. Liberal party leader David Peterson wanted the Canadian Criminal Code amended to make possession of pornography a criminal offence with tough penalties (Chuickshank, 1983). The Liberals had gone beyond the Tories in calling for strict censorship of video tapes. According to one Liberal MP, "the whole political climate is very much in favor of censorship...partly because of the general confusion
and hysteria surrounding the subject" (p. 10). Another Liberal member pointed out that,
politically speaking, pornography had became "a motherhood issue." A rational discussion
of pornography was difficult because most people had the impression that the situation was
out of control. Johnson that concluded new video controls would be timely and a "politically
astute move." Various lobby groups placed pornography near the top of the list of women's
issues. Since polls indicated most Canadians favored editing and prohibition of some films, a
range of politicians, motivated by political gain, advocated the extension of the power of
Ontario Censor Board to censor home videos.

NDP leader Bob Rae considered the Censor Board a threat to civil liberties, privacy
and freedom of expression. He did admit, however, that his party was under pressure to
face the fact that harmful material was available. The women's movement caused politicians
to reassess their perceptions about violent pornography (Johnson, 1984). A report prepared
by Canadian social scientists H. B. Mckay and D. J. Dolff concluded that "concern about
pornography is unreasonably high considering there is no proof that it adversely affects
behaviour" (Canadian Press, 1986, p. A11). For some social activists, censorship violated
the spirit of freedom of speech and was not an appropriate response. Nevertheless, the
whole political and social climate in the early 1980s gave strong approval to censorship.
Ontario chief censor, Mary Brown, caused a stir in the press by stressing that violent
pornography had become "public enemy number 1" (DiManno & Coulter, 1985). In
combination, these events exerted substantial political pressure on the provincial government.
In the mid-1980s, the federal government of Canada started its Free Trade Agreement
negotiations with the United States. Since the United States was regarded as the major
source of violent media programs and pornographic materials, the government was called on
to take a tough stand in the Free Trade talks regarding the protection of Canada's cultural sovereignty. Thus, the issue of media sex and violence also became a cultural problem.

According to George (personal communication, June 11, 1996), a big issue at that time was the cultural irrelevance of the media products consumed by Canadians. Ontarians were concerned with the cultural values conveyed by the American media. American ideology was so dominant that there was fear that Canadians might find it difficult to sustain their own tradition. Media education advocates were anxious to increase public awareness of the material presented and its effect. The Ministry of Education was also concerned with the cultural identity issue. In the 1980s, public concern over media violence, pornography, media stereotyping and the cultural relevancy of the media messages caused the Ministry to address the concept of media education.

While media-generated issues became what Goodson (1993, p. 106) calls the "problem of the moment," the secondary educational system in Ontario was undergoing major renewal. In 1980, Bette Stephenson, Ontario Minister of Education, established the Secondary Education Review Project (SERP) to conduct a thorough study of the province's secondary school system. The Project was conducted by a public commission. The purpose of the Project was to provide a blueprint that would lead the Ontario secondary educational system into the 21st century (Green, 1981a). Based on the SERP report (Green, 1981b), the Ministry of Education prepared a policy document entitled The Renewal of Secondary Education in Ontario (ROSE). The ROSE report (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1982) was regarded as the Minister's response to the SERP report (Baker, 1985; Lambie, 1985). One of the major changes outlined by the ROSE report concerned diploma requirements and the development of new curriculum guidelines for grades 7-12 and grade 13. The educational
bureaucracy moved efficiently to distribute a document called *Ontario Schools: Intermediate/Senior* (OSIS) to replace the existing Circular H.S.1. The H.S.1 document specified the credit system governing secondary school diplomas. The OSIS introduced a new system within which students would proceed towards a single graduation diploma based on a 30-credit system. Since the new diploma requirements included a specified number of mandatory courses, the revision of curriculum guidelines for all areas of the new program was launched accordingly (Ministry of Education, 1983).

Media education activists grasped this opportunity to press the Ministry of Education to include media literacy in the new curriculum. In the lobbying letter from the OTF, Wilson (1981) suggested that media education was a better response than censorship to the growing concern about the negative effects of the mass media. Although the government was under great political and cultural pressure to censor undesirable media products, it had hesitated to do so because of the freedom of speech principle. Introducing media literacy to tackle the controversy was an attractive option for the government. Since school curricula were undergoing major revision, it was convenient for the government to place media literacy into one of the subject areas. In those circumstances, the Ministry of Education gave a favorable response to Wilson:

As you are aware many of our curriculum guidelines are currently under revision. Managers of these projects will be advised of your request and will be asked to consider attending to media concerns in their documents whenever such attention may be appropriate. May I suggest that the Ontario Teachers’ Federation appointees to advisory committees also be made aware of the Federation’s position in this matter, so that they too can offer appropriate advice (Podrebarac, 1985, p. 1).
According to Goodson (1993), a new educational initiative can only be developed if it suits the "problem of the moment." Other equally valid ideas which do not suit the "problem of the moment" may be ignored. For the Ministry of Education and the cabinet, the call for media education dealt with their problem. The introduction of media literacy in school would appease the public pressure imposed on the government in general and the Ministry of Education in particular. Replying to the press inquiry of mandating media education, George, on behalf of the Ministry of Education, explained:

The reason we're doing this is because it's needed....There's been a growing concern by parents and teachers about things like violence and pornography in the media and how it affects the behavior of children....The approach we're taking is to try to get kids to understand and realize that media presentations are not necessarily reflections of reality. They are visions of reality that someone chooses to show (Contenta, 1987, p. 1).

Bill Mitchell was an important official within the Ministry of Education who supported these changes. He was a great promoter of screen education in the 1960s at the Department of Education and had continued with his support of media education. During 1978-81, he was the head of the Strategic Planning Task Force and published a series of internal papers to flow new ideas (Mitchell, personal communication, June 23, 1995). According to Dixon (personal communication, June 12, 1995), through these papers Mitchell was able to make the staff at the Ministry of Education informed and amenable to change. Ministry officials were willing to take a bold step to legitimize media education. Other officials at the Ministry of Education, such as Gray Cavanagh and George who were part of the screen education movement in the 1960s, supported media education. George was particularly favorable to media education. He thought educators had a responsibility in the
electronic age to make a commitment to developing skills in the area of media literacy (Ferri, 1986). George was regarded by most of the advocates of media education as a key figure in legitimating media education. Acknowledging George's contribution to media education, Worsnop (personal communication, June 19, 1995) called him a progressive. He commented that George knew the Ministry intimately and knew "how to do things beautifully." He said George could "steer those things around the road blocks" and offer the advocates a great deal of help. Gwen Mowbray (personal communication, June 16, 1995) also praised George as a forward-looking person. Duncan pointed out that at first, the advocates only regarded George as a bureaucrat at the Ministry handling the media literacy project, but later they found him helpful and supportive. "His reputation goes up in our mind as the years go by," commented Duncan (personal communication, June 20, 1995). The advocates realized that without George's support, it would be difficult to gain acceptance for media literacy. Sheila Roy, the Director of the Curriculum Branch at the Ministry of Education was a strong feminist (George, personal communication, June 11, 1996), and like other feminists in the province, she was concerned with the issues of pornography, media violence and gender stereotypes in the media. She was, therefore, one of the Ministry officials supportive of the mandate for media education.

The willingness by advocates to be cooperative also caused the Ministry of Education to be more willing to mandate media education. First, upon the suggestion put forward by the Ministry, the OTF agreed to develop, together with the Ministry, a media literacy resource document. Second, the AML members were enthusiastic to offer their expertise in preparing the resource document. Duncan admitted that they became institutionalized when they agreed to work for the government on the resource guide. Yet they realized that the
only way to effect change was to work through traditional channels such as the Ministry of Education, school boards and teachers' federations (Galbo, 1992, p. 46). In general, it appears that co-option is often a component of successful educational lobbying (Ricker, 1981).

7.4 Summary

Media education as a bottom-up educational initiative went through the lobbying process to win legitimacy. Unlike other cases of educational lobbying, the lobbying for media education was part of a social movement. Its success depended very much upon the wide influence of the media literacy movement in the province in the 1980s. The movement supported the claim for a mandated media literacy program in schools. Having gained substantial public support, lobbying also helped exert public pressure on the government. Through examining the lobbying process, we can see how a social movement supports the legitimation of a new school curriculum.

Another noteworthy finding is the significance of the lobbying strategies. Without effective lobbying strategies, the lobbyists for media education were not able to make use of public opinion and convince the Ministry of Education that media education could solve the "problem of the moment." At that time, the "problems" perceived by the Ministry of Education included the public concern over media violence, pornography, media stereotyping and the cultural relevancy of media messages. Even though the lobbying had the backup of a social movement, it still needed appropriate political strategies to push the government to
take action. The first strategy the lobbyists employed was to establish the AML as an independent lobbying organization. Starting from 1978, the AML served as a major lobbying group for the legitimation of media education. The second strategy was to call media education "media literacy" in order to highlight its educational importance. The third was the establishment of the informal alliance among the lobbying groups and the building up of an international link. The fourth was the development of expertise and theoretical concepts. The fifth was to minimize opposition and the sixth was to create a "climate of opinion" about the necessity of media literacy. These strategies seemed to be effective in the lobbying process.

Furthermore, this study also shows that well-established pressure groups such as teachers' federations and home and school associations were more influential than new lobbying groups in affecting government educational decisions.
Chapter Eight
Positioning Media Education: Finding a Curricular Niche

Media education, as a new initiative, had to find itself a place in the curriculum. This chapter traces the political process through which Ontario media education advocates strategically positioned media education as a cross-curricular theme. They emphasized the link with English and finally attached the theme to the English curriculum to win legitimacy. A theoretical concept of "subject inhabitancy" is advanced to analyze this new pattern of subject formation. Media education is examined as a "guest" subject looking for a "habitat" in the school curriculum. English was a "host" subject willing to offer a place within its domain to media education. The guest-host relationship was based on mutual benefit. The concept of subject inhabitancy illustrates, on the other hand, the strategy media education employed to find a curricular niche within the existing subject(s), and on the other hand demonstrates the political aspirations of boundary workers in English to expand their own subject boundary. The political economy of subject formation is documented in this chapter.

8.1 Curriculum Politics and Subject Inhabitancy

Many media educators in the world were concerned with one question: Where in the school curriculum is media education to be placed? After two decades of advocacy, they found that media education was not established at the core of school curricula as an independent subject in its own right. It was usually placed at the margin and permeated one
subject or another (Kress, 1992). In an international conference on media education in 1990, Kress pointed out that in most countries, educational priority has been given to subjects that have a direct link with the national economic outcomes or basic educational skills. New social curricula such as media education can only exist at the periphery of the curriculum and are expendable. Kress encouraged media educators to bear this context in mind while they plan and lobby for media education. He particularly stressed the need to develop a political strategy to earn a legitimated place for media education in the curriculum. To permeate all socially valued subjects is one way, but Kress thought that the better way is to attach media education to one of the subjects which has the greatest high-culture status and to "reconstitute that subject in line with principles appropriate to media education" (Kress, 1992, p. 201). The strategy outlined in Kress's discussion converged with the views of media education advocates who had already given up the idea of making media education an independent subject in the school curriculum.

In the mid-1980s in Ontario, Pungente (1985) also pointed out that it was extremely difficult to include media education as an additional subject in the existing curriculum. Based on his worldwide study of media education, he found that the lack of room in an overcrowded school curriculum was the major obstacle to introducing media education in schools. According to his research, there were four ways to introduce media education: as a separate subject; as an integrated subject to be taught as one aspect of other courses such as history, art or the mother tongue; as an extra-curricular activity; and as a composite which stands as a compulsory course as well as permeate at least two existing subjects. There were many advantages in establishing media education as an independent subject. First, media education was clearly seen as an important subject alongside other school subjects.
a clear boundary provided both status and protection. Third, sufficient time could be given to address the subject matter in a coherent way. However, it was almost impossible to find room in the curriculum for a new subject. In this context the next best strategy seemed to be integration into existing subjects. While media education might thus become fragmented, Pungente still thought that the best approach for media education to gain entry into the secondary school curricula was "without excessive addition."

When the Ontario media education advocates attempted to legitimize media education in school, they had heated discussions on what media education should be: a separate subject, a cross-curricular subject or part of an existing subject. In the early days of the lobbying, leading advocates wanted media education to be established as an independent subject and they proposed this to the Ministry of Education. According to George (personal communication, June 11, 1996), who was in charge of the media literacy project at the Ministry of Education:

People who were pushing for media education would like media education as a subject in its own right. We discussed it. My suggestion was: don't go that route because it is hard to get everybody on board on that. It is too hard to get everybody to agree. Not everybody sees it in that way.

George also recalled advising the advocates:

Look! You can want all you want; you can try all you want. But my assessment of the situation is that you can get nowhere if you try to create an independent subject.

George explained that the advocates were just one of many special interest groups who were trying to get a subject into the curriculum. How could the Ministry mandate all the new initiatives as independent subjects? George explained that the people whose subjects were already in the curriculum were concerned with maintaining their position. For Ministry
officials to include a new subject meant removing an existing one. George's comment referred to the obvious confrontation between subjects and revealed the politics of curriculum. In an over-crowded curriculum, contest for space is keen and the chance of adding a new independent subject is slim.

George provided an accurate assessment of the educational situation in the 1980s. The educational climate was not favorable to the creation of new independent school subjects, particularly those not directly relevant to the labour market and fundamental educational training. In the early 1980s, the Ministry of Education released the SERP and ROSE reports to prepare plans for the revamping of the education system in Ontario. The SERP report pointed out that according to consultation, people in Ontario expected schools "to provide students with a solid, useful, basic education that prepares them either for direct entry into employment or for post-secondary education" (Green, 1981b, p. 3). The ROSE report echoed this by stating that "preparation of young people to enter the world of work with the attitudes and skills that would make them productive and successful is an essential task which must complement the traditional functions of secondary education" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1982, p. 7). Preparing the students for post-secondary studies was also regarded as an important task. Media studies was not a university discipline and it had no relation with the labour market. In this educational context media education was not a body of knowledge which was, in Kress' (1992) words, "most culturally and socially valued." Therefore, the chances were slim that media education would be ranked as an independent subject alongside other traditional subjects which were regarded as fundamental.

Furthermore, following the release of the SERP report, the ROSE report and the OSIS document, the Ministry of Education was charged with carrying out its renewal plan and the
revising of curriculum guidelines for all existing subject areas. Financial and personnel constraints prevented the Ministry from undertaking an additional project on media literacy (Podrebarac, 1985). Although the Ministry of Education supported the introduction of media literacy training, circumstances made it impossible for the Ministry to introduce media education as independent subject.

From the 1980s onwards, curriculum development in Ontario frequently took the format of integration. According to Cavanagh (personal communication, June 8, 1995), a retired education officer at the Ontario Ministry of Education, curriculum integration is one of the major characteristics of Ontario education. Chris Worsnop, a former English Co-ordinator of the Peel Board of Education came to the same conclusion. For Worsnop, all education in Ontario was moving towards cross-curricula and integrated studies.

It was George's view that the idea of making media education an independent subject was just not feasible. George (personal communication, June 11, 1996) advised the advocates "to take a more practical avenue to get their subject recognized." He thought that the most practical way was for the advocates to approach the subject specialists in English. According to the Ministry's provincial English review survey, the English teachers were preparing to include media studies in their teaching. For George, curriculum-making is highly political. It involves fierce competition between subject groups because there is no room in the tight curriculum. Space is precious. To get something new on the curriculum, one must adopt a very practical approach. As George put it, "My view will be you have to find a curriculum which is sympathetic to the introduction of this and attach yourself to it." Attachment or integration was the most practical and efficient way to get a new subject into the official curriculum.
Accepting this view, media education advocates changed their lobbying strategy. They realized that they had to place media education in the curriculum by attaching it to existing subjects. They began to argue that media education should be a cross-curricular subject and specifically a part of English. The OTF lobbying letter on media education stated, "an across curriculum approach is essential" (Wilson, 1985, p. 2), and that media literacy should be part of language arts/English, history, man in society, family studies, law, computer science, theatre arts, values education, life skills and other courses and units. However, the letter also stressed that "the greatest emphasis should be put on the language arts/English area since all students participate in language courses at all grade levels in both elementary and secondary schools" (p. 2).

In Indirections, an official journal of the Ontario Council of Teachers of English, Duncan expressed the same view that it was impossible to make media education a separate subject. He quoted a ministry survey conducted in 1980, saying that only seven percent of Ontario high schools had separate media courses. Therefore, "for schools to offer such courses, there must be interested and qualified teachers, a situation which may be unrealistic" (Duncan, 1984a, p. 12). The more realistic and more advantageous approach, he wrote, was to view media literacy as a component of all courses. Thereby, media could constitute a unit of study in existing courses or media components could be incorporated in most content areas through the design of multi-media thematic units. In his personal column "Media Beat," Duncan frequently promoted the idea of placing media education on the curriculum as a cross-curricular theme. In 1984, he wrote: "We will have to ensure that media literacy becomes an essential component of such courses as visual arts, English, history, and people in society. To do less is to ignore a major source of the values and imagery of today's young
people" (Duncan, 1984c, p. 46). The following year, in his column article entitled "Probing the Media Landscape Requires across-the-Curriculum Commitment," he again asserted that media literacy should be an essential component in all curricula (Duncan, 1985c). Under his leadership, the AML dedicated itself to making media literacy an essential component in all curricula (Duncan, 1987a). However, Duncan (1993) also stressed that according to his media education experience with teachers and students, English teachers were the most likely group to implement media education.

Most advocates sincerely thought media education was a subject transgressing subject boundaries and that it should be an essential component of all subjects. But obviously, positioning media education as a cross-curricular theme with special links to the English curriculum was a strategic plan to enhance the chance of getting media education into the school curriculum. In the early 1980s, all of Ontario's curriculum guidelines were under revision. To take advantage of this opportunity, English teacher Goller (personal communication, June 21, 1995) and his colleagues "encouraged people to do it (media studies) in other subjects as well." Since most of the advocates had a background in English, it was predictable that media education would first have a firm place in English even while attempts were made to permeate other subjects. The Ontario advocates' posture was similar to their counterpart's in Britain. Many British media educators wanted to firmly place media education in secondary English first, and then let it go across the curricula on that base (Goodwyn, 1992). Worsnop, an Ontario English co-ordinator, considered this positioning sensible. He felt that media education had to have a firm base in order to operate. Since the natural place was in the English department, media education should be placed there and then spread out (Worsnop, personal communication, June 19, 1995).
While media education advocates were promoting media literacy as a cross-curricular theme, they worked particularly hard to demonstrate the usefulness and relevancy of media studies to English teaching. Since the establishment of the AML, the Association had begun to vigorously promote media education among English teachers. It recruited many English teachers as its members. Most of the key advocates, such as Duncan, Goller, Andersen and Shepherd, were English teachers who strongly recommended that their fellow English teachers include media education in their teaching. They conducted workshops, gave presentations and organized seminars to demonstrate the best methods. Both the Ontario Council of Teachers of English (OCTE) and the English Co-ordinators and Consultants of Ontario (ECCO) supported integrating media literacy into the English curriculum. Some of the members of these two professional organizations were active advocates.

Meanwhile, in the early 1980s, the Ministry of Education conducted a provincial review on English. According to Cavanagh at the Ministry of Education, the purpose and focus of the review was to determine the degree of implementation of previous guideline policy and the hidden agenda was to prepare for the creation of a new guideline. The existing guideline had operated since 1977. Cavanagh and George were the two officers mainly responsible for the projects. They did the first review in 1980 which was an intermediate division review. In 1985 they repeated the exercise for the senior division. All the English teachers in the public school system in Ontario were involved in the reviews which were conducted mainly in survey format. In these two provincial reviews, the English teachers were asked their opinions on media studies. According to George and Cavanagh, many of the respondents favored media literacy. In the senior division survey, while only a minority of English teachers taught media education, more than 80 percent indicated that they
would do so if there were resource materials and in-service training (Pungente, 1993a).

Media education advocates took this opportunity to press for the inclusion of media literacy in the English curriculum. As outlined in Chapter Seven, many attached written comments to the teacher questionnaire. For example, one teacher concluded that "more stress must be placed on the topic of media literacy" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1986, p. 5C) while another stressed "greater need for direction from Ministry re 'media literacy' at all levels in English progress" (p. 6C). One long comment was written to urge the Ministry of Education to strengthen media literacy in English.

By the mid-1980s, media education had gained much public support and the Ministry of Education had no objection to the introduction of media education as a school program. However, there was no room in the curriculum to accommodate it as an independent subject. An alternative strategy was to attach media education to existing subjects so that media education could be recognized without giving the school curriculum "excessive addition."

Here I propose to use the concept "subject inhabitancy" to describe this new subject formation pattern. When media education had no chance of becoming a separate subject, advocates turned it into a "guest" subject searching for a habitat in the school curriculum. The search was for an official "host." The advocates worked in and through institutions to gain legitimacy for media education.

Media education as a new social curriculum has the characteristic of "subject transgression" and "high subject adaptability." These characteristics facilitate the move into other subject areas. Having gone through many years of development, media education had become an independent body of knowledge. Yet, it was also ready to transgress rigid subject boundaries and become a cross-curricular theme. International publications on media
education described how in many countries media education transgressed subjects and was integrated into a number of courses (Bazalgette, Bevort, & Savino, 1992d; IFTC, 1977a; Morsy, 1984). Pungente's (1985) world-wide study of media education also pointed out that media education was able to accommodate itself well into many school subjects including mother tongue languages (such as English, Finnish, and Norwegian), social studies, art, history, environmental studies, sociology, economics, speech, religion and communication. Media education had high subject adaptability. In Ontario, media education advocates envisioned in detail how media education would be integrated into English, social sciences (e.g., history and geography), family studies, science and technology, visual arts, music, physical and health education and mathematics (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989). In Ontario, media education was portrayed as an independent unit which had clear subject identity but was, at the same time, capable of permeating any subjects. This paradox of high subject adaptability and highly visible subject identity coupled with its subject transgression capability is interesting.

In Ontario, media education as a "guest" subject was searching for one or several habitat(s) in the curriculum. In the end, the movement only succeeded in attaching it to the English curriculum. Subject inhabitancy is built on the mutual attraction of both the guest and host subjects. Given the historical link between media studies and English, they were mutually attracted. Moreover, media education in Ontario was not able to provoke other subjects' political aspirations to absorb it. Therefore, it ended up residing in English.

The correspondence between the AML and the Ministry of Education in early 1985 traces the change in media education advocacy. When the advocates learned that the Ministry intended to mandate media literacy, they still lobbied for including media literacy as
a cross-curricular subject, but after their discussion with George, they gave up the idea.

Through several workshops the AML consulted Ontario teachers about the place of media literacy in school. The AML then put forward a number of proposals to the Ministry of Education. The major proposal was stated as follows:

We would hope that statements regarding the importance of media literacy be included in all future guidelines where this would be appropriate. There is already a precedent in other guidelines, e.g. art, English and history. It is apparent that such inclusion in future guidelines would encourage school boards to understand the necessity of seeing media literacy as an essential component of all curriculum (Duncan, 1985a, pp. 2-3).

In response, George at the Ministry was pragmatic:

You can argue very well that media should be across curricula in all subject areas. You can make a case like that. But in my view, it will be much more difficult to get any practical result from that. You will be talking to the wind and it just doesn't work (George, personal communication, June 11, 1996).

George explained that by that time the Ministry of Education had done the provincial review on English and was certain that English teachers would be willing to include media education in their subject. The advocates grasped every chance to get media education into the school curriculum. They followed George's advice and seized the opportunity to put media studies into the curriculum through English (Pungente, personal communication, October 25, 1994 & June 9, 1995).

The following section will examine in detail why media education was attached to English but not other subjects by analyzing how English and media education in Ontario established their guest-host relationship. The concept "subject inhabitancy" does not solely explain how the advocates position a guest subject to attract suitable host(s) from the existing
school subjects. It also illustrates the complementary side—how the people in the existing school subjects look out for potential "guests."

8.2 English Teaching and Media Education

8.2.1 Historical link

Before the publication of *Culture and Environment* by F. R. Leavis and Denys Thompson (1933), popular culture was excluded from the English curriculum (Goodwyn, 1992). The influence of popular media was regarded as "subtly corrupting the taste and habit of a rising generation" (Ministry of Education, 1938). Leavis and Thompson (1933, p. 5) proposed a strategy "to discriminate and resist." In their view, a person will not resist something without knowing what it is. Therefore teachers should be more conscious about the media as they feared ordinary people would be overwhelmed by the power and influence of the mass media. Their solution was to try to equip all students with a kind of mental shield constructed from the finest literature before the pupils went out alone to face the mass media forces. *Culture and Environment* is an account of how not to teach about the media. It is significant because it opened the debate and was influential in the early days of media education.

According to Craggs (1992), Leavis and Thompson's book influenced the teaching of English for at least three decades after its publication. The so-called "Leavisism" is still alive in many English classrooms. Goodwyn (1992, p. 16) said the English teachers were
"handed a torch by Leavis and his followers." Leavis and Thompson's work signifies the beginning of the relationship between English teaching and the mass media. Their call for more consciousness about the media not only had great influence on English teachers in Britain but also on Canadian English teachers, as the latter in many ways followed the theory and practice of the former (Morgan, 1990). Canadian English teachers gradually included popular media in their teaching agenda. The migration of teachers may also be a factor in spreading the influence of Leavis. During the period of 1965-75, many teachers educated in England emigrated to Canada.

Marshall McLuhan was a critical influence in the process of bridging English teaching and media education. As mentioned in Chapter Four, McLuhan was an English professor and later the Director of Centre for Culture and Technology at the University of Toronto from 1946 to 1980. Before the publication of *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (McLuhan, 1962) and *Understanding Media* (McLuhan, 1964), which earned him the fame of media guru, he had already formulated the idea that changes in communication technology would result in vast social, political and economic change. Television, radio and movies were radically reshaping society. In November 1955, he delivered a paper expressing this view to the National Council of Teachers of English (Marchand, 1989). As an English professor, McLuhan was interested in media language. According to him, "the media are words--every human artifact, hardware or software, is linguistic in the full sense" (Sohn, 1980, p. xiii). Each medium has unique effects and a grammar of it own.

In addition to his academic and popular texts, McLuhan wrote a high school textbook entitled *City as Classroom: Understanding Language and Media* (McLuhan, Hutchon, & McLuhan, 1977). It is one of the earliest media studies textbooks in Canada. According to
Sohn (1980), McLuhan had long thought about a textbook that would incorporate his theories and ideas. He hoped his book would enable students to understand the media environments that surrounded them and the effects of these environments upon society. Allen (1980) stated that McLuhan exerted substantial influence upon the teachers who instigated the media education movement in the United States (Allen, 1980). McLuhan's influence in Canada was even greater. Teaching English and the media at the University of Toronto for 30 years, McLuhan had nurtured numerous undergraduates and graduate students who later became English teachers (see Figure 3.2).

One of his graduate students was Barry Duncan, a major figure who engineered the inclusion of media education into the school curriculum in Ontario. In an interview he depicted himself as a McLuhan-inspired English teacher who was greatly excited by McLuhan's ideas on how the various media construct reality (Carson, 1989). Bill Mitchell was also McLuhan's student. Studying under Marshall McLuhan for three years, he was fascinated by McLuhan's media ideas as well as his thought process. He came to know McLuhan first as a graduate student and then as a friend. He said McLuhan made him to think creatively (Mitchell, personal communication, October 21, 1994). When he entered the profession of English teaching, he creatively included media studies in his class and captured the attention of the Ministry people. In 1968 he was offered a job by the Ontario Department of Education to design a curriculum in screen education for the province of Ontario. He contributed greatly to the screen education movement in the 1960s and then continued to support media education at the Ministry level. Another key figure in the media education movement, Des Dixon, was also greatly influenced by McLuhan. Dixon drafted the OTF letter to push the Ministry of Education to take action on media education. Dixon
met McLuhan at the University of Toronto when he was pursuing graduate studies at the Faculty of Education. McLuhan gave him the manuscript *Understanding the Media* to read and invited him to join his seminar which was attended by faculty and graduate students from different disciplines and held at the Centre of Culture and Technology, University of Toronto. McLuhan encouraged diversified thinking. Dixon was encouraged and inspired by him. Moreover, McLuhan's media theory interested him (Dixon, personal communication, June 12, 1995). Freda Appleyard, an English co-ordinator at the Toronto Board of Education, also admitted that her involvement in promoting media education was inspired by McLuhan. She like many other English teachers in Ontario was influenced by McLuhan (Appleyard, personal communication, October 19, 1994). In her opinion, McLuhan was the great man of the 1960s and an important man of the century. Having read all McLuhan's books, Appleyard was convinced the power of the media was so great that teachers could not ignore it. A media education resource material developed by Appleyard adopted McLuhan's theory of the two hemispheres of the brain. Certainly, McLuhan's teaching and ideas had brought media education much closer to the teaching of English.

In the 1960s, the stimulus for wide-spread screen education in Canada, particularly in the province of Ontario, had come mainly from high school English teachers. Audio-visual specialists at the school board did not play an significant role in the screen education movement. English teachers were regarded as having the kind of background most easily suited to the study of the media. The English course was thought to be an appropriate place for screen education within a school's program (Stewart & Nuttall, 1969c). In late 1960s, Cruickshank conducted a study on the approaches and effects of screen education in Toronto schools. According to his survey findings, screen education was included in the Department
of English in 13 out of 14 Toronto schools (Cruickshank, 1969). This indicated that media studies had already established a very intimate relationship with the teaching of English.

Emery's study on media teaching in English language arts in Canada confirmed the close link between media studies and English studies. He concluded that "Historically, in most of Canada, teaching media in schools has largely been the responsibility of the English Department" (Emery, 1987, p. 7). Emery found that in the provinces of Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Quebec and Saskatchewan, there were official statements of commitment to media studies under the English umbrella. According to him, media studies in the English domain had evolved through three phases: from the audio-visual aids phase, through the media literacy phase, and then the language arts phase which gradually came to be identified with the instruction of English. Moving into the 1980s, Canadian English teachers in general considered language as the focus of English studies and the activities of reading, writing, speaking, listening and viewing as tools for effectively expressing one's view of the world to oneself and to others. "Such a view of English," asserted Emery, "accords equal status of media study and production to literature study and essay production" (Emery, 1987, p. 8).

Machura (1990) conducted a historical study on how the English curriculum responded to the mass media in Alberta during the period from 1901 to 1982. She found that the English curriculum in Alberta was constantly revised to accommodate the mass media environment. Prior to 1925, newspapers and magazines were barred from the high school English curriculum. However, by 1925 it was stated in the curriculum that "pupils should be taught the proper methods of reading the daily paper, and given instruction as to the values of current magazines and periodicals" (Department of Education, Alberta, 1925,
Movies and radio became pervasive in the late 1920s and 1930s and they were included as part of the English curriculum. By 1955, the English curriculum involved television together with other mass media frameworks for composition practice. In 1982, the English curriculum began to express great concern with the quality and quantity of movie and television viewing (Iveson, 1982). The Ministry document stated that "the basic purpose of teaching viewing should be to increase the visual literacy of students so that they will become critical and discriminating viewers" (Ministry of Education, Alberta, 1982, p. 12). A similar evolution in the English curriculum took place in other provinces. In addition to reading and writing, viewing skills became part of the English curriculum.

In Ontario, the increasing permeation of media studies into the English curriculum over the past three decades was an obvious process. My study of the official English documents supports this claim. From the OISE Archive, I collected relevant English documents issued by the Ministry of Education in Ontario from the 1920s to the 1980s for analysis. These documents include courses of study, suggestion for the study of English in secondary schools, English five-year programs, curriculum guidelines, evaluation program and resource guides. My content analysis of the available official documents regarding English teaching in Ontario revealed that before the 1960s, the official documents seldom mentioned the role of media in English teaching. However, from the 1960 onwards, media studies were gradually established as a part of English. It was especially during the screen education stage that media started to take a firm hold in the teaching of English. The references to media in the English documents can be divided into four categories: encouragement of the use of audio-visual aids; promotion of mass media materials for teaching; study of film; and encouragement for critical consumption of the mass media.
In the 1960s, it was strongly recommended that English teachers make wide use of available audio-visual aids such as pictures, films, photographs, slides, recordings of plays and poetry, tape recorders, newspapers, magazines and transparency materials to sharpen interest and to stimulate critical thinking, reading, viewing and listening. A book written by Neil Postman entitled *Television and the Teaching of English* was also recommended (Ontario Department of Education, 1964; Ontario Department of Education, 1967a; Ontario Department of Education, 1969). Later, in the 1980s, an English resource guide introduced the use of videotapes in English teaching (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1980).

Encouragement for the use of media content in English reading, listening, writing and speaking exercises was common in the curriculum documents mentioned above. For example, it was suggested that the study of composition should be chosen from a variety of sources including newspapers, magazines, TV programs and news events, and that the study of radio and television speech should be introduced (Ontario Department of Education, 1964; Ontario Department of Education, 1967a). English teachers were advised on the many effective ways of implementing the English program and they could select materials from a variety of sources, including the mass media.

The majority of English documents in the 1960s and 1970s placed special emphasis on film study. The *Four-Year English: Guidelines for Pilot Schools* contained a long section of guidelines for film study. The document stated, "The study of the film, not only to illustrate and motivate other aspects of the English course, but for its own sake, as a potent 'vernacular' of our age, should form an indispensable part of Four-year English" (Ontario Department of Education, 1967b, p. 1). In 1968, the Ministry released a curriculum document on Grade 13 English. This document permitted elective units on film as an art
form, television and radio, and magazines and newspapers (Worsnop, 1996). The following year, the intermediate division English curriculum guideline called for a broadened concept of English as a vehicle of learning. While the "receptive aspect of the English" program included the traditional facets of listening and reading as well as the addition of viewing, the "expressive aspect" was told to include not only speaking and writing but also activities such as film-making, drama performance and other visual art forms (Ontario Department of Education, 1969, p. 3). The role of media in the English curriculum was growing.

The most noteworthy phenomenon is the increasing concern displayed by these English documents about the impact of mass media on the students and the call to include critical media analysis in the English program. Early in 1964, the English: Five-Year Programmes urged the study of radio and television programmes to foster critical listening to commercial and political propaganda. It also stated that the practice of discrimination towards the mass media should be developed if students were to acquire a basis of taste and judgment (Ontario Department of Education, 1964). The Four-Year English Guidelines for Pilot Schools proposed a sample elective course on the mass media. While the basic aim of the course was "to develop a critical awareness of mass media, the objective was "to help the student develop discrimination in the use of mass media so that he is not manipulated by them" (Ontario Department of Education, 1967b, p. 43). In the 1970s, the English documents continued to highlight the importance of critical consumption of the mass media. The 1977 intermediate division English curriculum guideline stated in its general aim that it was necessary "to develop the student’s critical skills and help him apply them in responding to material transmitted through the various media" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1977a, p. 5). The senior division English curriculum guideline 1977 also stressed the need to assist
students to "recognize the techniques of emphatic assertion and subtle persuasion employed by the media, and their effect on the emotions and mind" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1977b, p. 9). The 1984 English resource guide described the mass media as a competing curriculum and said the teachers must assist students to handle them intelligently (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1984).

In sum, from the 1960s to 1980s, media studies had gradually established itself as part of English in Ontario. In a Four-Year English document, a table listing out the content of English showed that media ranked equally with language and literature. In a pie chart of an English evaluation document, "understanding and appreciation of media" and "production in media" were included in the chart as some of the facets of English (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1979). All these examples illustrate that professionals in the English subject did view media teaching as part of their territory.

8.2.2 New literacy

Literacy has a close relationship to communication technology. For example, without the invention of the alphabet and the science of phonetics, there would be no such thing as literacy. If there had been no printing technology, the wide-spread promotion of literacy would not had been possible. Casaregola (1988) asserts that literacy is basically a technological phenomenon. As illustrated in Chapter Six, the concept of literacy changed when Canada entered the information age. Media education advocates in Ontario strongly argued that media literacy should be regarded as a kind of new literacy. As literacy training
is a significant part of the English curriculum, the need for redefining literacy generated
great concern among English teachers.

Working in a new technological environment, English teachers in Ontario began to
rethink what English and literacy training might involve. Gwen Mowbray, project leader of
the *English Curriculum Guideline 1987*, admitted that by the mid-1980s, English teachers in
the province had already looked at the subject of English in a new way. Before the
Committee of the English Curriculum Guideline 1987 started to work on the new guideline,
members of the committee first had to go through the provincial review on English. By
reading the reports, they sensed there was a call for change. Mowbray (personal
communication, June 16, 1995) said the committee members had a basic philosophy to begin
with, which they discussed in the first few days. The philosophy was that language had a
broad definition. Instead of traditional reading, listening, speaking and writing, more
attention should be paid to viewing and representing. Through all six language arts, students
should develop critical skills and use these skills to cope with the world around them.
George (personal communication, October 6, 1994) pointed out that in the new English
guideline, they redefined English. English was defined as constituted of three components,
namely, language, literature and media. The change to ranking media equally with language
and literature, George emphasized, was not just the idea of a few committee members but
was grounded on the opinion of the English teachers in the province. As pointed out by the
*Guideline*, the study of the media was designed to make students visually literate and
conscious of their viewing habits. Students should read and produce visual messages as well
as master the print materials. In doing so, the *Guideline* said, students were "acquiring skills
and knowledge that will assist them in managing their own lives in what has popularly been
called the information age" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1987, p. 19). English teachers looked upon media literacy as another form of literacy:

Media literacy is the understanding and appreciation of material presented directly through sound and visual images. It includes the ability to use both sound and images to communicate. Students need to learn the techniques of media and to practise using them to create. Just as they learn to compose a piece of writing, so they learn to compose a film, a diagram, a collage, a recording, or a sound track (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1987, p. 3)

Mowbray regarded media studies as part of English and suggested that language is the medium. Her idea was that first we had pen and pencil; then we had movie and video; and now we have the computer. People simply have other avenues of pursuing reading, writing, listening, viewing and representing. Therefore, to her, media literacy is just "another vehicle for communicating" (Mowbray, personal communication, June 16, 1995). She advocated that to read a screen is somewhat equivalent to reading print. As language evolves, it does not matter whether teachers teach through symbols, words, pictures, graphs or images--they are teaching language. Explaining why his organization supported media literacy, John Bray (personal communication, June 15 & 19, 1995), the Chairman of the English Language Arts Network (ELAN) said English teachers saw media fitting within the area of language in a sense that it is a form of language with its own grammar. Bray also thought media literacy expanded the concept of literacy, and English teachers generally would accept literacy as their responsibility. That might be why, suggested Bray, English teachers were never opposed to the inclusion of media literacy in their domain.
8.3 English as a Host Subject

8.3.1 The Political aspiration for teaching the media

When English teachers first included media education in their teaching, they were just trying out new practices "to defend young minds against the corruption of the mass media" (Goodwyn, 1992, p. xii). Moreover, according to Murdock and Phelps (1973), English had the highest percentage of teachers who noticed the presence of media influence in pupils' language and in their increasing interest in pop music and fashion. Teaching about the media fitted the need of the students. However, as English educators entered the 1980s, the changing concept of literacy in the information age informed them that teaching about the media was not merely their moral obligation, it was their future. Media teaching became a means of establishing a new occupational role and a way of raising the subject status of English.

*Indirections*, the official journal of Ontario Council of Teachers of English, published an article called "English Studies: The Future is Now" (McCallum, 1988). In the article, the author reminded English teachers that they are now in a world of *The Third Wave* (Toffler, 1980). Their answer to the question of what will it mean to be literate in the new media of a Third Wave World will determine the future of English studies. By quoting Sam Robinson of the University of Saskatchewan, the article looked at the English curriculum in the future tense and saw a new layer of responsibility: language, media, computers and technology. It moved on to suggest that the English teachers who hope "to survive Third Wave change" must learn to re-train, re-think and re-educate. Recreated individuals will "ride the crest of
the wave," and "the others will drown" (p. 51). The article cited the demise of Latin as a warning:

At one time Latin was the pedigree of the literate person—today, Latin Studies are considered anachronic. A similar fate may be in store for English studies if teachers drift lethargically—each, alone—into the future. A new, more complex "subject" must be constructed to teach the new literacies of the millennium while respecting the print-based media of the Old English Studies, new age Miltons must learn to teach an ever-expanding variety of discourse prescribed by progressive technologies" (McCallum, 1988, p. 55).

For such a vision to be realized, the article concluded, "the subject of English will not be displaced" (p. 55). This "manifesto" fully reflects Ontario English teachers’ political concern for their subject’s status.

George at the Ministry of Education said Latin was once so secure in the curriculum. Its status was equal to English. The elimination of this subject corresponded to wide societal changes and was used to illustrate the lack of a guarantee for any subject. He agreed with the view that English wanted to keep itself up-dated by including media into its territory. "You look at English curriculum and how it has changed in the last 25 to 30 years," said he. "You will find it has become very sociological" (George, personal communication, June 11, 1996). George pointed out the traditional canon in the teaching of English had eroded significantly. Modern textbooks are much more socially dynamic when compared to the typical English text used 25 years ago in Ontario. Current textbooks contain human interest stories and more essay-type pieces. In the old Ontario English textbooks, there was a good selection of classic poetry and stories, but in the new textbooks many contemporary writers are included. According to George, the only survivor of classics is the work of Shakespeare. For him, the interest of English teachers in media education did relate to the aspiration for
modernization. The desire to be seen as up-to-date and relevant to modern life "was a very
definite movement" in English (George, personal communication, June 11, 1996). George
also revealed that when the Ministry of Education consulted the view of business people on
the teaching of English, their common reaction was that they did not expect English teachers
to teach specific skills. They wanted students to leave school equipped with the ability to
speak, write, communicate and get along with people. In other words, they wanted students
to develop the ability to cope with the modern world. To some extent this expectation from
the labour market encouraged the subject of English to keep pace with social change.

Starting in the 1970s, English teaching in Britain began to move away from teaching
formal grammar to an approach to language and literature through human or social themes
(Alvarado, 1977). In Ontario, according to George, the concern about the mastery of
English vocabulary and grammar had decreased. Priority was given to the everyday use of
reading, viewing, writing and speaking and this naturally linked to media studies. English in
the 1970s and 1980s had been vigorously searching for a new identity that would assist in
accommodating a new era.

The discussion of the relevance of English to modern society had started in Ontario in
the early 1970s with the release of a curriculum document entitled *The Uses of Film in the
Teaching of English* (English Study Committee, 1971). It was the third report of the English
Study Committee of the Office of Field Development of the Ontario Institute for Studies in
Education (OISE). The aim of this report was to assist the teachers of English in Ontario to
incorporate film studies into the curriculum. English teachers were encouraged to "teach and
learn some aspects of a potent twentieth-century language art form" (English Study
Committee, 1971, p. vi). The report discussed the survival value of the teaching of English
Quoting Postman' work, the report reminded English teachers that while the dominant communication media of Canadian society had shifted from print to the moving image, the teaching of English had to shift accordingly in order to maintain its "survival value."

The boundary shift of English has always been a popular topic for discussion within the English teaching community. In "Teaching English: What and Where is the Cutting Edge?", Simpson (1991, p. 16) suggested that the boundary of English should be extended "to teach other media." In another article, "What is English," Farrell (1991, p. 121) projected English teachers' future role as follows:

We may become...teachers of rhetoric, subjecting all forms of discourse in the culture, popular as well as artistic, to rigorous rhetorical analysis; we may become...teachers of communication, concerned with whatever forms, print or non-print, versions of information and reality are assembled and transmitted; we may become...teachers of semiotics, the theory of signs and symbols, teaching students...
how diverse artifacts within a culture, from its clothing to its jewelry, from its films to its novels, communicate that culture’s values.

If Farrell’s vision of boundary stretching is realized, English is to be one of the large disciplines within the future educational community.

Expanding a subject boundary strengthens a subject’s bargaining power for more resources including money, manpower and equipment. It is the political economy of the school subject. Media studies involve audio visual equipment. Integrating media education into English means including that equipment in the English domain. Traditionally, English teachers have been involved in territorial disputes with visual arts and technology teachers. Ontario teachers pointed out that high schools are very territorial. Every department has the intention to build an empire (Andersen, personal communication, June 20, 1995). For example, when broadly-based technology programs with all kinds of media equipment were introduced, in some schools the Technology Department head would not allow media students in the English Department to use the editing equipment because it was for technology students (Shepherd, personal communication, June 20, 1995). As head of English, Andersen introduced desk-top publishing to the English Department, but was accused of stealing computer resources from the Business Department (Andersen, personal communication, June 20, 1995). As empire-building was the rule of the game, English teachers seemed eager to win, particularly when new technology and new media had such great potential for territorial expansion.

Moreover, as some English teachers began to develop an expertise in media teaching, they were no longer considered ordinary English teachers but media specialists. This gave them a new occupational role. A number of English teachers, such as Duncan, Andersen,
Shepherd and Goller, gained reputations and career advancement through their involvement in media literacy. I do not think that their involvement in advocating media education was induced primarily by personal material interests, but the benefits of a new occupational role might have motivated them to work harder to win the legitimacy of media literacy in the English curriculum.

8.3.2 Being a nurturing host

The historical link to media and the political aspirations for territorial expansion which was achievable by integrating media studies compelled Ontario English teachers to intensify their involvement with the emerging subject of media education. As illustrated in previous chapters, the AML played a very important role in advocating media education among English teachers. Fowlie (personal communication, June 18, 1995), one of the key AML members at that time, said that the president as well as the members of the AML were very eager to keep media literacy in English. At this stage, English teachers showed considerable enthusiasm for media teaching and continued to promote the development of the emerging subject. They incorporated media into their courses through such activities as comparative studies of film and literature, film and television reviews, examination of the language of advertising, and script writing (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989). *Media Literacy Resource Guide* (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989) stated clearly that teachers of English were among the strongest advocates of media literacy in schools.

Meanwhile, English teachers were competing with other subject groups to be the official host of the new media literacy curriculum. According to Glass (1983), in the early
1980s media studies in Canada was usually taught as a part of the existing courses of English and social studies, which were the two subjects incorporating this common component. In Ontario, Ken Smith, head of History at the Agincourt Collegiate Institute in Scarborough, started media education in his department. After observing media courses in the English department he encouraged the history teachers in his school to include media literacy in their teaching. According to Smith (personal communication, June 23, 1995), history teachers used many films and videos in their classroom and were possibly the most frequent users of films and videos. They needed to inform the students about how the media format constructs reality. Smith wanted history students to be thoughtful and critical viewers. When students viewed films, they were expected to not only know the factual content, but also understand how the "fact" was presented. Later, Smith developed a resource document on media education entitled *Media Literacy: Some Approaches for History and Contemporary Studies* (Smith, 1988). Teachers in the visual arts department also showed great interest in the media, although they usually adopted an aesthetic approach to media education. Mima Hoyes, the program leader of media literacy at the North York School Board, said arts teachers took the initiative to teach about the media because the media course motivated their students to learn. Hoyes worked as an arts and drama teacher for many years and was excited by teaching the students to "think" about as well as to "feel" the media. She disagreed with the general practice of limiting media studies to the English curriculum. She would be most unhappy to see media education excluded from the arts department (Hoyes, personal communication, October 27, 1994).

In the mid-1980s, as all curriculum guidelines in Ontario were under review, the news spread that the Ministry of Education was interested in the creation of a new media
resource book to support the *OAC Visual Arts Guidelines*. English teachers were anxious about this because they worried that the Ministry would mandate media literacy in visual arts instead of English. Using the provincial English review as an opportunity, one English teacher wrote a brief to the Ministry by attaching it to the survey questionnaire as written comment. The brief displayed great concern about the development of a media literacy resource document for the visual arts. It put forward the following questions (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1986, p. 7C):

- What will be the nature and credibility of media studies if they are forced to merge with the visual arts program;

- Shouldn’t we try to correlate more, as most teachers have, with the English program and strive for a media resource book for the English Division.

The brief went on to try and convince the Ministry that the traditional aims of the study of the English language and literature matched the aims of media literacy. If there were some doubts about this, the brief said, the Ministry needed to confer with experienced English teachers in the province who were teaching English/Media courses.

Duncan (personal communication, June 20, 1995) admitted that when he heard about the proposed media resource book for visual arts, he was also worried that the Ministry would put media literacy under visual arts. At that time most of the people engaged in media education were English teachers and only a few of them were arts teachers. If the English teachers were forced to have what they were doing put into visual arts, then "there would be all kinds of warfare within schools, about the visual arts department getting credits from people down the hall who were English teachers." Duncan explained that there were "philosophical differences" and "territorial struggles" causing English teachers to be
unsatisfied with the proposed plan. With respect to the proposal which tended to place media studies under visual arts, English teachers regarded it as a treat. Thus, Duncan and the English teachers tried to ensure that the Ministry carved out a space in English for media literacy. Duncan reasoned that English was the natural place for media literacy.

Historically, English had made a space for media studies and the English teacher advocates wanted to make sure that space was maintained. It was Duncan's view that if the Ministry was going to attach media education to only one subject, then it was improper to attach it to visual arts. The first reason, according to him, was the fact that only a small number of visual arts teachers were teaching about the mass media. Most of the visual arts teachers were involved with oil painting, watercolor, sculpture and other art forms. Not many arts teachers were really interested in the moving images and electronic media. Consequently, the visual arts teachers were not the group "to make a major splash." The second reason was that many arts teachers tended to use an aesthetic approach to teaching. They were inclined to depoliticize the media text and were not able to look at media programs critically and ideologically. Duncan did admit that the objection of English teachers to include media literacy in visual arts was a territorial dispute and competition for resources. Echoing Duncan's view, Worsnop (personal communication, June 19, 1995) pointed out that visual arts teachers approached media studies through aesthetics. English teachers were better suited to media education because they looked at media studies from a critical, sociological and cultural perspective. The OTF's lobbying letter to the Ministry of Education again suggested that media literacy should not only be included as part of visual arts, but should be included in other subjects such as English language arts (Wilson, 1985).
Finally the lobbying efforts of English teachers yielded results. They successfully convinced the Ministry of Education to include the media literacy program in the English curriculum. Other disciplines were disappointed in losing the territorial battle. For example, in *History and Social Science Teacher*, Moore (1989, p. 185) wrote that it was not surprising that the new curriculum was being attached to the English Department, but "it is too bad." He warned that if history and social studies teachers did not face up to media literacy issues, they would be "abandoning a fundamental part of their territory" (emphasis mine). As we can see, in the 1980s, social studies, history and visual arts were also nurturing media education. But unlike English, they did not evolve from being nurturing hosts to official hosts. The major reason may be that not enough teachers in these subject areas saw the relevance of media literacy to their teaching. Only a small number of forward-looking teachers were interested in media education. For instance, Ken Smith pointed out that very few history teachers knew about media literacy and not many of them were interested because they saw media literacy as something extra. English teachers always accepted media studies as a relevant part of their subject. Therefore, teachers in other subjects, comparatively speaking, were less eager than the English teachers to pick up the new media literacy program and stretch the subject territory. They were also less enthusiastic than the English teachers to assume a new occupational role--media educator.

8.3.3 Being an official host

In 1985 when the OTF wrote the lobbying letter to the Ministry of Education, Ministry officials were still deciding about the location of media literacy. The reply from the
Ministry to the OTF ruled out the option that media literacy would be established as an independent subject. But the letter went on to say that "As you are aware many of our curriculum guidelines are currently under revision, managers of these projects will be advised of your request and will be asked to consider attending to media concerns in their documents whenever such attention may be appropriate" (Podrebarac, 1985, p. 1). These statements show that at this point the Ministry was still "shopping" for a place for media literacy, but shortly thereafter, it made a decision.

In 1987 media literacy was mandated in the Ontario school curriculum as part of the English curriculum. The Ministry of Education revised the Secondary English curriculum and developed a media literacy requirement for students in grades seven through twelve. In order to earn an Ontario secondary school diploma, a student had to complete five credits in English, which includes three categories of content: language, literature and media. According to the *English Curriculum Guideline: Intermediate and Senior Division 1987* (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1987), media studies should be addressed in the following way:

In grades 7 and 8, media shall comprise approximately 10 per cent of the total instructional time allotted for language arts....In secondary schools, media shall be included as a category of study for one-third of scheduled classroom time in one mandatory English course at each of the intermediate and Senior Division levels (p. 9).

In addition, students may choose to complete a media studies course as either an optional credit or as one of the five English credits required for secondary school graduation.

Finally, the Ministry classified media literacy as part of the English curriculum instead of mandating it in other subject areas. The *Media Literacy Resource Guide* (Ministry
of Education, Ontario, 1989) did not explain why English was chosen as an official host of the media literacy program but it remarked that the teaching of English contains many components that are prominent in media studies: aesthetics, the use of language, genre study, and the critical analysis of texts. Several factors contributed to this outcome.

First, English was considered the "natural" home of media literacy (Coghill, personal communication, June 21, 1995). Media studies had long been informally included in the study of English. English teachers were more familiar with the media than teachers in other subjects. It would be easier to implement media literacy if it was included in English. Duncan pointed out that English teachers had something of an advantage over those in other disciplines in that the tools of decoding media messages were similar to traditional English-teaching techniques (Carson, 1989). According to Duncan, English teachers were dealing with critical analysis. They looked at the communication techniques of authors and at language, structure and genres. All these approaches matched the study of media literacy (Duncan, personal communication, October 21, 1994). Goller (personal communication, June 21, 1995) hesitated to say English was the best host for media education but she was sure it was a natural one because speaking, writing and listening of English are all inherently tied with the media. Clemson (personal communication, August 22, 1995) thought English was the natural place for media education to start because it dealt with communication and expression. In Worsnop's (personal communication, June 19, 1995) view, English teachers were the only ones who would accept media education and make space for it in their curriculum. They were more hospitable and the subject of English was the better host for media literacy. If the Ministry placed media education in other subjects such as history or geography, teachers who were not fully prepared for teaching media would see it as a threat.
to their subject content. They would say they had to drop some of the substance of their course in order to accommodate media education. However, many English teachers did not perceive their courses as being content-based. They saw their courses as skill-based and process-based. They taught the skills through literature, poetry and drama just as through media. Therefore, they were not losing anything by updating their content, but rather becoming more contemporary and more relevant to the students' lives by incorporating media studies. English teachers welcomed the in-take of media education and English became the most desirable host.

Second, most of the active advocates for media literacy were English teachers such as Duncan and the many AML members. They wanted to include media literacy in all curricula with special emphasis on English. However, they did not want to see media literacy incorporated in other subjects to the exclusion of English. For instance, at one time the Ministry had shown interest in the creation of a new media resource book to support the OAC Visual Arts Guidelines. As illustrated before, this intention worried the English teachers. They could not tolerate media literacy being placed somewhere other than in English, and they fought hard for the inclusion of media literacy in their curriculum.

Third, to include media literacy in English signifies that media studies will reach all students. Dixon remarked that everyone interested in media literacy wanted it to be placed in English because it was the best channel to reach all students. Within English, media literacy was not just covered, but more time could be devoted to it. If media literacy was situated in visual arts, for example, it would become an optional program and could hardly be spared much classroom time. In that case it would be on the periphery of the curriculum and could easily be cut out. If located in English, its place would be secure because English
is fundamental. According to Coghill (personal communication, June 21, 1997), media education advocates wanted media education imbedded in a compulsory subject. Since English will always be a compulsory subject, it was regarded as a "safe home" for media literacy.

Fourth, Ministry people favourable to media literacy, such as George and Mitchell, were former English teachers. They attended the Summer Institute on Screen Study in the 1960s and were key participants in the screen education movement. Like many English teachers, they saw the English curriculum as an appropriate place for media literacy. Moreover, while George was assigned to handle the media literacy project, he also served as the project co-ordinator of the English Guideline Committee. It thus made the two (media literacy and new English guideline) easily come together.

The above analysis, reveals that from the very beginning media literacy was regarded as an independent subject looking for a "home" in the school curriculum. Even after it was integrated into the English curriculum, the Media Literacy Resource Guide still clearly stated in its introduction that "Media literacy skills should be part of any school program from kindergarten to grade 12" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 3). Immediately following, chapter one of the Guide touched on various subject areas in the school curriculum where media education could play an important part. Duncan concluded that while the new mandatory media literacy requirements applied only to the English curriculum, their target users were not only English teachers. Pungente (personal communication, October 25, 1994) also pointed out that media literacy is not integral to English. It is only an independent unit of it. Media literacy could be in any subject. In Ontario, media literacy was instituted as a guest and English was its official host.
Since English teachers were the strongest advocates of the media literacy program, their input on the production of curriculum material was also the largest. The Ontario Ministry of Education invited AML members to prepare a *Media Literacy Resource Guide* for teachers. The chair of the writing team was Duncan (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989). Furthermore, media studies textbooks mandated by the Ministry of Education in the first few years were also written by English teachers. Thus, English acted first as a strong nurturing host and later as an official host, with both roles exerting tremendous influence on the new media literacy program.

### 8.4 Media Education as Literacy Training

Like the one in Ontario, many current media education programs are a part of the language arts curricula (Duncan, 1988). The influence of English on media education is well acknowledged. Inevitably, critics accused English of imposing limitations on media teaching. They pointed out that the legacy of Leavisism causes English teachers to adopt a negative approach to teaching the media and their pupils are mislead into thinking that there are two types of cultural objects: literature sits on the top and popular culture is relegated to the cultural basement (Goodwyn, 1992). The Leavisian notion of "discrimination," as Masterman (1985, p. 59) suggested, is based on "a naively transcendentdal notion of value and fails to acknowledge the social and ideological bases of values." Ontario's *Media Literacy Resource Guide* also pointed out that media education in the English classroom may put emphasis on the negative aspects while encouraging a discriminating response. In such a
context popular culture may not be fairly treated. Moreover, media analysis relies on literacy techniques. All the important ideological, economic, political, and historical considerations that inform media text may be omitted.

All the above observations and criticisms are generally valid. However, the critics are looking at the issue from a technical perspective, evaluating the influence of English with a focus on "how" to teach the media. The Leavisian discrimination approach and the literary analysis are examples. They fail to look at the issue from a conceptual perspective of how the subject of English defines "what" is media education. In my view, one of the most significant impacts of English on media education is the definition of media education at the secondary school level as another form of literacy training. Compared with communication studies at the tertiary level which are mostly social science-oriented, media education in schools is narrow in scope and different in nature.

What is in a name reveals the underlying assumption of classification. The general reference source for media education was named *Media Literacy Resource Guide*, indicating that media education in Ontario is basically framed as a kind of literacy training. Despite efforts to integrate critical media theories into the new curriculum by some media education advocates, media education in Ontario shares many characteristics with traditional literacy training in the following ways:

**Skill-oriented (The mastery of language):** Conventional literacy training in Canada teaches the skills of reading and writing. Media education in Ontario is a subject promoting media literacy, which is treated as an expanded form of literacy (Duncan, 1990a, p. 22). According to the *Resource Guide*, media literacy is also a skill—"a life skill" (p. 7).
The Resource Guide and media studies textbooks in Ontario repeatedly advocate that each medium codifies reality in special ways, and the media have their own biases and special syntax. Teachers must learn how to read the media and recognize its special codes and conventions. Basically, they are adopting McLuhan's linguistic analysis of the media, as different media are regarded as different language systems. Thus, media literacy is the skill to master different kinds of media languages. Duncan (1990a, p. 7) said, "Traditional literacy is associated with the skills needed to decode and thereby read the printed word. Media literacy, then is about decoding the mass media, especially television." That means literacy training is an extension of reading and writing skills to viewing and production techniques. Media education in Ontario, like the traditional literacy curriculum, is basically an instructional subject.

**Text-oriented:** The conventional literacy curriculum is the study of the reception and production of texts. It is content-oriented. In the information age, the meaning of a text is no longer limited to printed words. Text is now defined as any meaningful utterance and so includes speech and media output as well as writing (Goodwyn, 1992). According to Moore (1989), the root idea of media literacy in Canada is that we should be reading electronic media the way we read books. Media literacy is used to decode different kinds of media text in order to examine the underlying messages and values. What the students of media studies are asked to deal with is the media messages. Their task is to deconstruct media products by taking them apart (Duncan, 1988, p. 10).

**Self-oriented (The pursuit of personal meaning):** English teachers have developed a number of essential approaches to further human understanding. The most prominent one is personal response (Buckingham, 1992). In contemporary literacy teaching, the focus is on
the individual student, his/her understanding and appreciation of the literary text, and
development of a sensitive "personal response" to what is read. The classroom should be an
environment within which students can identify and learn to use the language tools that will
assist them in cognitive and affective growth intrinsic to their search for personal meaning.

Media literacy is also individually oriented. According to the *Resource Guide*, media
education should provide the students with the necessary knowledge skills and awareness of
the media, so that they can be in a position to control their personal relationship with the
media. The ultimate aim of media literacy is the students' "critical autonomy." Many media
teachers expect that the study of modern media will increase their students' individual
capacities in creative and critical thinking, their effectiveness in self-expression, and their
sensitivity to visual, aural and tactile perceptions (Giblin, 1972). In examining the
curriculum materials of the media literacy program in Ontario, it is not difficult to notice that
the overall emphasis is on the students' own behaviours or responses.

**Morally-oriented:** According to Ball, Kenny and Gardiner (1990, p. 47), from the
earliest days of public schooling writers and authorities on English teaching began to "blur
the distinction between literacy as a technical skill and as a moral technology." By the turn
of the century, it was becoming clear that English literature would be the subject to replace
the traditional roles of moral training held by family and church.

As outlined in prior sections, school teachers started teaching the media because
students needed to counter the culturally debasing forces of popular media. At the very
outset, media education was morally-oriented and this inclination was coined by media
education theorists as the "Leavisian inoculation approach" to media teaching (Masterman,
1993). Media educators have long been concerned about the negative influences of the media
on young viewers. The "negative influences" include sex and violence, promotion of consumerism, blurring of reality and fantasy, encouragement of escapism, misrepresentation of gender, race and class. School teachers believe there is a need for critical discrimination in accepting the offerings of the mass media. This negative approach is still prevalent in many media studies courses.

In Ontario, the new media literacy curriculum adopts an ideological perspective, instead of an inoculative approach, on media education. It calls for "deconstructing" instead of "discriminating" the media messages. However, its negative attitude towards the mass media remains basically the same. This is a second wave of moral panic against electronic media. In too many teachers' eyes, students are cultural dupes manipulated by the mass media. They need the salvation of media literacy for moral uplifting—breaking away from the debasing popular culture. The Resource Guide does openly urge students to "maintain a critical distance on popular culture" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 7).

Culturally-oriented (The pursuit of national identity): Goodson and Medway (1990) pointed out that the State always keeps a close eye on English teaching because of its central role in the formation of a national identity. Conventional literacy training is relevant to nation-building because forming and controlling young people's language is forming and controlling their identity formation. Language as a meaning-making system shapes young people's perceptions and experiences of the world. English is, therefore, relevant to the desire of the State to determine how people regard their own country. Traditional literacy instruction has long been regarded as a key subject in the "political education" of the masses (Ball, Kenny, & Gardiner, 1990, p. 47).
It was mentioned earlier that technological advances intensified the American cultural saturation of Canada. An examination of the ideological milieu of media education in Ontario reveals that the curriculum is under the strong influence of techno-cultural nationalism. The curriculum, therefore, adopts a critical stand on American popular culture, displays anxiety about American cultural domination and appeals for searching out a Canadian identity. One media studies textbook tells students that their responsibility is to look for the images that represent their identity and to enquire how American media alter their self-perception and national identity (Duncan, 1988).

8.5 Limitations of the Media Literacy Training Approach

Interpreting media education as literacy training may not be a bad thing. However, it is necessary to be aware of the limitations that come with this approach. The following are the possible constraints set on the development of media education.

First, as media literacy is regarded as a skill, media education then becomes an instructional subject. This may have two implications. One is that the over-emphasis on teaching critical viewing techniques may lead to the neglect of the analysis of media concepts. For example, as students are busy learning how to decode the language of film and deconstruct the values behind a particular scene in a movie, they may have little time to think about how the film industry functions as a social force. Another problem is that skill teaching can easily become subjective, imposing the instructor's beliefs and values on the
students. This discourages students from generating their own interpretations, or pursuing the "illegitimate" pleasures which the media texts offer.

Second, as media education is merely a form of literacy training, the focus naturally falls on the media texts. This concentration on media content fails to inform students of the context within which texts are distributed and consumed. Topics such as organizational process of newsmaking, media politics or consumer patterns will easily be ignored.

Third, media literacy training is only concerned with students' personal relationship with the media. Media specialists criticize it as a form of social disengagement. It generates personal response to media messages, such as accept/reject the values or enjoy/despise the aesthetic quality, rather than urging social participation in media institution building. I agree with Buckingham (1992, p. 130) that media education should be concerned with the "social production of meaning." Media education should not only help students seek personal emancipation from media manipulation but also encourage students to shape communication institutions through collective means so that these institutions can better serve our society.

Fourth, the moral burden of literacy training may lead the media educators to look at mass media and popular culture from an elitist and discriminating point of view. Moreover, what the media literacy curriculum wants is to produce school graduates who become intelligent consumers and responsible citizens. Media literacy training may easily become a medium of popular surveillance and social regulation.

Fifth, as influenced by the ideology of techno-cultural nationalism, the media literacy program blames over-exposure to American media for Canadians' identity void. In fact, political institutions are also important or even more important than the mass media in producing and reproducing a solid sentiment of national identity among Canadians. Criticism
such as "Mass media failure leads to identity crisis" does in fact provide the government with an excuse for concealing its political impotence. Once again, mass media become the scapegoat of the cultural problem. George Gordon, Professor of English literature at Oxford, made the following remark at the turn of the twentieth century: "English is sick and...English literature must save it. The churches having failed, and social remedies being slow. English literature now has a triple function, still I suppose, to delight and instruct us, but also, and above all, to save our souls and heal the State" (Baldick, 1983, p. 156). It seems that this claim is still valid as media literacy is used to instruct the students, save their souls (prevent them from becoming cultural dummies) and heal the State (promote cultural identity).

Although Ontario English teachers fought so hard to include media education in their territory, they recognized that it was not healthy for the development of this young subject to have English keep it forever. Duncan (personal communication, June 20, 1995) admitted that there were problems in teaching media literacy in the context of English. Particularly when media studies was in the hands of traditional English teachers, they tended to teach it from a literary approach. Andersen (personal communication, June 20, 1995) remarked that putting media education into English isolated this new initiative from the subjects of history and arts where media literacy should have a role to play. But he noted that no matter in which subject media education was placed, it will get an "inflection" from that particular subject. He said, "Putting it in arts, it will become more aesthetic; putting it in English, it becomes linguistic; putting it in history, it becomes more cultural studies." Anywhere, it will be constrained by the nature of the host discipline(s).
Media education advocates in Ontario were not fully satisfied with the outcome of only attaching media education to English. They wanted media education to permeate more school subjects in order to strengthen the status of media education in the Ontario educational system. Duncan used Henry Giroux's (1992) term "border-crossing" to describe their wish of planting media education to other school subjects. Duncan (personal communication, October 21, 1994) explained that the notion of border-crossing shows the necessity of having empathy with other positions. It encourages people to blur the categories of subject disciplines which is what media education does.

8.6 Summary

Media education attained its legitimacy in Ontario because it successfully found a niche in the school curriculum by attaching itself to the English curriculum. I called this subject formation pattern "subject inhabitancy." Subject inhabitancy refers to the phenomenon whereby a new body of knowledge becomes a school subject by attaching itself to one or several existing school subject(s) or going across curricula. The most interesting point is that, after permeating other school subjects, this new body of knowledge (a guest subject) retains its own subject identity and is an independent unit of its host subject(s), like a guest staying in the house of its host. In other English speaking countries, such as Britain and Australia, where media education has been well developed, media education is also under the shelter of its "official home" (English), but it is struggling for its own viability as a unique and coherent subject discipline (Buckingham, 1992).
This chapter describes and analyzes the process whereby media education became part of the official curriculum through the strategy of "subject inhabitancy." Since the curriculum was too crowded, media education had no chance at all to squeeze in as a separate subject. Having the advantage of subject transgression, as an alternative, it decided to attach itself to an existing school subject to earn a habitat. It positioned itself as a cross-curricular theme with emphasis on English and claimed to be an essential component of many school subjects. Although it failed to become a cross-curricular subject, it was attached to English. "Attachment" is one of the forms of subject inhabitancy. Other forms of subject inhabitancy, such as going across all curricula and permeating more than one subject, seemed inappropriate for media education in Ontario.

The legitimation process of media education showed that a successful case of subject inhabitancy was built on the mutual attraction of the guest and host subjects. The relevancy of the guest subject to the host subject, the lack of threat of the guest to the host and the benefits perceived by both sides determine whether a nurturing host will develop into an official host. Media studies has always been regarded as germane to English. As Worsnop pointed out, since English was skill-oriented, it saw no threat from media education to its content. Most importantly, both media education and English viewed their relationship as mutually beneficial. To media education, English was a safe home. For English, voluntarily taking up media education was an avenue for territorial expansion and status maintenance. The establishment of a guest-host relationship fully reflects the political economy of subject formation. It is understandable that English teachers were willing to actively promote media education as a legitimate school program. As "subject inhabitancy" becomes an efficient form of subject formation, the existing subject groups are stimulated by material interest to
become active political players in the process of curriculum making. This may explain why subject group politics plays such an important role in contemporary subject formation.

According to Bernstein (1971), a subject boundary is socially constructed. The classification of school knowledge and the boundary maintenance between subjects involve power struggle. The eagerness of English teachers to include media literacy manifests the struggle for power and status within the school subject constituencies. In *Homo Academicus*, Bourdieu (1988) used his concept of "capital" to analyze the principles of classification of academic fields. His work leads our attention to the competition for territory. The classification of media education as part of English is apparently associated with the accumulation of economic capital and academic (status) capital which would be beneficial for the growth of English.

However, I agree with Goodson (1993) that it is unfair to look at teachers as selfish professionals who are only interested in self and material interests. For example, I believe that apart from seeking a better occupational role, English teachers did sincerely think that the codification of media knowledge into the English curriculum would help their students to accommodate the new media environment of the information age.

Many media education advocates are concerned that media education will be "ghettoized" within English. Ghettoized may be too strong a word, but media education is indeed being assimilated by English. Since media education has been so successful in gaining a place within English, many critics worry that this may easily be used as an argument to prevent media education from migrating elsewhere, and even from continuing to exist as a separate subject (Buckingham, 1992). In other words, once a new subject is picked up by a host, its development will inevitably be constrained by the host to a great
extent. It is theoretically significant to explore how the guest-host relationship affects the
growth of a "guest subject." In contemporary schooling, "subject inhabitancy" becomes a
very practical and efficient method for achieving recognition for a new subject. Since the
initiative to teach these subjects usually comes from "the field" (the educational community
or the social movement) instead of coming from the educational authority, subject
inhabitancy becomes a feasible way for new school curricula in particular to find a niche in
the official curriculum.
Media education was a new educational initiative generated by the interest groups in the community and the educational field. Over two decades, the advocates had developed their theoretical concepts and expertise on media literacy. Their dedicated support for curriculum design and implementation strengthened the Ministry's confidence to mandate media literacy as a body of official knowledge. With outside curricular support, the Ministry of Education was convinced that it was feasible to implement the proposed curriculum. Since the media education advocates offered a great deal of input on the media education curriculum, it, therefore, reflected the theme of the media literacy movement and the philosophy of the advocates. This chapter illustrates how the advocates' curriculum writing team contributed to the legitimation of the media education program and how they defined media literacy in the Ontario school system.

9.1 Unofficial Input on Curriculum Development and Implementation

Media education advocates in Ontario were invited by the Ministry of Education to take most of the responsibility for curriculum development and implementation. The curriculum design and the writing of the resource book were handed over to the OTF and the AML.
In its letter to the Deputy Minister, the OTF lobbied the Ministry not only to mandate media literacy but also to produce support resource materials and conduct implementation workshops. Ministry's officials agreed to include media literacy into the school curriculum and produce relevant resource materials, but it was concerned with the funding and human resources needed for the project. George, the education officer who was assigned the media literacy project, proposed a collaboration between the government and the lobbyists. George recalled that when the OTF lobbying letter came to his desk, he went to the Director of the Curriculum Branch and suggested getting the OTF involved in producing a media literacy resource document for the teachers. In George's view, since the Ministry was under financial and personnel constraints, and the advocates wanted the media literacy program so much, the best way was to ask them to do it by themselves with the assistance of the Ministry (George, personal communication, October 6, 1994). In this way, as the OTF shared the ownership of the resource document, they would become partners. Politically, the arrangement worked better because the Ministry got the advocates' support and the invitation to collaborate also served as "a token of good faith" (George, personal communication, June 11, 1996).

On November 19, 1985, the Ministry and the OTF met to discuss the possibility of a cooperative venture. The Secretary-Treasurer of the OTF, Margaret Wilson, and Executive Assistant Pierre Lalonde were presented with the "Proposal for the Production of Support Document(s) on Media Literacy" by the Ministry (Lalonde, 1985). According to the proposal, the OTF would pay for the development cost of the support documents as well as promise to jointly organize a writing team, while the Ministry would be responsible for the cost of production (e.g., fine editing, translation/adaptation, printing) and distribution. In the
following January, the OTF Board of Governors agreed to the development of the support
documents in a joint effort with the Ministry and a budget of $11,000-12,000 was approved
to cover the cost (Lalonde, 1986). The cost of producing a resource guide would be more
than a hundred thousand dollars, and the Ministry thought that OTF’s financial contribution
was minimal, only one small part. George (personal communication, June 11, 1996)
believed that what was important was "the symbolization of that donation and the willingness
to name people and get people on board."

Then, the OTF began to look for appropriate authors. At the suggestion of Des
Dixon and other people, Lalonde of the OTF approached Duncan, the President of the AML,
to organize a writing team. Duncan gathered together 10 AML members to form a team and
started writing the resource book the following summer. Most of the members of the writing
team were school teachers. Lalonde said the AML members were chosen to develop the
media literacy curriculum because they knew "the stuff" well (Lalonde, personal
communication, October 20, 1994).

By that time, the AML had already established its central position in the media
literacy movement. By running workshops, seminars and conferences on media literacy, the
AML members turned themselves into experts on media education. By reaching out to the
international field of media education, they developed a firm theoretical base on the role of
mass media. After the Ministry of Education had received the OTF lobbying letter in March
1985, George approached the AML for consultation. The AML was excited about the
possibility of including media literacy into the school curriculum. The leadership was willing
to assist the Ministry in soliciting the views of teachers on the future direction of media
literacy. Through school board workshops and AML workshops, the AML collected
teachers' opinions and then efficiently put forward several proposals to the Ministry. A major proposal was to endorse the OTF's recommendation on producing a media literacy resource guide and organizing teacher training workshops. The letter from the AML to the Ministry concluded, "There is much to be done in these important areas and the AML looks forward to working closely with the Ministry to help make Ontario truly media literate" (Duncan, 1985a). The AML voluntarily gave support to the Ministry and showed its willingness to be cooperative. In February 1986 when the Ministry of Education and the OTF invited the AML to form a writing team for the resource guide, the AML members were excited and were delighted to help. Its newsletter announced, "Suddenly, our dream is being realized. And it's all happened so quickly" (AML, 1986a).

George at the Ministry of Education and Lalonde at the OTF were the project coordinators for the resource guide. Lalonde was a former official of the Ministry of Education and a former colleague of George's. As friends, they would no doubt cooperate well. On behalf of the OTF, Lalonde gave full support to the Ministry on the media literacy project. The AML was also a dedicated support group. Duncan was the chair of the writing team. Since all the resource guide authors were AML members, Duncan, as president of the AML, exercised tremendous control of the content as well as the approach of the guide. The authors were willing to follow Duncan's blueprint in writing the resource document. After the authors had finished the first draft, Shepherd and Duncan did most of the editing and rewriting to make the resource guide coherent. Lalonde (personal communication, October 20, 1994) described how Duncan was helpful in identifying what he would call the appropriate people and he managed the project very well. The draft of the resource guide went through a validation process in late 1986. The resource guide advisory committee was
asked to examine it thoroughly and validation questionnaires were sent to a review committee constituted by school teachers and regional directors of education across the province. The writing team changed and added to the document because of their inputs. The final draft of the resource document was completed in early 1987. Duncan asserted that the Media Literacy Resource Guide reflects the ideas of the AML writing team with very little editing by the Ministry. In other words, the Ministry accepted what the AML wrote about media literacy including the rationale, the aims, the key concepts and approaches (Duncan, personal communication, October 21, 1994). James Fowlie (personal communication, June 18, 1995), one of the authors of the Media Literacy Resource Guide, admitted that the Resource Guide became an AML document.

When the writing of the Resource Guide was completed, the Ministry of Education was still working on the revision of the English curriculum guideline. According to Shepherd (personal communication, June 20, 1995), when the Ministry officials perceived how complete, how substantial and how useful the resource document was, they were confident about implementing media education in schools. When Ministry saw the manuscript of the resource guide, the English guideline committee had not yet made a final decision on how much emphasis should be given to media literacy. The draft of the new English curriculum guideline mentioned the study of the media but did not mandate any specific percentage. Shortly after they received the draft of the resource guide, the revised English Curriculum Guideline 1987 (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1987) came out with a specific percentage of content allocated to media literacy in English studies (Andersen, personal communication, June 20, 1995; Shepherd, personal communication, June 20, 1995). Andersen (personal communication, June 20, 1995) said "those are situations where just
producing a very rich resource document motivated them (the Ministry people) to shift their mandate." The advocates' support for curriculum development relieved the concerns of the Ministry of Education about implementing media literacy and this support contributed greatly to the legitimation of media literacy in Ontario.

During 1987 and 1988, the writing team conducted implementation workshops for all Ontario school boards. Many of the workshops were financed by the Ministry of Education. On numerous occasions, the media literacy workshops were combined with the presentations of the new English guidelines. According to Pungente (1993a), AML members gave over 100 in-service training days and workshops in Ontario. A 28-minute video related to the project, "You’ve Seen the Video, Now Read the Book," was produced by Keith McDonald, a teacher of television arts and an active AML member. Starting from 1987, in cooperation with the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto, the AML offered three courses for media teachers during summer school for many years.

The resource document Media Literacy Resource Guide was published in 1989 by the government. To complement this guide, a number of media literacy textbooks were written by media teachers and some of them were mandated in the Ministry’s Circular 14. They included Barry Duncan’s Mass Media and Popular Culture (Duncan, 1988) and Mass Media and Popular Culture: Teacher’s Guide (Duncan, 1989a), Donna Carpenter’s Media: Images and Issues (Carpenter, 1989), Neil Andersen’s Media Works (Andersen, 1989a) and Media Works: Teacher’s Guide (Andersen, 1989b), Roy Ingram’s Media Focus (Ingram, 1989), Bill Smart’s Anthology 1990 (Smart, 1990) and The AML Anthology Supplement 1992 (Smart, 1992), Jack Livesley and John Pungente’s Canadian edition of the Meet the Media (Livesley, McMahon, Pungente, & Quin, 1990), and Rick Hone and Liz Flynn’s Video in Focus: A
Guide to Viewing and Producing Video (Hone & Flynn, 1992). All these authors were AML members. The AML also published a 12-page bibliography on media education (Pungente, 1993a). Television and Society: An Investigative Approach (Ungerleider & Krieger, 1985) was the only media education textbook in Ontario which was developed by British Columbia educators and was able to be mandated in the Circular 14.

Because few reference books on media literacy were available in Ontario, Duncan and Pungente turned to John Harvey for assistance. Harvey is the co-owner of Theatre Books, a bookstore in downtown Toronto. Duncan wanted Harvey to order media literacy books for the teachers. With Harvey’s help, a media literacy book collection was set up at Theatre Books in order to facilitate the purchase of media literacy references by teachers (Harvey, personal communication, October 18, 1994).

When English teachers were instructed by the Ministry to teach media literacy in their classroom, the school boards warned them not to infringe on the copyright law. It was illegal to show rented videos and taped TV materials in classrooms without payment of performance rights (Taylor, 1989). The AML considered it unthinkable to teach media literacy without moving images and so Duncan went to the National Film Board for help. Anne Taylor, an educational officer of the NFB, prepared a proposal to produce media literacy video resources for classroom use (Moscovitch, personal communication, May 26, 1995). The videos developed were "Images and Meaning," "Media and Society" and "Media Construct Reality."

Thus, although the media literacy program was mandated by the government, it was largely developed by the AML members. Media education teachers were also trained by the AML. After 1987, the AML continued to play an important role in the curriculum.
development of media education. In May 1989, the AML organized a Trent Think Tank meeting attended by media educators to make recommendations for the direction of media literacy education in Ontario (Andersen, 1990).

According to George (personal communication, June 11, 1996), the Ministry of Education played a positive but passive role on the issue of media literacy. If the Ministry had not received so many petition letters and had not been urged by the OTF to include media literacy in the existing curriculum, it would not have mandated media literacy. Moreover, Ministry officials decided to take action only when they learned that the OTF was willing to support the production of a media literacy resource document and promised to co-ordinate the writing team. The Ministry assigned a specific percentage of media literacy to the *English Curriculum Guide 1987* only after it gained full support from the AML in writing a substantial resource document, conducting implementation workshops and training teachers. George explained that the Ministry was passive because media education was a major innovative educational program. The Ministry did not want to start it from the top without the support necessary to make it succeed. In other words, the Ministry officials would go ahead with this innovative project only when they were sure they could get the support they needed. Fortunately, the media education advocates were able to offer the support the Ministry wanted.
9.2 Influencing Forces on the Media Education Curriculum

As the media education curriculum was developed by the advocates rather than by educational bureaucrats, it was not as conservative as the traditional school curricula. On the contrary, it was deeply influenced by the critical academic trend in the 1980s and challenged the dominant ideology disseminated by the mass media. According to Pungente (personal communication, October 25, 1994) the uniqueness of the Ontario media education curriculum was that it summarized everybody's work. The present study found that a number of sources exerted impact on the Ontario media education curriculum in the 1980s. These sources included the critical thinking movement, the feminist movement, the consumer movement, the US critical pedagogy movement, the work of Marshall McLuhan, Neil Postman, Paulo Freire and Len Masterman. All these movements and people shared two common characteristics: they were unconventional and critical.

The critical thinking movement in education became prevalent in the early 1980s. Duncan summarized some of the works in a resource book he co-authored which is entitled *The Critical Concept: Strategies for Critical and Creative Thinking* (Duncan & Walker, 1984). The insights of the critical thinking movement had direct application to media literacy. Duncan was an exemplary teacher who integrated critical thinking with media literacy. According to Duncan (personal communication, June 26, 1995), the critical pedagogy in the writing of Henry Giroux, Stanley Aronowitz and Roger Simon informed Ontario teachers. Both George (personal communication, October 6, 1994) and Duncan (personal communication, June 26, 1995) acknowledged the significant influence of the feminist movement in the 1970s and 1980s on the curriculum development of the media.
literacy program. The feminist's objection to the oppression of women, children and minorities led to the questioning of the dominant media representation of gender, race and class in contemporary Canadian society. The empowerment strategies of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire were articulated by Duncan in setting the goal of media literacy. It was recommended that Ontario media educators follow Freire’s advice on working through the stages of awareness, analysis and reflection that lead to action and empowerment (Duncan, 1989b). Freire’s strategies deeply affected the format and philosophy of a renowned US media literacy magazine *Media & Values* and Ontario media education teachers were also stimulated by Freire’s thinking. Ontario teachers started to become aware of the importance of oppositional readings of the mass media and to pay attention to the range of critical pedagogies available that could nourish media literacy.

As mentioned earlier, the work of Marshall McLuhan had a great impact on the media education advocates in Ontario. It is Duncan’s view that those who embraced McLuhan’s paradigm were embracing a whole new way of looking at the world. It was an unconventional world view. If they followed McLuhan’s view that each medium codified the world in a different way, then they looked at not just the content but the form of the media. This was a major shift in people’s thinking about information and communication. Many Ontario media teachers shared this McLuhan frame of mind about the media. Duncan (1989b) acknowledged that the work of McLuhan was one of the major sources of influence on the *Media Literacy Resource Guide*.

However, the greatest influence on the media literacy curriculum came from Len Masterman, a British media education theorist. In 1985, Masterman published his book, *Teaching the Media* (Masterman, 1985). The book was quite popular in Britain and
influenced Ontario media teachers. It became the framework for the AML writing team (Fowlie, personal communication, October 23, 1994). There were copies of the book circulating among the members of the Ministry resource guide project and they were "adopting most of its basic premises" (AML, 1986c, p. 6). Masterman’s paradigm informed the entire document. It laid down the theoretical underpinnings of the media literacy curriculum, particularly the key concepts (Pungente, personal communication, October 25, 1994; Shepherd, personal communication, June 20, 1995). Duncan (personal communication, October 21, 1994) described Masterman’s book as their most inspired source. Masterman’s visit to Toronto in Spring 1986 was regarded as very useful to the AML writing team (Duncan, 1989b). Andersen (personal communication, June 20, 1995) pointed out that Masterman’s work initiated a sense of political awareness of the media for the Ontario advocates. Before 1985, they were mostly interested in the aesthetics of media education and the language of media but were not acutely aware of the political aspect. When they discovered Masterman, they began to look at the political implications of the media. Consequently, the philosophy of the Ontario media education advocates changed from an aesthetic approach to a more sociological one (Carson, 1989).

In his book, Masterman described the media as important shapers of our perceptions and ideas. "They are Consciousness Industries," he asserted, "which provide not simply information about the world, but ways of seeing and understanding it" (Masterman, 1985, p. 3). To him, the provision and the selective construction of social knowledge is one of the great cultural functions of the modern media and, "control over the means of informing people is the basis of political power" (p. 5). He suggested media education should encourage "critical autonomy" to resist media manipulation. Masterman viewed media
education as an effective tool for teachers and students to challenge "the great inequalities in knowledge and power which exist between those who manufacture information in their own interests and those who consume it innocently as news or entertainment" (Masterman, 1985, p. 11). Masterman made people beware of the relationship between media education and democracy. Since the mass media, particularly television, were the most important sources of political information, media education was essential to the exercising of democratic rights and necessary as a safeguard against media manipulation for political purposes. Masterman also highlighted the commodification of knowledge. The mass media produce profitable information instead of socially useful information. Masterman believed that media teachers could "play a leading role in shaping a public consciousness capable of articulating the public interest and of urging popular control of information and of information-generating institutions, particularly in the educational sphere" (Masterman, 1985, pp. 16-17).

Masterman posited a theoretical framework for media education. The underlying assumption of his framework was that all media products are constructions. The distinctive mode of inquiry was towards critical autonomy. In terms of media pedagogy, he put strong emphasis on the non-hierarchical teaching modes and a methodology which would promote reflection and critical thinking. He said it was important to develop the students' autonomy, their ability to learn how to learn. Students should not submit themselves to the authority of the teacher. The teacher and the taught should conduct dialogue on an equal basis and the discussion should be reflective and lead to wise action. Masterman's analysis of the media as well as the pedagogy he proposed had profound impact on the Ontario media education advocates, especially the AML members, who in turn had a direct hand in the development of the media literacy program in Ontario. The following analysis of Ontario media education
textbooks shows that the curriculum reflected the critical philosophy of the advocates as well as their special social and cultural concern about the impact of the mass media in Canada.

Figure 9.1: The Ideological Structure of Media Education Textbooks
Figure 9.2: Mass Media as Mass Deception

- Mass Media are Big Business
- Media Products are Commodities
- Students are Uncritical Media Consumers
- Mass Deception:
  - Promoting Capitalist Consumerism
  - Ideology Domination through Media Construction
  - Mind Paralysing
  - Exercising Negative Influences
9.3 Ideology in Ontario Media Literacy Textbooks

The structuralist analysis of the Ontario media education textbooks and curriculum materials reveals a distinct underlying ideological structure of the media education textbooks shown in Figure 9.1. Ideological structure here refers to a system of assumptions, ideas, values and methods of analysis. From the figure, we can see that the mass media are accused of exercising media manipulation. Media literacy is instrumental in helping the students achieve critical autonomy to counter manipulation by the mass media.

In the Figure, the framework shows that these textbooks assume that Canadian students consume more American than Canadian media products. In one of the textbooks, the author reminds students that "it is important for us to realize that most of the popular culture and media products we are exposed to are American" (Duncan, 1988, p. 20). Under the assumption that the Canadian media environment is dominated by American media products, on the one hand the textbooks describe mass media as cultural industries and accuse them of exercising mass deception and promoting capitalism and commercialism. On the other hand, they blame the mass media for undermining Canadian cultural identity.

9.3.1 Mass media as mass deception

Following the critical paradigm of media analysis, the Ontario media education textbooks direct students' attention to the deceptive function of the mass media, particularly the economic and political agenda behind media messages. As shown in Figure 9.2, mass media are portrayed as big business. While media products are treated as commodities and
students are uncritical media consumers, the students are warned that mass media exercises
consciousness manipulation and ideological domination.

All the sampled textbooks tell students and teachers that mass media are big business
and media products are commodities. In Duncan's text, he directly asserts, "Mass media and
popular culture are, first and foremost, business" (Duncan, 1988, p. 18). Duncan says they
are a multi-billion dollar business that employ thousands of people. It is naive to think the
media exist only for providing entertainment and information because their main goal is to
make a profit. Audience and readers are involved in an economic system based on
consumerism. Mass media and popular culture provide goods and services that are
marketable. Music videos can essentially be regarded as "three-minute commercials to sell
records" (Duncan, 1988, p. 15). While television programs are made to attract customers,
news is also big business. Duncan says the issue of who owns the business is an important
one. In Canada, profit-maximization limits media ownership to a small number of
individuals or organizations. Duncan's *Teacher's Guide* states that through the chapters of
television, advertising, and journalism in the text, students will realize that "they are always
targeted as a consumer group" (Duncan, 1989a, p. 16). Duncan asks teachers to guide
students to see the connection between the media and marketing strategies. Andersen's text
also regards mass media as business. He outlines mass media's role in the "Wheel of
Fortune" (Andersen, 1989a, p. 8). The cycle of the wheel is: retailers hire advertising
agencies (money to advertisers); advertisers create advertisements and buy advertising time
and space to sell the products (money to mass media); people see and hear the advertisements
in the media (people want the products and services); people buy the products that are
advertised (money to retailers). The *Media Literacy Resource Guide* suggests teachers be
aware of the "economic basis of mass media production" and how it impinges on content, techniques, and distribution (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 9). In the *AML Anthology 1990*, Johnson (1990, p. H2:18) asks teachers and students to discuss how "media sells audiences." One article reprinted in Carpenter's text is entitled "Readers for Sale: Canadian Magazines aren't Selling Information to Readers, They're Selling Readers to Advertisers." (Czarnecki, 1989, pp. 78). Carpenter reminds students that commercial television is a business and all the major networks in Canada exist to make money.

Furthermore, the media literacy curriculum materials regard students as uncritical media consumers. Duncan says, "Some messages sent to us by media are almost invisible--we are so accustomed to the media that we may not be aware of any message" (Duncan, 1988, p. 13). In his *Teacher's Guide*, he quotes the work of Arthur Asa Berger to point out that television viewing is essentially a passive experience. Viewers simply sit and watch the "boob tube" (Duncan, 1989a, p. 32). Andersen is concerned about the innocence of the students and asks, "Do children, in particular, need to be protected from harmful media messages?" (Andersen, 1989a, p. 36). The *Media Literacy Resource Guide* comments that students very often accept the view of life portrayed in movies and they are subject to manipulation by advertisers without being aware of it. It says many students consume information manufactured by the media industry "innocently as news and entertainment" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 6). An article in Carpenter's text illustrates why a professor at the University of Toronto was worried about the unsophisticated viewers who could not tell the difference between reality and what they saw on the screen (Riches, 1989). The *Resource Guide* proposes a key concept called "audiences negotiate meaning," but it is
found that in a number of occasions the textbooks assume the students are innocent audience and readers.

It is interesting to find the world projected in the media literacy program to be full of anxiety. Such a distressful portrayal is seldom seen in textbooks on traditional school subjects. In the media education textbooks, the mass media are motivated by profit and media products become commodities. Sex and violent programs are produced to boost ratings. Media consumers are manipulated by advertisements for continuous consumption. News distorts reality and innocent students are subject to the negative influences that come from the media. According to the textbooks, the roles mass media play in our modern society are as follows:

**Promoting Capitalist Consumerism:** Mass media as capitalist enterprises encourage consumption of not only media products but of other commercial products as well. Certain consumer values and life-styles are promoted through media programs in order to reinforce consumption. One of the many examples cited by Duncan to explain how mass media promote consumerism is the definition of beauty. Duncan explains that the current trend in popular culture is powerful in defining what beauty is. Television commercials and magazine advertisements even suggest that beauty can be bought. By using cosmetic products, people are told they can turn themselves into beauties. Therefore, audiences are seduced to buy more cosmetics. For Duncan, the Barbie doll which frequently appears in television commercials shows the children the happiness associated with owning consumer goods. Many toy commercials strongly promote consumerism.

Duncan's *Teacher's Guide* alleges that students are subjected to the highly manipulative control exercised by decision makers in the music industry. His logic of
manipulation is that a successfully run radio station is able to encourage its audience to buy
tickets to a concert that the station is co-sponsoring and promoting. Then the concert will
lure the audience to buy the performer's latest album. Andersen's text also emphasizes the
economic agenda behind the mass media messages. Andersen maintains that media messages
contain commercial meanings. Outstanding characters on television will lead students to buy
the stuffed dolls, bumper stickers, shirts or buttons featuring these characters.

The Media Literacy Resource Guide accuses the mass media of promoting
consumerism. According to the Resource Guide, many children's shows sell products and
send messages about what children should do in a consumer society. While discussing the
impact of television, the Resource Guide points out that most television presentations not only
sell ideas or products to their audience directly but also sell an attitude or life-style
indirectly. Television's ability to present events so convincingly induces viewers to believe
that everyone leads the life-styles as seen on television and to aspire to those life-styles.
Carpenter (1989) cites a survey which reveals that only 3 percent of new food products came
as a result of consumer demand surveys. Carpenter suggests that students question whether
advertising manipulates the consumer by creating false needs.

Ideological Domination through Media Construction: Duncan's text argues that
many of our notions of reality are reinforced or affected by media construction. These
constructions are ideological. Television contains a value system or an ideology which is
only visible when we take the time to look beneath its surface. In his book Duncan asserts
that we are dominated by "the ideology of the people who produce, own or control the
media" and "many of whom are middle or upper-class males" (Duncan, 1989a, p. 13). He
speculates about the messages we are receiving through the media from this dominant group.
According to him, popular culture aims to appeal to a large audience. Therefore, it "tends to stake out the solid middle ground and preserve the 'status quo' or keep things unchanged" (p. 18).

The *Teacher's Guide* also says that media products present attitudes and images that are made to look real and natural. However, media realities may not be factual or actual. For example, television uses stereotypical figures, that give viewers false ideas about minorities and do not provide suitable role models for young people. Andersen's text also regards media messages as versions of reality and he explains that they are different from real life experiences. Andersen emphasizes the importance of examining the inaccuracy of media representation.

The *Media Literacy Resource Guide* claims that the media dominate many aspects of our society as well as our individual consciousness. The *Resource Guide* proposes eight key concepts: all media are constructions; the media construct reality; audiences negotiate meaning in media; media have commercial implications; media contain ideological and value messages; media have social and political implications; form and content are closely related in the media; and each medium has a unique aesthetic form. As we can see, the first six concepts are all involved with the philosophy of media construction and the analysis of ideological manipulation. These key concepts are major themes in the *AML Anthology 1990*. They appear in almost every unit of the Anthology.

Yet, Carpenter's text is less ideological and does not have a strong tendency to use the word "manipulation." Still, the focus of the text is on the distorted media reality and the inappropriate stereotyping of gender roles and minority status.
Mind Paralysing: Based on Arthur Asa Berger’s view, Duncan’s *Teacher’s Guide* criticizes television as a narcotic. People become dependent and it becomes "a form of electronic addiction" (Duncan, 1989a, p. 31). Duncan describes television viewing as an essentially passive experience. Television monopolizes people’s leisure hours and deprives them of opportunities for social interaction. More importantly, it prevents people from thinking. Television viewing is basically escapist in nature. It distracts people from important matters in the real world, such as poverty, racism, sexism and political matters. According to Duncan’s *Teacher’s Guide*, it has been found that youngsters who are heavy television viewers (over three hours a day) often watch television as an escape from an uncaring family. It becomes what has been described as the "plug-in-drug." Besides, television viewers are being conditioned to respond only to "high jolt" programs (jolts include violent acts, rapid cutting, high decibels in the soundtrack and sudden movements). As a result, they are either losing or failing to develop the ability to explore for themselves more active and creative ways of engaging with different media, particularly the printed media.

A number of articles in Carpenter’s text discuss how the mass media, particularly television, paralyse the young minds. James' (1989) article concludes that when children are watching television, they are neither doing nor thinking. The television does all the talking, doing and thinking for them. Nelson’s (1989) article even cites research findings to support the claim that when TV is on, people’s left hemisphere, which processes information logically and analytically, tunes out. Shields (1989) remarks that TV technology is wooing viewers into electronic cocoons. Soap operas and romance sagas are regarded as "escapist"
entertainment. Riches (1989, p. 15) even titles his article "Soap Opera 'Disease' Claiming More Victims."

**Exercising Negative Influences:** The textbooks address the prevailing concern with media sex and violence. In the *Resource Guide* and Duncan's text, there are special sections on media sex and violence. In general, the textbooks focus on televised hockey, rock videos, TV crime shows and video movies. Violence in televised hockey has long been under public criticism. All textbooks as well as the *Resource Guide* are unanimously concerned about hockey violence because of the excitement and interest it evokes in the viewers. It is inferred that sports violence encourages violence in Canadian society. Rock videos are another focus of discussion. In Duncan's text, he informs students that some music videos are accused of inciting murders and suicides. Violence-packed TV crime dramas and violent movies are also targets of criticism in the textbooks. Carpenter's text devotes a whole section to the media portrayal of heroes. Rambo, Rocky, Untouchables and James Bond are movie heroes for many students. They are urged to question whether these characters have the right to use force.

When expounding on the effect of media, the *Resource Guide* and media textbooks are particularly troubled with aggressive behavior. The textbooks point out that people see more guns used on television than any other single object, including the telephone. Television programs provide details of unlawful acts. Such exposure may encourage some viewers to commit similar acts. Andersen's text asks students to think whether media violence has affected their behavior. The *Resource Guide* is concerned with viewers who often watch television violence, because some of these viewers will see the use of force as an acceptable way of problem-solving. Some researchers and authors quoted in Duncan's text
maintain that violence in the media and popular culture causes people to be more aggressive and makes acts of violence more socially acceptable. Carpenter's text discourages students from imitating the violent behaviour of their TV and movie heroes.

"Fear" is the second effect widely discussed in the textbooks. The Resource Guide points out that prolonged exposure to television makes the world seem like an unsafe place. Duncan's (1988, p. 304) textbook suggests that students think over the question "Is the world a dangerous place, or does the media make it seem more dangerous than it really is?"

In the Resource Guide, there is a section called "sexuality in the media" as well as a special section on "dealing with the pornography issue." The Resource Guide points out that the issue of pornography "has galvanized the community and government" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 204). It cites a York University researcher's findings that "more than a third of Canadian youth regularly consumed pornographic videos and...there is a strong acceptance of rape myths and violence against women" (p. 204). The Resource Guide encourages teachers and students to address the issue in the classroom and discuss how women and men are presented in pornography. In sum, the media education textbooks and curriculum materials accuse the mass media of mass deception.

9.3.2 Undermining Canadian cultural identity

Since Canadian students consume more American than Canadian media products, authors of the Ontario media literacy textbooks were worried that students have a problem with developing their cultural identity. The Media Literacy Resource Guide points out that 98 percent of the films shown in Canada are foreign (mostly American) and Canadians much
prefer American programs to their own. Carpenter's text cites Statistics Canada to highlight the fact that on the average, Canadians watched 24.2 hours of television per week but they took in only 8.4 hours a week of Canadian programming (Carpenter, 1989). Furthermore, 96 percent of drama programs available on Canadian television represented the imaginary world of non-Canadians while only two of the top 10 shows on Canadian TV during the first week of April 1987 were Canadian: Hockey Night in Canada and NHL Hockey Playoffs (Juneau, 1989; Kohanik, 1989). Ontario is the most heavily cabled province in Canada, but most of the cable services offer American-made programs (James, 1989, p. 27).

Duncan's text raises the question of "Whose culture is it anyway?" Students are asked if American media products and popular trends represent them as Canadians. The textbooks maintain that students have the responsibility to find images that represent their identity and to understand the ways that "constant exposure to American images can alter their self-perception and identity" (Duncan, 1988, p. 20).

The Resource Guide exhibits great concern to the cultural identity issue. In the outset, it states, "For Canadians, our domination by American media had obvious cultural implications. The struggle for a distinctive Canadian identity will continue to be difficult, a challenge that media literacy programs need to address" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 10). The Resource Guide has a special section on Canadian identity. The Guide concludes that given the proximity to the United States, "Canadians are the number one recipients of American viewpoints. The question of how many of these viewpoints Canadians accept as their own is an important aspect of media studies" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 211). Advice is given to teachers to consider "what constitutes our identity and how well the media reflect it" (p. 19). Students are encouraged to
understand the role of the CBC, the development of the Canadian film industry and the sound of Canadian music. In a media unit in the AML Anthology 1990, the first key question is "Why are there such strong influences of American Culture in Canadian society?" Silver (1990, p. H1:5) suggests that teachers screen an excerpt from the movie "My American Cousin" or clips from some Canadian and American TV shows to stimulate discussion.

Carpenter’s text is filled with concern about American cultural penetration through the media. Carpenter (1989) cites Pierre Juneau, President of the CBC, who argued that "a strong Canadian culture lies at the heart of political sovereignty." The Canadian government and members of the media industry emphasize the need for more Canadian content on radio and television. Carpenter invites students to participate in the discussion and asks them whether they agree that Americans are taking over Canadian culture. Carpenter includes a newspaper article in her text to demonstrate the important role of the CBC. The article asserts that the CBC has been the "principal sword and shield for Canadian culture in the face of steady bombardment from U.S. broadcasters" and claims that as the broadcasting technology further advances, a strong CBC is "as vital as ever to our national identity" (The Toronto Star, 1989, p. 19). Referring to the music industry, Clinton (1989, p. 37) describes the Canadian content regulation as "the nest in which Canadian music is hatched." He believes that Canada always has to fear for its identity because the nation is "in danger of being swallowed whole by the cultural Cronus known as the United States of America" (p. 37).
9.3.3 Media literacy for deconstructing mass media

In the textbooks, the mass media are generally portrayed as exercising manipulation. A form of the word "manipulation" appears frequently all through the textbooks. For example, in the first page of the film section in the Media Literacy Resource Guide, it reads, "The movies sell us images, they manipulate us, they assault our senses..." (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 74). Referring to television, the Guide says its advertising "is more manipulative and value-laden" (p. 104). In the AML Anthology 1990, Ross, Halliday and Crocker (1990, p. C2:3) write, "Newspapers, radio, television and all other media 'package' the news for a specific target audience and manipulate and/or select the information accordingly."

Since the mass media allegedly manipulate, the textbooks introduce the concept of media literacy "to resist manipulation" (emphasis mine). Media literacy enables students "to make conscious critical assessment of the media" and "to maintain a critical distance on popular culture" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 7). In Duncan's opinion, the students' task in studying the media and popular culture is to "deconstruct the products--take them apart and examine how and why they were constructed that way, and determine their effects on the audience" (Duncan, 1988, p. 10). Being media literate means being aware of the commercial and political interests of the media and being able to identify the values and ideologies in the media messages. Duncan proposes an inquiry method for media analysis in his Teacher's Guide. The inquiry method is to stimulate productive dialogue about media issues that allows for dialectic thinking. In addition to the inquiry model, the Resource Guide also recommends the critical-thinking strategies. The AML Anthology 1990 is in line
with the *Resource Guide* in promoting critical analysis of the media. The critical approach includes raising students' social awareness (Tsampiras, 1990), encouraging students to be conscious of the underlying messages and understanding the media influence on their lives (Forsythe, 1990). The *Anthology* for teaching media literacy stresses critical thinking and deconstruction skills. Carpenter (1989) says the objective of her text is to help the students become more aware of the effects of the mass media on their lives and society. She believes the awareness can help them make informed choices in the ways they consume the media. In brief, critical engagement with the media is the basic theme that permeates all the textbooks.

9.3.4 Media literacy for developing cultural consciousness

In addition to being a strategy to counter the negative media influences and consumer manipulation, media literacy is regarded by the textbooks as helpful in developing cultural consciousness. While Canada is dominated by American media, all the media education textbooks under examination agree that the students should be more aware of their own cultural identity through the critical assessment of the images they consume daily. The *Resource Guide* openly addresses the need to pursue "a distinctive Canadian identity" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 7). It suggests making a comparative study of media texts. Through a comparative examination of the Canadian and American media products, the *Guide* believes that "the students can be motivated to evaluate the Canadian sense of identity" (p. 211). Teachers are warned that the preponderant models for television genres and cultural values are basically American and do not necessarily reflect Canadian identity and traditions. In Duncan's text, Knelman (1988, p. 149) asserts that "Canada
couldn't survive politically and economically without a sense of cultural identity." Thus, he thinks it important to support the growth of the domestic media industry in order to resist American domination. The textbooks provide a positive appraisal of the Canadian media. While they are critical of mass media, they have a high opinion of the work of the CBC, the NFB and other domestic media producers. Being critical of the media is synonymous with being critical about the American media. These textbooks put emphasis on introducing the Canadian media and their achievements to students. For example, the Resource Guide enlightens the reader to the fact that the films of National Film Board have won awards at every major festival. It quotes Morris Wolfe as saying "If the issue of Canadian identity is less an obsession than it was twenty or thirty years ago, it's because the CBC has been providing us with an accurate mirror in which to see and know ourselves. No other Canadian institution comes close to doing as good a job" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 109). Carpenter's text is full of examples of outstanding Canadian media programs and media figures, such as the popular Canadian sitcom Airwaves, the renowned Canadian news magazine Maclean's, the Oscar-winning documentaries of the NFB, the successful Canadian cartoon creation Dan Cooper and the Canadian hero Terry Fox featured in the media.

On the one hand, these media literacy textbooks invite students to expose themselves more to Canadian media and on the other hand, they encourage students to discern the difference between Canadian and American media products. Their aim is to help students develop a Canadian perspective and make them understand the cultural nature of their media consumption. Andersen's Teacher's Guide encourages students to make cultural distinctions between rock musicians. In Duncan's text, he asks, "Do Canadians treat celebrities in the
same way or differently than Americans treat celebrities" (1988, p. 50). The *AML Anthology 1990* maintains that Canadian and American TV newscasts are different. Forsythe (1990) encourages students to compare Canadian and American news programs. The above findings indicate that increasing the students' awareness of the cultural relevance of media products consumed is one of the major objectives of the media education curriculum.

Media education textbooks generally take a critical stand on popular culture. Their concern about American cultural domination and their appeal for searching out a Canadian identity are possibly the results of the influence of "techno-cultural nationalism," the concept illustrated in Chapter Four. As the ideology of techno-cultural nationalism is built on the problem of foreign cultural domination and domestic cultural autonomy, the solution to this dilemma is tight Canadian regulation of communication technology to make it serve the country's cultural interest.

### 9.3.5 Critical autonomy and liberal values

In Ontario, media literacy is used as a counter-offensive strategy. According to the Ontario media education textbooks, if the school can provide students with the necessary knowledge, skills and awareness, it will then be in a position to control their relationship with the media. Thus, "the ultimate aim of media literacy is not simply a better awareness and understanding, it is critical autonomy" (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 7). Critical autonomy is defined as "the ability to decode, encode, and evaluate the symbol systems that dominate their world" (p. 10). In the *AML Anthology 1990*, Duncan (1990b) again stresses that the ultimate objective of media literacy is to achieve critical autonomy.
Through media literacy training, students can have the self-confidence and maturity to apply critical judgments to media products they consume on a daily basis. In Carpenter’s text, while talking about the effects of TV on society, James (1989, p. 29) concludes that the issue of TV watching is not about excellence or quantity. Rather, "it is about who’s in charge: us or the bright-eyed magician in the corner."

Since the textbooks stress personal autonomy, they also promote alternative life-styles and personal choice. Andersen (1989a) asks students to reflect on the question "Does fashion free us or trap us?" By encouraging students to analyze the choice of life-style of the celebrities, Andersen implies that it is not a good thing to blindly follow the life-styles of people featured in the media. In his view, we should not let the advertisers define "beauty" for us and should not easily believe that beauty can be bought. An autonomous person makes his or her own judgment and choice.

Duncan (1989a) encourages teachers and students to think thoroughly about whether they should accept the dominant ideology or reject it. Empowerment is the strategy Duncan endorses. He deeply believes that media literacy can empower students to resist the manipulation of consumer culture and American cultural values. The Guide argues that most media products affirm the existing social system and it urges students to think critically about what is good and what is bad about the existing system. The Guide also fosters a set of values, including the pursuit of truth, fairness, open-mindedness, empathy and self-criticism.

All the textbooks embrace the concept of social equality. By condemning distorted gender and ethnic representation in the media, the textbooks support gender equality and respect for minority rights. In her text, Carpenter includes an article entitled "Men Have to Speak up in Battle against Sexism" (Kuntz, 1989). Andersen (1989a) urges students to look
for signs in the news reporting which may indicate racial discrimination against minority groups.

9.3.6 Student-centred pedagogy

The textbooks commonly suggest a student-centred pedagogy for media education. The Resource Guide insists that "the role of teacher must be that of a facilitator and a co-learner" (Ministry of Education, 1989, p. 12). The teacher must help students negotiate meaning as well as engage in inquiry and research. In his Teacher's Guide, Duncan asks teachers to put the information into the students' hands and let themselves play the role of a guide (Duncan, 1989a). In Andersen's (1989b) Teacher's Guide, the teacher is also told to assume a facilitator's role by providing suitable contexts for discussing the media and clarifying value messages in media text. In the AML Anthology 1990, Duncan recommends the progressive pedagogy proposed by Len Masterman. It is non-hierarchical teaching modes which are group focused, inductive, inquiry-centred and action-oriented.

"Audiences negotiate meaning in media" refers to the way media consumers individually experience the media text. It is one of the key concepts in the Resource Guide. The Guide argues that everyone finds meaning in the media through different determinants: personal needs, psychological mood of the day, racial and sexual attitudes, family and cultural background. Thus, different students may experience the same media text in a different way. Teachers should let students interpret the media text in their own way and should not impose their views on the students. Andersen informs teachers that many students are very knowledgeable about the media and encourages teachers to allow this expertise to
flourish in the classroom. Each student should decipher the meaning for himself or herself. In the *Anthology*, Kee (1990, p. C3:3) says his unit is designed "to foster students' awareness of themselves as participants in the creation of meaning," while Verhulst (1990) stresses the notion that "audiences negotiate meaning."

9.4 Responses to the Media Education Curriculum

The media education curriculum is a critical program. First, inspired by critical media theory and critical pedagogy, it aims at helping students resist ideological manipulation by the media and maintain critical autonomy. Second, influenced by "techno-cultural nationalism," it resists American cultural domination and promotes cultural consciousness. Third, affected by the province-wide outcry over the negative impact of the media, it directly addresses the issues of media violence and pornography as a response to the media literacy movement.

The critical perspective of media education textbooks and curriculum materials attracted some criticism and even attacks. The philosophy of the media literacy program was asserted by Christopher Dornan, Associate Professor of the School of Journalism and Communication at Carleton University, as "scapegoat sociology" (Dornan, 1994, p. A7). Dornan accused the program of building up an image of the media as manipulative and reactionary agencies of mind control. In his view, media are not pathological agencies yet the *Resource Guide* adopted the tone of "a therapeutic manual" and offers a series of "coping strategies." Even Fowlie (personal communication, June 18, 1995), a former member of the
AML, felt it was problematic to see the media as "big bad monster." Fowlie found that the media literacy program put too much emphasis on the search for the economic agenda behind the media messages, at the expense of any analysis of the pleasure derived by the audience during the media consumption process. In addition to these criticisms, the publication of the Media Literacy Resource Guide was followed by three hostile responses (news articles on September 13, 15 and 30, 1989) from The Globe and Mail (Repo, 1989). The newspaper was concerned about the ideological danger of this high school program. One article stated, "The perception of the media as an unscrupulous manipulator of an unsuspecting audience strikes an unmistakable note of cynicism that underscores the entire guideline" (Abeles, 1989, p. A8). The editor of The Globe and Mail was disturbed by the idea that students should be taught to think about the complex political and economic forces that shape news and entertainment. Countering these attacks, Repo (1989, pp. 151-152) said The Globe and Mail reports reflected "how the economic and political power represented by such a newspaper would respond to the notion that schools should try to develop critical media consumers."

The view of media education advocates was that conducting ideological analysis in media education was a progressive act. Screen education in the 1960s was regarded as lacking of a political agenda (Duncan, personal communication, October 21, 1994). The advocates were glad to give school children the skills to examine ideologies and this started the political dimension of media education in the 1980s. They said good media education was going to "rattle the establishment" in a way and they were "quite prepared to do it" (Duncan, personal communication, October 21, 1994). Duncan pointed out that media teachers were the few individuals in the school doing socially relevant things. Very often
they were the persons "who gave the critical oppositional readings of the dominant text."
They were the ones who had strong opinions about sexism in advertising, cultural
stereotypes, racial discrimination and the beauty myth. Duncan said they should not be
afraid of being too critical because it was a positive thing to do.

For Pungente, it was understandable that the media industry did not like the
discussion on media manipulation. However, in Pungente’s view, it is true that the mass
media manipulate people. They make people buy things they do not need and believe things
that may not be true. Thus, the Resource Guide must address the theme of media
manipulation (Pungente, personal communication, October 25, 1994). Andersen (personal
communication, June 20, 1995) was proud that the examination of ideology was a central
concern in Ontario media education. It indicates that Canadians are willing to explore the
media in a critical way while Americans hesitate to study the ideology in the media.
Andersen said that in the United States, the word ideology tended to be equated with
subversion, and even Communism, which made it difficult for media education to flourish
there. It also explained why media education was better developed in Canada than in the
United States. According to Shepherd (personal communication, June 20, 1995), the AML
writing team was very aware of the fact that the Resource Guide was probably the first
educational document in Ontario to use the "ideology" concept. It thought it was progressive
but did not think it was subscribing to Marxism. The writing team discussed ideology in the
Guide but did not mention the class analysis. For Shepherd, this was ideological analysis in
the Canadian sense and differed from a strict Marxist analysis.

Even without class analysis, the ideological orientation and the critical nature of the
Guide made it unique among other resource documents which were conservative. The
Ministry of Education did not raise any questions about it and Ministry officials allowed the writing team to spread their critical messages through implementation workshops. George saw no problem in discussing ideological issues (George, personal communication, October 6, 1994). In his view, the media industry was driven by the desire to make money. School children should be aware of what was presented to them through the media and how the media messages affected their lives. George wanted students to become better informed citizens and understand how society was run. He said ideological analysis might help in this respect. Dixon described the Ontario Ministry of Education as progressive and forward-looking. He said Ministry people such as George, Cavanagh, Mitchell and other top officials in the Curriculum Branch were open-minded and supported media education. Things like exploring the commercial and political implications of the mass media did not look awkward and radical (Dixon, personal communication, June 12, 1995).

George (personal communication, June 11, 1996), considered cultural identity to be a big issue in media studies. Both the government and the advocates were concerned with the cultural relevance of the media messages. The AML was especially anxious about cultural penetration by the American media. According to Clemson (personal communication, August 22, 1995), the AML had a very strong nationalistic stand while it was in charge of the writing of the Resource Guide. The AML members were not short-sighted and were able to look at media education from a broader cultural perspective. Clemson believed one of the things media education should do is to help people make a distinction between American media and Canadian media. As a member of the National Film Board of Canada, he voiced his strong desire to express Canada in the media in order to counter the heavy influence from south of the border. In one of the NFB produced media literacy videos, "Media and
Society," there is a segment called "cultural sovereignty." Its producer, Arlene Moscovitch (personal communication, May 26, 1995), commented that it was an important part of the video. She did not think media education was just about deconstructing but about understanding things about one's life, community and country in a cultural context.

In *Television and Society*, a mandated media education textbook in Ontario, the authors devoted a chapter to the discussion of the English-language media and Canadian identity. It is their view that the mass media transmit a nation's identity. Members of a nation need to communicate with one another about their lives to ensure a vital culture. They alleged, "When a culture's symbols, practices, and values are not shown on nation's media, the culture will erode." (Ungerleider & Krieger, 1985, p. 192). The textbook expressed the view that some Canadians are fearful about the domination of the English-language Canadian culture by American culture. It also raised the important question of whether English-language television accurately portrays the Canadian mosaic. Although this textbook was not developed by Ontario media educators, it reflected the same concerns of the Ontario media education advocates on the cultural identity issue.

Excellent media education resource materials from England, Scotland and Australia were available, but Ontario had to develop its own. Andersen (personal communication, June 20, 1995) explained that the British and Australian resources did not work in Canada because of the difference in cultural context and values. Their media environments did not have the American culture to contend with so their media studies texts more or less write about their own media industry and work on their own curriculum. In Canada it was very difficult to find many quality domestic media products to write about and Canadians were in some way overwhelmed by the American culture. That is why Andersen thought Ontario
needed to write its own media studies material. In his media studies class, Andersen used to ask his students to compare and contrast the cultural experience in American programs with cultural experiences in their own everyday lives. This exercise was to develop students' cultural awareness, which is similar to what Judy Coghill called "Canadian consciousness."

According to Coghill (personal communication, June 21, 1995), Canadian consciousness is a Canadian way of critical thinking. Canadian consciousness helps people to understand things from a number of viewpoints and reflect on them from different social and cultural positions. For Peers (personal communication, June 27, 1995), Canadian consciousness can also mean the awareness of Canadian distinctiveness.

Although the majority of advocates did not consider that media violence and pornography should be the central focus of media education, they understood that these are the major concerns of the people in the community. Thus, the writing team of the Media Literacy Resource Guide wrote about them in special sections. According to Greenaway (personal communication, June 22, 1995), people were most upset about violence on television. Therefore, it was necessary for media education to address this social concern. She agreed with Duncan media violence and pornography should be used as "calling cards" for media education. Media educators have to use the "calling card" to draw people's attention to media education and then lead them to develop interest in significant media issues such as cultural sovereignty and media stereotyping. This explains why all the media education textbooks include media violence in their contents. They have to respond to the media literacy movement and stimulate interest in media education.
9.5 A Shifting Paradigm

Duncan (personal communication, June 20, 1995) explained that in the 1980s, media education advocates in Ontario, particularly AML members, began to adopt an ideological approach to study the media because of the heavy influence from Masterman. However, the stress on media deception and ideological domination have gradually been toned down in the Ontario media literacy program and teacher training courses. More emphasis is now put on audience reception. When asked about the dominant paradigm of the Ontario media literacy program, Duncan (personal communication, October 21, 1994) answered that it is a "shifting paradigm." He used Table 9.1 to illustrate the shifting position of the media literacy philosophy in Ontario. In 1978 when he set up the AML and started to lobby for media education, he and his colleagues were adopting the "cultural heritage model" which was basically literary analysis. In the mid-1980s, they began to realize that they had to go beyond the first model and move towards the critical analysis of popular culture. That was the "new literacy/personal response model." But it was when they started to politicize all their positions that they discovered that social positioning was really crucial. They realized the importance of the "cultural criticism model." According to Duncan, from 1987 onwards, the concept of globalization, the literature of cultural studies, the critical pedagogy from the United States and the new media education theory developed by David Buckingham in Britain have pulled them towards a cultural studies paradigm of media education.
Table 9.1: The Reference Models for Media Education in Ontario

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Heritage</th>
<th>New Literacy/Personal Response</th>
<th>Cultural Criticism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is a meaning in the text put there by the author, which readers can be trained to uncover</td>
<td>Literature reflects life</td>
<td>Texts are sites for the construction of plural, often conflicting and contradictory meanings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good texts are the unique creation of inspired authors</td>
<td>Readers bring their personal experience to texts and make their own meanings</td>
<td>Texts promote interested versions of reality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction with the text places the reader in direct communication with the mind of the writer</td>
<td>Different readings of the same texts are due to differences in personal interpretation</td>
<td>Texts and readings are always partial—in both senses of the word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature is a means of moral instruction and values formation</td>
<td>Interaction with the text provides a &quot;live-through&quot; experience for the reader</td>
<td>Texts activate or generate readings from a range of readings differentially available to groups of readers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Good) literature develops the aesthetic sensibilities of the sensitive reader</td>
<td>Reflection on the experience of the text and life allows the individual to verify or modify his/her construction of self and social reality</td>
<td>Different already existing readings are differentially available to readers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characterization is a a natural way to read a text</td>
<td>Literature provides examples of possible ways</td>
<td>Texts are, in a sense, always already read and already written</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Characters can be treated as if they were real people with mental interiors and motivations</td>
<td>Empathic reading through character is a learned practice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: This table was provided by Barry Duncan, President of the AML (Source: English Quarterly)
In Britain, David Buckingham, another renowned British media education theorist, seriously criticized the work of Len Masterman (Buckingham, 1993, 1996; Buckingham, Hey & Moss, 1992). He accused Masterman of ignoring the audience's aesthetic pleasure and emotional engagement with the media. He insisted that the ethnographic explorations of audience cultural consumption should not be neglected (Buckingham, 1996). The AML's publication on the Gulf War (AML, 1991) showed that media educators in Ontario did not abandon the ideological model of media education developed by Masterman. However, Duncan claimed that they are now shifting to Buckingham's way of media analysis. A paper Duncan presented at an international media education conference in 1995 was entitled "Media and Audience: Explorations in Response and Cultural Reception." The paper underscored the importance of audience research and adopted the cultural studies approach to media education (Duncan, 1995b). In the paper, Duncan also mentioned that teacher training programs run by the AML in Toronto have emphasized audience reception theory.

Following the new developments in the media literacy movement which is informed by cultural studies, it seems that the Ontario media literacy program is somehow shifting to a model with fewer ideological overtones.

Referring to the issue of cultural identity, Andersen (personal communication, June 20, 1995) pointed out that media education has a role to play in promoting Canadian cultural identity. However, he thought that in the 1990s media educators have become less concerned with national cultural identity. According to him, there are different interpretations of culture in the current context. Ontario people coming from different countries are now fitting into the cultural mosaic and they talk about culture in a diversified way. It is difficult for them to identify with a national cultural identity. Shepherd (personal
communication, June 20, 1995) echoed Andersen's view that as Ontario has become a multicultural society with students coming from all parts of the world, it is now increasingly difficult for media teachers to address the issue of cultural identity. Duncan (personal communication, June 26, 1995) also admitted that there is a gap between the good intention and the real class practice. However, all three still believe that it is important to articulate students' sense of cultural relevancy about media consumption. But the toning down of techno-cultural nationalism in the postindustrial context of the 1990s shows that the emphasis of the media literacy curriculum is shifting along with social change.

9.6 Summary

Without the curricular support from the media education advocates, particularly the AML members, media literacy would not have been mandated by the Ministry of Education. The substantial resource guide produced by the AML writing team strengthened the Ministry's confidence in taking a bold step to include media education in the Ontario secondary school system. Assistance from the advocates in running the implementation workshops, conducting teacher training courses, writing media literacy textbooks, facilitating the sale of media literacy references, making recommendations to the future direction of media literacy and editing media literacy curriculum units made it feasible to launch media education in schools. This unofficial support contributed greatly to the legitimation of the media literacy program in the province. Ministry official admitted that the government played a passive role in mandating media literacy. The Ministry of Education went ahead
with the media education project only when it had known it could get the outside support from the advocates for curriculum development.

Since curriculum design was put into the hands of the AML, the media literacy program has had a very critical outlook. Textbook analysis uncovers a unique ideological structure in the media literacy program. The ultimate objective of media literacy is to maintain students' critical autonomy so that they are able to resist the ideological manipulation from the mass media. This ideological structure fully reflects the philosophy of the media education advocates who were influenced by the prevalent critical media theories and the notion of "techno-cultural nationalism." Textbook analysis also shows that the media literacy curriculum was responding to the media literacy movement by addressing the issues of media representation (especially gender stereotyping), media violence, pornography and American cultural penetration.

The media education curriculum received criticism that it was too ideological. However, the Ministry of Education saw there was no problem in discussing ideological issues and gave the green light to the publication of the Media Literacy Resource Guide written by the AML writing team. Although foreign media education textbooks and resource materials were available, media educators insisted that they had to develop their own based on Canadian cultural experience.

The media education curriculum changes according to developments in the media literacy movement. When the media advocates' philosophical position takes a shift, the emphasis of the program changes as well. Advocates described the media education paradigm in Ontario as a shifting one. It has been shifting from a literary and critical approach to a cultural studies approach. This illustrates that the media literacy program in
Ontario schools has always been deeply influenced by the social forces outside the educational bureaucracy.
Chapter Ten
Conclusion and Discussion

The purpose of this study is to understand why and how media education was legitimated in Ontario in the 1980s. The specific research question is how the media literacy movement in Ontario led to the establishment of this new subject. This chapter summarizes and discusses the findings of the study.

This study uses a historical sociological approach to investigate the structural social forces which gave rise to media education and to examine agency activities which bought media education to schools. My study is situated against the background of the epochal shift to the postindustrial information society. Through the examination of the dialectic relationship of agency and structure, I seek a better understanding and explanation for the legitimation of media education in Ontario. As mentioned in Chapter Four, postindustrial society is defined as "the technological production of symbolic goods which shape or transform our representation of human nature and of the external world" (Touraine, 1985, p. 781). In this new age, the concern has been shifted from the production of economic resources to the production of social relationships, symbols, identities and individual needs (Melucci, 1981, p. 179). Communication technology plays an increasingly important role. That may be why Melucci (1994) conceptualized postindustrial society as "information society." In this dissertation, the terms "postindustrial society" and "information society" are used interchangeably.

With regard to the "why," this study concludes that media education was a social and educational response to the impact of technological changes during the societal shift to
postindustrial society. As for the "how," this study shows that the interaction of the four elements of legitimation, namely strong justification, vigorous lobbying, proper positioning, and dedicated unofficial support to curriculum building, successfully eked out a place for media education in the school curriculum. Further, analysis of the media education curriculum indicates that it has a number of unique features and can be characterized as a postindustrial subject.

The case of media education in Ontario involves a number of theoretical issues about the new social curricula. First, this study supports the social conflict theory of curriculum making. New social movements, which represent democratizing forces, are able to penetrate the educational arena and give birth to new social curricula. Second, this study suggests that new social curricula, as illustrated by the case of media education, adopt new subject formation patterns. Subject inhabitancy is a useful theoretical concept involved in the legitimation process of media education. This concept demonstrates that new social curricula have to attach or permeate other subjects in order to get a foothold in the curriculum. Third, new social curricula are shown to have the characteristics which reflect the needs and values of society in a postindustrial information age. The second part of this chapter discusses some issues generated by the case of media education in Ontario. They include the cultural uniqueness of the Ontario media education program, the social purpose of media education and the future direction of media education.
10.1 Media Education as Social and Educational Response to Technological Changes

The Ministry of Education in Ontario mandated media education as part of the English curriculum in 1987. Why did media education emerge as a legitimate school subject in the Ontario educational system in the 1980s? The legitimation of media education in Ontario was a social and educational response to the impact of technological changes in the media during the societal shift to a postindustrial age.

The societal shift to postindustrial society (information society) generates new social conflicts which lead to new social movements. Some of the new social movements give rise to new social curricula in schools. Sociologically, people in postindustrial society are engaged in a different kind of social conflict which can be identified as a struggle for control over symbolic goods instead of material goods. New social movements, therefore, are more concerned with the symbolic control of the new society and less with the control of the means of production. The new social curricula, which are linked with the new social movements, are characterized by their appeal to the development of a more critical social awareness and their search for solution to new social problems.

It is worth clarifying that not every new social movement gives rise to a new social curriculum, and of course, not every new social curriculum grows out of a new social movement. But literature shows that there is a strong link between some new social curricula with some current social movements and this case study on media education provides empirical support for that link.

This study regards media education as one of the new social curricula. The societal shift to postindustrial society has brought with it rapid development in media technology.
Mass media become one of the four major components of postindustrial society (Touraine, 1985). Melucci (1994) called the new society an "information society." Since a great deal of social conflict in postindustrial society has shifted from political ground (in the sense of class struggle and party politics) to cultural ground, mass media have become a site of struggle for the symbolic control of the new society. In the Canadian context, the social conflict generated by changes in media technology in the past few decades centered around the new social inequalities between those who had access to and control of the media and those who did not. Problems included media ownership and power, the social struggle over the symbolic control of media representation, the cultural sovereignty dispute with America, and the moral alarm over media sex and violence. The mass media were regarded as an invisible curriculum alongside the ordinary school curriculum. These perceived new conflicts and problems gave rise to the new media literacy movement in the 1980s in Ontario. The movement promoted media literacy which aimed at helping people develop critical awareness about the media influence. Some movement activists lobbied for the inclusion of media literacy training into the educational system and finally the movement led to the mandate of media education.

Ontario is a province sensitive to the changes in communication technology (George, personal communication, June 11, 1996). This study illustrates that as soon as television emerged as a popular medium, its impact raised broad public concern in the province. The work of Marshall McLuhan certainly drew great attention to the new electronic age. Screen education in the 1960s was the first provincial response to technological advances in the electronic media as it was basically a project of social accommodation to the television age. It planted the seeds for the development of the media literacy movement in the 1980s. Rapid
advances in media technologies such as cable TV, satellite TV, pay-TV and VCRs in the 1970s and 1980s somehow induced new social tensions. People began to think the mass media had created social problems which needed to be addressed. The establishment of the Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry and the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution reflected this type of mentality. As analyzed in previous chapters, the ideology of techno-cultural nationalism and moral consternation over media sex and violence played important roles in directing public opinion towards media-related issues. As media censorship was not an effective way to deal with the perceived social crises generated by the media, media literacy then became an alternative to meet the challenge imposed by the new communication technologies. Legitimating media education can, therefore, be regarded as a social and educational response to the technological changes in the societal shift to the postindustrial society.

Drawing on his working experience with the Ontario Ministry of Education from the 1960s to the 1990s, Mitchell explained that in the last 30 years the Ontario schools have had to constantly accommodate the development of communication technologies. From encouraging the use of films, television program and videos to the installation of computers, the Ministry expected all teachers to be familiar with the media because it is how school children are learning at home (Mitchell, personal communication, October 21, 1994). Mitchell believed that media education was just one of the ways to cope with the impact of technological development in the postindustrial age.
10.2 From Social Movement to Curriculum Formation

The main focus of this study is the examination of how the media literacy movement in Ontario in the 1980s led to the legitimation of media education in the Ontario educational system. Results indicate that less powerful groups in the community and the educational field were able to put a body of "low-status" knowledge into the formal school curriculum. The case of media education in Ontario is a good illustration of Carnoy and Levin's (1985) social conflict theory of curriculum making. School curriculum does not necessarily reproduce dominant ideology, but it also responds to social demand. The study shows that social movement has a role to play in affecting educational policy. Social movements articulate social demands and new school curricula, which grow out of social movements, represent issues of vital social concern. In Ontario, the media literacy movement reflected wide public concern about the significant impact of mass media on the young. The demand for media literacy training for school children was generated by this movement. Since education is a place where a social movement tries to pursue its goal and the dominant class attempts to reproduce its hegemony, the competition for influencing the curriculum is intense. In order to attain legitimacy for educational programs which reflect democratic social demands, the less powerful groups usually have to employ effective strategies and engage themselves in prolonged struggle. This study finds that school teachers and interest group leaders in Ontario exerted tremendous effort in their persistent lobbying for media education. To earn a legitimate place in the school curriculum proved to be a very tough task for a new subject.
This study also finds that the media literacy movement in Ontario shared many characteristics with the new social movements and can, therefore, be regarded as one of them. In this study, I put forward a framework to describe and analyze the process whereby the media literacy movement led to the establishment of the media education curriculum. The four elements of legitimation in this framework, namely strong justification, effective lobbying, proper positioning and unofficial support for curriculum-building, led to the success of winning legitimacy for media education.

The first element of legitimation is justification. Without strong justification, it is impossible to add a new school subject to the official list. The approach adopted by the media education lobbyists to justify the "need" to include media education in the school timetable was different from the traditional one. Instead of justifying media education in terms of utilitarian and academic value, they articulated the social and cultural needs of media literacy in a changing society. They emphasized mass media’s negative impact and the social tensions brought forth by new communication technologies. They portrayed mass media as an "invisible curriculum" and raised questions about the mass media as a positive educational force. The manipulative power of the mass media was regarded as a threat to school children, and the influence of mass media was treated as a social problem. Media literacy was then put forward as an effective countering strategy against media manipulation. Most importantly, the lobbyists demonstrated that the mass media had become a strong competitor with the school, church and family in socializing young people. This study shows that the family and the church shared the school’s anxiety about the growing impact of the invisible curriculum of the mass media and all of these traditional socialization institutions were convinced of the importance of media literacy training. Moreover, as Canada had
entered the information age, the concept of literacy was expanded to include media literacy. Media education was proposed as a desirable option to tackle all the problems caused by the mass media. This "problem-solving approach" was effective. Since the advocates were capable of demonstrating the importance of media education in accommodating school children in the information society, they convincingly justified the need for a legitimate place for media education in schools.

Effective lobbying is the second element of legitimation. Since media education was a bottom-up educational initiative, school teachers and media concern groups lobbied vigorously. Unlike other cases of educational lobbying, the lobbying for media education was part of the social movement. As the lobbying impetus came from the interest group activities related to the media literacy movement, the success of the lobbying relied less on the bargaining power of individual lobbyists or lobbying organizations, but more on the impact of the movement. In the 1980s, with public outcry over pornography and media violence, the media literacy movement was able to direct public attention towards the influence of the mass media. Having garnered popular support in the province, particularly from teachers, parents and community groups, the movement successfully created a "climate of opinion" which helped exercise public pressure on the government. When the Ministry of Education also realized the seriousness of the "problem of the moment," it finally gave the green light to include media education in the school system. Ministry officials admitted that mandating media education was a response to public pressure to have the "problem" solved. Thus, the most crucial part of the lobbying was the success of the lobbyists to make use of public pressure. A delicate political climate was created to which the government had to
respond. However, although the lobbyists had the backup of a social movement, they still needed effective political strategies to push the government to take action.

The third element is positioning. It refers to the way media education chose to demonstrate its relevance and usefulness to one or several subjects in order to attach itself to the latter. Media education won its legitimacy in Ontario because it successfully found a curricular niche in the school curriculum by attaching itself to the English curriculum. In this study, I argue that a feasible way for a subject of low-status knowledge to enter the official curriculum is through "subject inhabitancy." A subject of high-status knowledge such as computer studies which has strong utilitarian value was easily added to the school curriculum by the educational authority and people from the business sector. In Ontario, computer studies was quickly developed as an independent subject and at the same time a cross-curricular theme (Mitchell, personal communication, June 23, 1995). In contrast, media education which grew out of the media literacy movement, was just a body of low-status knowledge without direct support from either the educational authority or powerful groups in society. Media education, therefore, was a "guest" subject looking for a "habitat" in the school curriculum. It positioned itself as a cross-curricular theme with a special link to English. English became a "host" subject as English teachers were willing to offer media education a place within their domain. The guest-host relationship was a symbiotic one as their linkage was built on mutual attraction. Symbiotic relationship here refers to protocooperation. Thus, proper positioning is crucial in finding a suitable host and gaining entry to the official curriculum. This study also finds that the relevancy of the guest subject to the host subject, the lack of threat of the guest to the host and the benefits perceived by both sides determine whether a nurturing host will develop into an official host. Media
education is a relevant area to English and it is useful as a means for territorial expansion and status maintenance. The establishment of a guest-host relationship between media education and English fully reflects the political economy of subject formation. This study indicates that subject inhabitancy is an effective form of subject formation for low-status subjects such as new social curricula. Even the educational bureaucracy considers subject inhabitancy the best way to accommodate a new curriculum because it can be annexed within the curriculum without crowding out the traditional subjects.

Supporting curriculum-building is the fourth element of legitimation. This study maintains that without the curricular support from media education lobbyists, media education would not have been smoothly mandated by the Ministry of Education. The lobbyists’ support for curriculum development dispelled the worries of the Ministry of Education about implementing media literacy. Furthermore, the assistance from the advocates in running the implementation workshops, conducting teacher training courses, writing media literacy textbooks, facilitating the sale of media literacy references, making recommendations to the future direction of media literacy and editing media literacy curriculum units made the launch of media education in schools feasible. These outside supports contributed greatly to the legitimation of media education in Ontario. Officials from the Ministry of Education admitted that the willingness of the lobbyists to cooperate with the government on curriculum-building did help in mandating media education.

The above framework summarizes the essential elements of legitimation of media education in Ontario. I do not claim that this framework has included all the elements necessary for making a new social curriculum. However, this case study on media education does show that strong justification, effective lobbying, proper positioning and lobbyists’
dedicated support to curriculum building are crucial elements in the process to achieve subject recognition, and their combination can successfully persuade the educational authority to legitimize a new social curriculum.

This framework is proposed for serving as an ideal type for studying the legitimation of new social curricula which grow out of social movements or pressure group activities. The framework emerged from the interaction between the existing literature and my empirical case study. The framework formulates general and abstract concepts for studying subject formation. As Weber suggested, not all the elements of an ideal type will necessarily be present in the real world, but the ideal type provides a guideline for understanding the particular phenomenon under investigation (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 1984).

It is important to note that the four elements of legitimation are interrelated and they do not operate in isolation. For example, the justification of media education by highlighting the importance of counteracting the influence from the invisible curriculum of mass media was so persuasive that it facilitated the lobbying work. The portrayal of a disturbing world created by the mass media also influenced the critical approach to designing the media literacy curriculum. The justification of teaching media literacy in school as a new form of literacy affected the choice of positioning and attached media education to English studies. The choice of the form of "subject inhabitancy" significantly affected the process of curriculum-building. What this means is that media education was positioned to have a close link with English and the curriculum was designed so as to fit media education into English teaching. The positioning strategy also influenced the effect of lobbying. In the very beginning, the lobbyists wanted to include media education as a separate subject but their lobbying was ineffective. After shifting their position to a willingness to attach media to
English, their lobbying was successful. Furthermore, unofficial support for the curriculum-building of media education, as mentioned above, contributed greatly to the effectiveness of the lobbying. The interlocking of these four elements and their positive interaction resulted in winning legitimacy for media education.

In sum, media education grew out of the media literacy movement. I find that its legitimation pattern—from social movement to curriculum formation—was quite different from that of a traditional subject. First, legitimation was not granted but achieved through vigorous lobbying. Second, the struggle for recognition started from the social movement and the whole lobbying process should also be regarded as a part of the movement. Third, the lobbyists did not justify the new subject in terms of its utilitarian or academic value but focused on the need to accommodate school children in a new postindustrial information society. Fourth, the success of the lobbying did not depend on how powerful the lobbyists or lobbying interest groups were, but relied on the public support acquired through the media literacy movement. Fifth, media education had to actively seek a curricular niche through "subject inhabitancy" since curriculum space was scarce. It gained entry in the official curriculum not as an independent subject but as a guest subject. Sixth, the advocates had to offer their expertise to curriculum design and implementation. Their willingness to be cooperative helped in the final push to get the new initiative mandated.

It is noteworthy that on the surface, the legitimation of media education should have involved vigorous social conflicts. As mentioned in previous chapters, the media literacy movement in Ontario accused the mass media of sustaining dominant values and relations of power. The media education curriculum addressed two levels of social conflict, namely the intra-societal conflict between the dominant groups and the oppressed groups, and the inter-
societal conflict between Canada and the United States. Calling for change in media consumption and opposed media manipulation, media education clearly took a stand in opposition to the media establishment.

However, this study finds resistance to the legitimation of media education was minimal. Apart from receiving hostile criticisms from *The Globe and Mail*, the legitimation process of the media education curriculum was basically free of social conflicts. Three explanations can be advanced. Firstly, the Ontario advocates at that time assumed that students mostly consumed American media products and so their criticisms towards the mass media were directed at the American media industry. Since the attacks were pointing outward, local Canadian media establishment was not directly provoked.

Secondly, the media education curriculum in Ontario promoted liberal values such as personal autonomy, social equality and anti-authoritarianism. It called for proper media representation based on gender equality and racial equality. These appeals seemed reasonable and put the media establishment in a difficult position to oppose.

Thirdly, the most important reason for the lack of resistance in the legitimation process is that the goal of media education did not challenge the established economic and political order. Media education did not ask for power sharing from the government to have media policy changed, nor asked for intervention in the functioning of the media industry. It only aimed at changing the way people consume media messages by enhancing their media literacy. To the media establishment, the appeals by the advocates were not too threatening and there was no need to launch a counter-attack. Thus, although media education in Ontario was theoretically confrontational to the established order, media education advocates in reality were not challenged by the local media establishment.
From social movement to curriculum formation was a long journey. This study finds that school teachers played a very important role in this journey by bridging the media literacy movement outside school with the development of the media literacy curriculum inside school. Without their dedicated participation, media education could hardly have become a legitimated subject. In Ontario, many teachers were key members of the pressure groups supporting the media literacy movement. Their double role, as advocate and classroom teacher, enabled them to use their expertise in teaching media for curriculum design. The Ontario case supports Giroux’s (1988) theoretical conceptualization of teachers as "transformative intellectuals" and Ben-Peretz’s (1990) call for "teachers as curriculum developers." Both Giroux and Ben-Peretz insisted that teachers should not only be involved in curriculum execution but should also contribute to curriculum planning and design.

The major lobbying group in Ontario, the AML, was constituted mainly of school teachers. As analyzed in previous chapters, AML members contributed greatly to the lobbying as well as theory building of media literacy. The Association’s President, Duncan, was a school teacher but also a leader of the media literacy movement and a major lobbyist for media education in schools. Furthermore, he was the chair of the writing team for the Media Literacy Resource Guide and author of a media literacy textbook. In fact, most of the contributors to the Resource Guide were teachers and most of the media literacy textbooks used in Ontario were also written by teachers such as Andersen, Duncan and Carpenter. The AML Anthology 1990 and the AML Anthology Supplement 1992 were media literacy curriculum materials developed by classroom school teachers. The anthologies came directly from tested classroom experience and were advertised as being "For Teachers, By Teachers" (Smart, 1990, p. 2). Since non-teacher advocates were not familiar with curriculum
development, teachers who were active advocates of media education became very instrumental in helping the Ministry of Education build the media literacy program. In fact, the media literacy curriculum in Ontario was mainly designed and implemented by school teachers. Shepherd described it well:

Virtually the entire leadership of media education in Ontario is drawn from the ranks of classroom teachers. There has been no significant involvement from university staff, from faculties of education or from educational administrators at either the provincial or local levels....Our strength in Ontario, in Canada, is that we are a grass roots movement, rooted in the classroom, rooted in the culture, rooted in the will of teachers to transform their curriculum, their classrooms, their students, their society (Shepherd, 1995, p. 14).

Through the case study on media education, I would argue that school teachers play a very significant "bridging role" in linking up a new social movement with the development of a new social curriculum. Through participation in social movements and involvement in curriculum-making, teachers of new social curricula try to legitimize the social, political and cultural interests they endorse. Teachers aim at going beyond their traditional role of curriculum implementor by exercising their influence in curriculum development and educational change. Renihan (1990) observed that in recent years there has been an emerging role of lobbyist in Canadian education and he found that teachers' professional organizations are particularly active in educational lobbying activities. The Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF) reflected the teachers' desire to have more say in the educational debate (Saskatchewan Bulletin, 1993). Teachers' federations across Canada also expressed their willingness to be involved in various kinds of advocacy and lobbying because they felt the need to fight for issues of great importance to their profession and their students. They said they were prepared to walk a fine line between professional interests and social concerns
Social movement literature shows that professional teachers, like their new middle class counterparts, are active participants in new social movements. They constitute a significant part of the force of new middle-class radicalism. The case of media education is an outstanding example which shows us the power of school teachers in energizing curriculum change in a postindustrial educational milieu.

In addition to the examination of the legitimation of educational knowledge, this study also attempts to explore the issue of knowledge classification. According to Bernstein (1971), the classification of educational knowledge symbolizes the distribution of power in society. Works from Watson (1984) and Gieryn (1983) support Bernstein’s view that knowledge boundary is socially constructed. Watson’s study discusses the social construction of boundaries between social and cultural anthropology while Gieryn’s research illustrates the boundary work which distinguishes science from non-science. In Ontario, media education was classified as part of English. As the analysis in the previous chapter showed that the classification of media education was also socially constructed. English teachers were key political players in defining media education as a legitimate part of English. This was an outcome of the territorial struggle between school subjects. The Ministry of Education was involved as well. Acting on behalf of the State, it made the final decision that English would be the official host of media education. Taking a close look at the instructional, moral and cultural dimensions of the media literacy program outlined in Chapter Eight, it seems reasonable for the Ministry to put the curriculum into the hands of English teachers. Treating media education as a kind of literacy training facilitates the continuing process of citizenship nurturing, moral protection and nation-building. The Ministry considered English
to be a suitable host. Thus, the classification of media education supports the claim that power penetrates the knowledge system through boundary work.

10.3 A Postindustrial Subject

Media education emerged together with postindustrial society and grew out of the media literacy movement which is identified as a new social movement. The educational initiative for media education reflects the concerns and values of a new historical epoch. The media education curriculum shares many prominent characteristics of new social curricula. Shepherd, one of the important advocates of media education in Ontario, pointed out that lately in the educational field there is more and more discussion of "postindustrial" models for education, media education being an outstanding example. He commented, "Media literacy, with its departure from old models based on content mastery and fragmentation of knowledge, with its emphasis on the management and critical evaluation of information of all sorts is, in fact, the first post-industrial subject" (Shepherd, 1993, p. 35). Using the Ontario case, I will examine some of the features of media education as a new social curriculum.

Like many new social curricula, media education is new to the school curriculum. It is a young subject with a short history. In the Canadian context, it emerged after the 1960s and was first developed as screen education. It was mandated in 1987 as a legitimated part of English. Its legitimation signals a social transformation and shift in cultural and educational priorities. Media education is social and cultural in nature. It does not justify its existence in terms of utilitarian or academic values. It offers practical media literacy skills to
help students make sense of the technologically advanced media society. McLaren (1993) suggested that the postindustrial age is characterized by a great demand for relevant cultural curricula. The inclusion of media education in the school system illustrates that new subjects primarily concerned with current social and cultural issues can now become socially approved educational knowledge.

Media education is a life skill which is highly relevant to students' daily consumption of mass media. It is up-dated and action-based. Because it deals with current knowledge, it helps students to analyze contemporary media issues and the lessons students derive from it affect their daily social action and decision-making. Media education is considered useful in providing guidance to counteract the powerful impacts of the media. The close link between media education and everyday life supports the observation of Lash (1991) who claimed that knowledge in postindustrial society will be highly relevant to people's everyday life and problem-solving. Media education is such a subject which is socially relevant and designed to develop critical citizenship.

In this study I reason that media education has a critical objective. Textbook analysis reveals that the Ontario media education texts portray a disturbing world which requires critical appraisal. The critical dimension of the media education curriculum may have its origin in the media literacy movement, which called for a critical awareness and understanding of the impact of mass media on Canadian society. It is suggested by Dufour that many new social curricula aim at helping students develop critical and balanced social awareness. In line with this view, the objective of media education is to help students critically engage the mass media. As outlined in the textbook analysis in Chapter Nine, it is
considered essential that students be able to analyze information critically in a rapidly changing world overloaded with information.

New social curricula, especially those activated by social movements, ground their theory and practice in the philosophy of social equality and human liberation. The preoccupation of the new social movements differs from the old movements in that they seldom ask for changes in party politics and economic order. Instead they promote change in social norms, values, social relationships and life-style. They oppose social domination and promote social equality. As a new social movement, the media literacy movement also articulated these new postindustrial social demands such as self-determination and opposition to manipulation. Thus the media literacy curriculum was embedded with the postmaterialistic values of stressing personal autonomy and an alternative life-style. It encouraged media consumers to oppose media manipulation and maintain "critical autonomy." In pursuing social equality, it denounced improper gender and ethnic representations and challenged the profit motives of the media industry.

The search for personal or collective identity is another characteristic of new social movements. The media literacy movement also addressed the identity issue. Ontarians were asked to reflect on who they were and how they were represented as women, minority groups and Canadians in the mass media. Media education curriculum materials also reflect this postindustrial trend of the pursuit of identity. The curriculum emphasized challenging media representations and encouraged students to take a serious look in the media mirror. As outlined in Chapter Nine, students of media studies in Ontario were challenged to evaluate the Canadian sense of identity. They were urged to develop a Canadian consciousness which would help them examine media images from a Canadian perspective.
It was considered important to make a distinction between American images and the Canadian experience because cultural identity was at stake.

Anti-modernity is a prominent trait of the new social movements as they do not accept many of the assumptions and values of industrial society. Endless industrialization, continual technological expansion and irrational promotion of consumerism are thought to undermine human civilization. The media literacy movement was also anti-modernity in the way it challenged the abuse of communication technology and the deceptive influence of the mass media. The media literacy curriculum in Ontario, informed by critical media theory, overtly followed this line of criticism against modernity. My media textbook analysis finds that the Ontario textbooks adopted a critical perspective akin to the Frankfurt School’s view of analyzing the mass media. For instance, the textbooks agreed with Adorno and Horkheimer (1977) that mass media constitute a capitalist enterprise. Although they did not use the term "cultural industry" to label the mass media, they clearly stated that mass media are big business and are part of the economic system of the capitalist society. Adorno and Horkheimer (1977) accused mass media of mass deception because the commodification of cultural goods brings with it a number of negative consequences on culture, society and individuals. The authors of the Ontario media education textbooks also saw that industrialization of culture has led to a disturbing world in which consumerism is ever-expanding and American cultural imperialism intensifies. Their view of media’s construction of reality is comparable to Adorno and Horkheimer’s symbolic construct and pseudo-realism. It also matches Len Masterman’s conceptualization of mass media as "consciousness industry." They condemned the ideological manipulation by the mass media and the preservation of the status quo. The former were anxious about the loss of critical capability
of the cultural consumers, while the latter had the same worry about the mind-paralysing
effect of popular media on students. In sum, the authors are as critical as the Frankfurt
School theorists about the industrialization of media products and its negative consequence in
the contemporary world. A difference between them is that the media education authors
have faith in media literacy as a possible remedy to the problem.

Media education has established itself as an independent body of knowledge with its
own territory. Over the years, media education in Ontario has developed its theoretical base
and pedagogy. Professional subject associations, such as the AML, were established for the
promotion of media education and development of curriculum materials. Media education
has become a specialized area with its own literature and expertise. In Ontario, although
media education is attached to the English curriculum, it is still regarded as an independent
unit. Pungente (personal communication, October 25, 1994) pointed out that media
education is not integral to English. He said, "It is an independent unit of it (English)."

According to the English Curriculum Guideline 1987, besides one-third of classroom time in
one English course at each of the intermediate and senior division levels was mandated to
teach the media, media literacy could also be offered as a separate course for one of the five
compulsory English credits. Moreover, the Media Literacy Resource Guide was developed
not only for English but also for other subjects. Apparently, like many new social curricula
such as gender studies and environmental studies, it is treated as an autonomous area of
study. However, similar to many new social curricula, media education also remains at the
periphery of the school curriculum and faces the possibility of exclusion. It is still regarded
as low-status knowledge and therefore expendable. Duncan (personal communication, June
20, 1995) said media education in Ontario "is always in danger." When new political parties
come to power, they may revise the school curriculum and the curriculum may not necessarily include media literacy as it has little utilitarian or academic values. Duncan complained that media literacy is not at the top of the list as it might have been. The case of media education once again shows that new social curricula are always relegated to marginal position in the curriculum.

Following the anti-authoritarian tradition of the new social movement, most of the new social curricula are based on the pedagogy of student-centred learning. In Ontario, the *Media Literacy Resource Guide* and most of the teaching materials also recommended a student-centred pedagogy, which advocates that students should take a more active role in the learning process and teachers should act only as facilitators or co-ordinators.

New social curricula are not constrained by subject boundaries. They tend to permeate other subject areas and are called cross-curricular themes. They have high subject adaptability and are able to accommodate themselves to other subject environments. I coin this characteristic as "subject transgression." The Ontario case shows that media education also shares the characteristic of subject transgression. Subject transgression is manifested in two ways in media education. One is its multiple approach to analysis and the other is its permeable subject boundary. Firstly, the development of media education in Ontario has undergone many stages, each adopting a different analytical approach—aesthetic, sociological or cultural studies. Media education matches the description of what Paisley (1984) called a "variable field." According to Paisley (1984, p. 6), "each variable field has a focal variable, from which it receives its name." Media education clearly has a focal variable. Media is its focus of study and that is why it is called media education or media studies. Like other variable fields, it cuts across different level fields such as anthropology, sociology and
psychology. In other words, students of media education can approach their target of study from different levels and they are free to use any appropriate analytical perspective.

Secondly, media education has a weak subject boundary. It belongs to the group that Bernstein (1971) called "integrated codes" and this type of curriculum has weak classification and weak frame. The curricular contents stand in an open relationship to other subjects. According to Bernstein, classification refers to the boundary strength between subjects. For media education, the boundary strength between its content and other subject contents is weak. A closer look at the mass media would reveal that mass media have little intrinsic contents. Mass media such as film, television programming and video are "content carriers" and the contents they carry are not specified. As media education uses the "content carriers" (mass media) as a target of study, it has no boundary limits in terms of its teaching content. Hence, Duncan argued that media education is an essential dimension of all curricula including English, science, history, geography, visual arts, health education, music and mathematics. Duncan regarded all these subjects as somehow related to the media. Apparently, media education does not clearly distinguish its subject content from that of other subjects. Moreover, media education is a subject which is skill-oriented or analytical-oriented. It is different from subjects such as biology and history which are bound to have specific study contents. Thus, media education is free to permeate other subjects and becomes subject transgressive. Furthermore, media education adopts a student-centred pedagogy which is an illustration of Bernstein's "weak framing." Students of media education have greater control over the selection, organization, and pacing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship. Media education is basically an
integrated type of educational knowledge, characterized by a capacity for subject transgression.

Bernstein suggested that it is important to note the changes in classification strength of educational knowledge and the institutionalization of new forms of knowledge because the integrated codes "carry a potential for change in power structures and principles of control" (Bernstein, 1971, p. 229). To Bernstein, the integrated code indicates a shift from content closure to content openness. It also leads to the blurring of educational identity and the weakening of concepts of property. Furthermore, it makes us "less concerned to emphasize the need to acquire status of knowledge, but will be more concerned to emphasize how knowledge is created" (Bernstein, 1971, p. 217). Bernstein submitted that when a society becomes more fragmented and specialized, it is likely to see its educational system moving to an integrated code and we will find new forms of interdependence and cooperation within that educational system. Therefore, the trend of knowledge integration fostered by the emergence of new social curricula may have a constructive impact on the contemporary educational system and may reshape the process of knowledge production and transmission.

The case of media education supports Lash's (1990) observation of "de-differentiation of knowledge" in the postindustrial age. It also serves as a good example to illustrate how knowledge transgresses disciplinary boundaries as described by Aronowitz and Giroux (1991). This study shows that media education is one of the new forms of de-differentiated knowledge that emerged in the process.

The above analysis demonstrates that media education as a new social curriculum in postindustrial society is characterized by its special concern for current social and cultural issues, high relevancy to everyday life, critical social awareness objective, special emphasis
on personal autonomy and social equity, anti-modernity values, peripheral status, student-centred pedagogy and subject transgression nature. This case study on media education is theoretically informative for the examination of subject formation in a postindustrial society. It also enhances our understanding about the nature and characteristics of new social curricula.

This study has no intention to overgeneralize. Based on empirical findings, it only claims that media education has a number of attributes which are common to other new social curricula. These attributes are strongly related to the needs, norms and values of a postindustrial society. This study does not, however, imply that all social curricula are postindustrial subjects and, therefore, all possess the attributes mentioned above.

10.4 The Cultural Uniqueness of the Ontario Media Education Program

The legitimation process indicates that media education in Ontario was not simply shaped by the grand technological climate (the coming of the information age), but was also defined by Canadians’ thoughts on techno-cultural nationalism and Ontarians’ social concerns. According to Repo (1989), the media education curriculum in Ontario has two main objectives. One is to help students become critical viewers and break away from mass media manipulation, particularly the domination of consumerism promoted by the commercial sector and media industry. The second one is to encourage students to look for media images that represent their Canadian identity and to understand the ways in which constant exposure to American images can alter their self-perception and identity. Thus, Ontario
educators reacted to technological change in communication by contemplating the implications of the invisible curriculum and American cultural penetration of their social and cultural lives in the information age. The rise of media education in Ontario illustrates that a new school curriculum is a product of social and cultural forces of a society at a particular historical moment.

Media education in Ontario is not quite the same as media education programs in other countries because it is very much shaped by its own domestic, social and cultural forces. According to Duncan (personal communication, October 21, 1994), Ontario media education is somewhere between the American and the British program. On the one hand the Ontario program is more critical of the media than its American counterpart. On the other hand, it is not as ideologically sensitive and critical as the British. Duncan said Canadian media educators are very much aware of American domination in the media game and are concerned with their own culture. They feel strongly that what they watch on TV is not what they experience in everyday life. The violence in American media is not congruent with Canadians' experience of violence. Therefore, Canadians tend to be more critical about the media images and they are more vehement about media ideology than the Americans. They are not, however, as critical as the British because they are not class conscious and are not as keen on political and ideological analysis. Duncan said the intellectuals in England generally have stronger political minds than those in Toronto. Andersen (personal communication, June 20, 1995) echoed Duncan's view that Canadian media educators are willing to address the ideological issues while the Americans educators try not to do so. Referring to the uniqueness of the Ontario media education program, Neil Andersen, Bill Mitchell and Judy Coghill all said that the program is distinctive in its Canadian
consciousness. Since the media images to which Canadians are exposed do not reflect the Canadian cultural experience, Canadian media educators try to remind their students that they are watching American programs and encourage them to look at the media from a Canadian perspective. Andersen said this geographical distance could foster objective and critical analysis (Andersen, personal communication, June 20, 1995). For Mitchell, the media education program in Ontario is shaped by its unique cultural environment. He said Canadians often look at their American neighbour from a detached position. They are reflecting and thinking about events happening in the United States rather than actually reacting to them. In Mitchell’s view, the strength of the Canadian perspective lies in the comparison. This refers to a way of looking at a situation from all sides, to coming to an understanding of the situation from a particular viewpoint but at the same time appreciating other people’s position as well (Mitchell, personal communication, June 23, 1995). Coghill called this the Canadian consciousness, which encourages media analysts to sit back and reflect. She said that through the methods of comparison and critical thinking, Canadian students can analyze the media in a better way (Coghill, personal communication, June 21, 1995).

Meyer, Kamens and Benavot (1992) conducted an international survey on primary curricula around the world and found their sample curricular outlines highly homogeneous. They concluded that school knowledge for the masses is largely generic. However, the Ontario case shows that a school curriculum is shaped not only by world trends but also by its own cultural environment. Therefore, each school curriculum is unique in a cultural sense. Overall, school curricula around the world may share some common goals and
characteristics but I believe they do have their own distinctive features due to cultural and social variations.

10.5 The Social Purpose of Media Education

According to Bernstein (1971, p. 202), "How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control." In terms of the distribution of power, this study shows that the democratization forces associated with social movements have an opportunity to exercise their influence in forming a new school subject. Then, what about the issue of social control? How does it relate to the social purpose of media education?

In The Technology Society, Ellul (1964) demonstrated how technology, which we continue to conceptualize as the servant of man, becomes a force of anti-humanity. A similar interpretation is provided by Postman (1992). He traced the historical development of technology from being a support-system for a culture's tradition to creating a totalitarian order which suppresses human culture. Postman's premise is that in a society of "technopoly," culture surrenders to technology. Technopoly is a system in which technology becomes self-justifying, self-perpetuating and omnipresent. Not only is individuality undermined, but freedom is also limited. Technology redefines what we mean by religion, art, family, politics, history, truth, privacy and intelligence, so that the new definitions fit the requirements of the technological thought-world. Postman argued that although technologies
are certainly indispensable, we must understand and control them, and place them in the context of our larger human goals, our social values, and our national intention.

In Ontario, the impact of mass media is diagnosed as manipulative. As mentioned, media literacy was basically developed to help people become critical viewers and break away from mass media manipulation. Thus, the inclusion of media education as a new body of school knowledge can be seen as a part of the humanistic struggle against technological control in postindustrial society. The selection of media education as a formal school subject reflects social anxiety about the influence of modern communication technologies and the need for social regulation.

Social regulation is defined here as the diverse effect of social groups to bring the attitudes and behaviors of their members in line with accepted and customary social expectations (Franklin, 1985). Social regulation is a form of power exertion. Power, according to Foucault, can be both negative and positive and its exertion is not necessarily top-down. Therefore, I prefer to use the term social regulation instead of social control since the latter has a strong negative connotation.

Media education attempts to return students to the influence of schools by encouraging them to take a critical stand towards the popular media. The Media Literacy Resource Guide (Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1989, p. 7) states that "Media literacy is a life skill....If the school can provide them with the necessary knowledge, skills, and awareness, they will then be in a position to control their relationship with the media." As Foucault (1980) points out, to know is to be subject to regulation. Media literate students equipped with "media knowledge" and critical viewing skills are then encouraged to follow official instruction in
dealing with the mass media. In this sense, media education is used to regulate students’ media use and subsequently their social, political and consumptive orientation.

In the information age, communication technologies are constantly reshaping society. Under such pressure, the traditional socialization agents such as the school, family and church feel they are losing their influence on the young to the mass media. On the one hand, they do not want to lose control in socializing the young but on the other hand, they perceive there is a need to minimize the negative impact of technology and to train students to become critical viewers, smart consumers and responsible citizens in order to maintain social stability in the new age. As we can see, the demand for social regulation is initiated by teachers, parents and community groups. It fits Foucault’s analysis that power exertion is not necessarily top-down bound. Moreover, regulating students’ media use may not be a bad thing. It can be constructive if the curriculum is well-designed. The power-knowledge concept should not be stereotyped as oppressive in nature.

Through the analysis of the case of media education, I conclude that the general function of school knowledge as official knowledge is social regulation. Nevertheless, the demand for regulation does not necessarily come from the ruling class, and the effect of social regulation is not necessarily negative. The way media education accommodates young people to postindustrial society is similar to the way traditional subjects channelled young people to participate in the development of industrial society a century ago. The difference is that in the past most of the accommodation and regulation work was carried out according to a top-down model. But in the Ontario case a bottom-up model is also possible.
10.6 The Future Direction of Media Education

In Chapter Three I put forward a dialectic structuring model. According to this model, socio-historical research not only investigates the dialectic relationship of agency and structure over time, but also links the study with the present situation. The so-called "retrospective link" means that what is investigated must be constructed in terms of its significance for the present. Therefore, in the last part of this dissertation, and base on my research findings, I would like to discuss some new developments concerning the young subject of media education.

Mandating media education in Ontario certainly encouraged the development of media education in other Canadian provinces. The Canadian Association of Media Education Organizations (CAMEO) was established in 1992 to promote media education across Canada. According to Pungente (1996a), media education is going to play a key role in the new English Language Arts curriculum prepared for Atlantic Canada (the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland) for grades K to 12. The new curriculum is scheduled to be fully implemented in September, 1997. On the west coast, beginning in 1995, the Ministry of Education in British Columbia has included "Cross-Curricular Outlines" within the Integrated Resource Packages (documents that replace the former "curriculum guides"). Media education is one of the cross-curricular outlines. A Cross Curricular Planning Guide for Media Education which was prepared by the Canadian Association for Media Education was published in the Appendix C of the new document (Ungerleider, personal communication, June 24, 1997). In 1996, the four western provinces (Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and Saskatchewan) and the northern territory (Yukon
and North West Territories) also agreed that media literacy in the forms of viewing and representing will be included in their Language Arts curricula (Pungente, 1997).

Another piece of good news about media education concerns its development in the elementary schools. In the early 1990s, media education in Ontario spread from the secondary level to the elementary level. Rick Shepherd is one of the well known media educators in Ontario who is now promoting elementary media education. In 1995, the Ministry of Education in Ontario released *The Common Curriculum: Politics and Outcomes Grades 1-9* (Ministry of Education and Training, Ontario, 1995a) to reform the elementary and secondary education in the province. Its sister document, *The Common Curriculum: Provincial Standards Language, Grades 1-9* (Ministry of Education and Training, Ontario, 1995b) instructs that there are strands which must be taught. Of the listening, speaking, reading, writing, viewing and representing strands, the last two ensure that media literacy is now a mandated part of the Language Arts curriculum from grades 1 to 9. The document stresses the importance of media literacy by saying that "Students need to be critical viewers and critical consumers of media texts" (Ministry of Education and Training, Ontario, 1995b, p. 22).

However, the development of media education is not all that optimistic. One concern is its relationship with English. In Ontario media education is not able to develop as an independent subject. New social curricula, as guest subjects or cross-curricular themes, have great difficulty in changing their peripheral status. Their development is greatly constrained by their host subjects. The subject of English has defined media education as just another form of literacy training and this is not beneficial for the development of media education. Some media education advocates are concerned that media education will be "ghettoized"
within English. Robert Morgan of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education conducted a survey among English teachers in Ontario to examine the relationship between media education and English (Morgan, 1995).

Regarding the future of media education, I would argue that it depends very much on the development of the guest-host relationship between English and media studies. Consumer studies in British Columbia is an example. Since its host, business studies, has been unable to provide strong support and good care, the subject has been predicted to have no future in the school curriculum. Environment studies in Britain failed to develop into an independent subject with a separate examination paper because its hosts (biology and geography) refused to set it free (Goodson, 1993). Therefore, guest-host analysis is important for understanding how a new subject grows. In Ontario, it is unlikely that English will easily give up media education and allow it to become a part of other subjects. If media education continues to be defined as literacy instruction, I do not think it will have significant growth. Although it might be better to see media education spread across other subjects, it is all right to keep media education in English because of their historical link. What I oppose is the narrow definition of media education as just another form of literacy training. I think media analysis can be conducted by using a social science or cultural studies approach. If media education would like to broaden its scope and change its character, it has to step out of the shadow of English. In other words, a redefinition of "what is media education" is necessary.

The other pessimistic concern about media education is related to its insecure place in the Ontario secondary school curriculum. While the Ontario case celebrates the power of teacher initiative, social movement and educational lobbying in generating educational change, we must recognize the fragility of the curriculum they have produced. A new social
curriculum is by nature weak in political bargaining power. As it does not emerge from the
dominant groups, this type of curriculum may have difficulty in staying permanently in the
mainstream of education. When the social movement which brought its legitimation ebbs and
the public support network dissolves, the strength of a new social curriculum weakens.
Taking on a form of subject inhabitancy, media education as a "guest" curriculum inherits
insecure and unstable status and its future remains uncertain.

Bad news recently came out of Ontario about the "endangerment" of media literacy
(Boles, 1996). It is reported that media literacy may lose its mandatory status. Although
media literacy is now a mandatory part of English, whether this arrangement will continue is
unknown. Ontario has elected a new Conservative government and the new Education
Minister welcomes a more "business-like" approach to education policy and is planning the
restructuring of secondary education in Ontario. "In the new trimmed down secondary
curriculum, no one seems to know what will survive" (Duncan, 1996, p. 4).

Media literacy is a guest in English, not an autonomous subject. It is a life skill
curriculum involved with students' cultural experience but it does not contribute to the
training of labour which makes Ontario/Canada more competitive in the global market. As
the new Ministry of Education is considering reducing classroom hours devoted to English,
the English subject's guest has to face the possibility of being cut out. According to Duncan,
with the Ministry's Secondary Reform Committee recommending fewer English courses,
there will certainly be less time for media education. Media teachers are anxious about
"what would happen to those programs in school with flourishing complete credit media
studies courses if the fifth credit English option were to be dropped" (Duncan, 1995a, p. 5).
The AML in Ontario is now fighting to prevent this from happening. According to Andersen
(personal communication, May 1, 1997), the executive members of the Association are writing briefs to the Ministry panels to try to re-establish the importance of media education. The Ontario case once again teaches us the lesson that a new social curriculum, like many other social movements, requires continuing effort and struggle to adapt to change and work for growth in order to survive.

Desimoni (1992, p. 32) explained that the difficulty in implementing media education was caused by school’s tendency to favor "utilitarian and well-tried approaches at the expense of the creative and the critical." He said comparing with computer studies, media education was slow in the speed of acquiring official status in the school. The school is always indifferent to humanistic concerns, and is bound to give priority to forms of technical instruction which are clearly and easily assessable. Masterman believed that the future of media education is not that secure because in many countries education is under the influence of conservatism. Masterman (1994, p. 317) echoed Desimoni’s view that creative arts subjects are given low status and few resources because of "the increasing dominance of utilitarian and instrumental philosophies of education." I agree with Masterman (1994) that media teachers need to continuously advocate media education in their schools. At local, national and international levels, support networks should be established to share ideas and resources. The formation of the Cultural Environment Movement (CEM) by George Gerbner in 1996, in my view, is an encouraging indication of international collaboration among media concerned groups and media education agencies.

Although the official status of media education in the Ontario educational system is not secure, it is exciting to see that a new kind of media education is flourishing in the community. This is what Andersen called "ex-officio" media education (Andersen, personal
communication, June 20, 1995). What he refers to is unofficial media education that receives no sanction from a government body and is supported by the members of the business community. None of these media education materials enter the schools with government approval, yet none have been banned either. Youth Television (YTV) is an example. This is a TV station that wants greater viewership, so it invites media teachers to write study guides for its programs. The study guides will be distributed free and without advertising and the teachers are encouraged to use the materials in class. The materials are written by teachers and delivered to teachers but they are outside the Ministry, school boards or any official educational institutions. Andersen found it exciting that people outside education are interested in education. Andersen once wrote a study guide for a video called Watching Television produced by the National Film Board and the guide will be inside the cassette label. Warner Brothers Canada also cooperates with a children’s magazine to develop study guides for their films such as Batman. Every teacher who subscribes to the magazine receives a study guide as well as a videotape. They can bring them into the classroom for teaching. There is no official sanction or validation, yet the teachers are using them. So, these media education curriculum materials slip into the classroom without going through the normal channels. The procedure is not official but has a wide impact. For instance, in 1994 Rogers Cablesystems, in partnership with the Alliance for Children and Television, produced a 24-page study guide to accompany its program Who’s Minding the Set: Television Violence and Our Children. The program was broadcast across Canada and later was turned into a videotape. The study guide, which features tips and suggestions on how to manage television viewing in the home, was made available free of charge to school boards in all Rogers’ areas (Hunt, 1994).
Similar activities are going on in Ontario as well as other parts of Canada. Chum Television Limited has become involved in media literacy by developing media literacy lesson plans for its programming on MuchMusic. Cable in the Classroom provides copyright-cleared, commercial-free programming for teachers and also gives media literacy support to many of these programs on its web site (Pungente, 1996b). In addition to the media corporations, media concern groups are also taking the initiative to produce ex-officio materials. The Jesuit Communication Project with Face to Face media produced a four-hour video resource kit called *Scanning Television* and a teacher's guide (Pungente, 1996c). The video is available to teachers and parents. At the same time, the Alliance for Children and Television published the *Prime Time Parent* kit with Health Canada. The MediaWatch, a feminist organization, produced a series of resource kits for parents, teachers and school administrators entitled *Positive Action: Gender and violence in children's entertainment* (Hogarth, personal communication, June 12, 1995). MediaWatch fully supports the promotion of media literacy (Graydon, personal communication, May 28, 1995). In 1993, the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission and representatives of national education and parent organizations requested that the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) set up a clearinghouse on media violence. Soon after, the Media Awareness Network was established in Ottawa with the aim to support media education and increase public awareness about the media on a national level. Anne Taylor is responsible for running the network (Taylor, personal communication, May 25, 1995). This initiative involves support of parent awareness activities, linking educators and curriculum developers and identifying useful resources for media education (Pungente, 1994). The production and circulation of all these unofficial media education materials reflect that media education is very much in
demand in the 1990s. It is alive in the community and has gained popular support from teachers and parents. No matter whether media education has or does not have a secure place in the official curriculum, it will nevertheless continue to grow. I think this is an encouraging sign for the future development of media education.

In the last decade, a large part of the debate on media education was about the "place" of media education in the school curriculum. Discussions focused on questions such as: Should media education continue to be part of English? What are the consequences? Should it be a cross-curricular theme? Can it be integrated into cultural studies and then replace English studies? In my view, it is unlikely that media education will be developed as a separate subject. Apart from this, the options are open. It may become an integrated subject by blending in with some other existing subjects. It may stand as a cross-curricular theme, or it may permeate a number of school subjects. It is difficult to say which option is better. To me, the form of "subject inhabitation," whether it is attachment, permeation to several subjects, cross-curricula or integration, depends largely on existing opportunities and the curricular environment of a particular society. For example, there is attempt in Australia to have media studies or cultural studies replace the subject of English (Kress, 1992). I think it will be an interesting case, showing the possibility for a guest subject to transform or replace the host subject. But this is unlikely to happen in other countries in the near future because of the differences in deciding on the importance of English. Of course, it is still important for media education advocates to actively choose suitable host(s) for media education but we have to admit that very often the outcome is constrained by the objective educational context of a society. Therefore, instead of spending time on discussing where to put media education, I think it is more important and constructive to discuss what should
media education be. It is worthwhile to rethink the nature and scope of media education in a new technological era.

According to Masterman (1994), the rapid expansion of media education in the 1980s was due to its high relevance to the lives of the students. However, media education seems to be beginning to lose touch with the realities of the media environment of the 1990s in which communication technology has undergone a revolutionary change. Direct-broadcast satellites, interactive cable systems, video-on-demand, teletext electronic magazine, interactive television and digital radio broadcasting have charted a new media landscape (Mirabito, 1994). One significant change is the convergence of media and computer technologies. Koelsch (1995) called it the "Infomedia Revolution." He said, "As information, media and communications technologies collide, our world will be remade" (Koelsch, 1995, p. 334). For him, as the "infomedia revolution" intensifies, infomedia technologies such as multimedia home computers, interactive television, digital camera and audio-visual players are coming into our offices and homes. The revolution challenges us directly on a personal level. It is changing the way we work, play, entertain and educate ourselves. Gibney described the new world in the following way:

Cameras won’t need film, recorders won’t need tape....Audio-video players will be able to call up the latest movies and music albums from on-line suppliers. Television sets will hang from walls like Picassos, functioning as interactive infotainment centers....It will be a digital world in which information merges with entertainment, computers converge with cameras and TVs, and everything’s networked--putting you and everyone else just a keystroke away from a boundless realm of knowledge and enjoyment (Gibney, 1997, pp. 28, 30).

This study concludes that the legitimation of media education in Ontario is a social and educational response to the technological changes in postindustrial society. As we travel
further into the postindustrial age and the media environment continues its rapid evolution as Gibney and Koelsch described, media education should change as well. I think that what is going on in the media education classroom in Norway is of considerable interest. Dahl (1992) reported that in Norway the media education course is an integration of traditional media analysis with computer studies. Their curriculum places emphasis upon telematics, multimedia, information technology, computers and the role of media in society. This media education model may serve as a reference for the future development of media education in Canada as well as in other countries. In my opinion, as media technology merges with information technology, so should media studies integrate with computer studies. In Ontario, the Report of the Royal Commission on Learning (Royal Commission on Learning, Ontario, 1994) treated information technology as one of the four key engines to help Ontario schools "cope with an uncertain and intimidating future" (p. xiv). The report said "both students and teachers would be more receptive to the entire learning process if schools designed much of their classroom teaching and learning strategies around information technology" (p. 19). Media literacy, however, received no mention at all in the entire report and Fowlie (personal communication, June 18, 1995) said the members of the Royal Commission were possibly not satisfied with the narrow scope of media education in Ontario in the early 1990s which placed little emphasis on the study of information technology. Duncan (1995a) also noticed that the new Minister of Education, John Snobelen, saw the study of communication technology (computer studies) as a priority. Ministry officials in Ontario enthusiastically promoted technology courses and made them a mandatory part of the curriculum (Duncan, 1996). Recent issues of Mediacy published by the AML have begun to deal extensively with new communication technologies. These incidents signal that unless media education
broadens its scope to include information technology, it will have a bleak future in the official curriculum.

When we look back through history, screen education in the 1960s dealt only with films, but media education in 1980s widened its horizon to include all media with special emphasis on television and video because of the technological advancement in electronic media. This implies that media education has to keep pace with social and technological changes. This study deals with the legitimation of media education in the 1980s and does not address the development of information technology. However, the 1990s has rapidly become an age of the Internet and multimedia. As we look forward, we have to rethink "what is media education" in the 21st century. I strongly suggest a new concept of "infomedia analysis" which aims at promoting the critical analysis of all information, images and values through infomedia technology. Media education should be renamed "infomedia studies" or "infomedia education." There is a need to readjust the scope and redevelop the rationale, aims, key concepts, strategies, analytical skills and pedagogy. Teachers of language arts, social studies, sociology, technology studies and computer science may need to work together to develop this new education program. I think media education has to free itself from the narrow definition of literacy training imposed by the subject of English and to strengthen its link with sociology, technology studies and computer studies.

The new infomedia studies can be a subject integrating media studies, computer studies and technology studies. Or it can be a cross-curricular theme permeating several or all existing subjects. Or it can remain attached to English. As I have argued before, the format depends primarily on the opportunity available. But the nature and scope of media education must transform. Media educators in Ontario are afraid that media education will
be included in technological education by the Ministry and will become a production course rather than the one dealing with the analysis of sexism, racism and consumerism in the media (Andersen, personal communication, May 1, 1997). In my view, there is no need to oppose the union of media education and technology studies. What is important is to lobby the Ministry to ensure that the new curriculum maintains critical media analysis as an essential component.

I am confident that the new positioning of media education as infomedia education will revitalize media education. The evolving curriculum will hopefully be a useful curriculum, able to meet the needs of teachers and students in the new infomedia era.
Bibliography


AML. (Association for Media Literacy) (1979b, March). Etobicoke establishes media task force. *Association for Media Literacy Newsletter*, p. 4.


AML. (Association for Media Literacy) (1986c, June). The visit of Len Masterman. *Association for Media Literacy Newsletter*, pp. 6-8.


Unpublished doctoral thesis of the Department of Educational Theory, the University of Toronto, Canada.


Cruickshank, L. R. (1969). *An examination of the current approaches to and effects of screen education in selected schools of the Toronto area*. Master's thesis, Department of Television and Radio, Michigan State University, USA.


Draine, B. (1990, April, 28). The medium may be the message but who's getting it? The Globe and Mail, p. C1.


Duncan, B. (1986/87, December/January). Feed the fantasy: Beneath the glitter and glamor of show-biz extravaganzas lie the fears and aspirations of our culture. *Forum*, pp. 43-44.

Duncan, B. (1987a, Fall). Biography Barry Duncan.


Duncan, B. (1993, April). Barry Duncan, S.E.E., Etobicoke Board of Education, President of the Association for Media Literacy.


Fox, F. (1981, May 12). Notes for an address to the annual meeting of the Canadian Cable Television Association, 16, Quebec City.


Green, D. (1981a, October 30). Letter from Duncan Green, Chairman for the Steering Committee and Secretariat of the Secondary Education Review Project to the Bette Stephenson, Minister of Education, Ontario.


Hutton, J. (1968, March 8). 'I read the news today...O, boy'...and now see it. *The Telegram*. Section 3.


Lalonde, P. (1985, November 22). A memorandum from P. Lalonde, Executive Assistant of the Ontario Teachers’ Federation (OTF) to OTF Executive.


METRAC. (1985). *METRAC response to the report of the special committee on pornography and prostitution*. A brief presented to the Department of Justice Consultation by the Metro Action Committee on Public Violence against Women and Children. Toronto: METRAC.

METRAC (1986a, February). *In Meeting the challenges: Metro Action Committee on Public Violence against Women and Children progress report*. Toronto: METRAC.


METRAC pamphlet (nondated). Produced by the Metro Action Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children, Toronto.


The Ontario English Catholic Teacher Association (OECTA). (1985). *Pornography: An issue for educators.* A report of the OECTA work group appointed to study the effects of pornography and the means to counteract it. Toronto: OECTA.


Program Department, Scarborough Board of Education. (1980). Language arts guide: Junior division. Toronto: Scarborough Board of Education.


413
Appendix 1: Code Book of the Quantitative Content Analysis of the *Canadian Journal of Communication*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coding Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Case number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>001-999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Volume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>01-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Number of issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1   No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2   No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3   No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4   No. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9   special issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>78-93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Title subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>01   Media industry (press)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>02   Media industry (broadcasting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>03   Telecommunication industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>04   Advertising or public relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>05   Journalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>06   Media effects (press)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>07   Media effects (broadcasting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>08   Media effects (mass media)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>09   Communication technology and innovation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10   Communication and education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11   Communication and politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12   Communication policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13   International communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14   Communication discipline/studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15   Communication scholars/theories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16   Canada-US communication relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17   Communication and cultural identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18   Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Argument statement (1):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>There is no clearly defined Canadian identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1   Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2   Hard to say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3   Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9   Irrelevant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Argument statement (2):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canadian cultural sovereignty is undermined.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1   Agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

414
13 8
Argument statement (3):
Canadian identity is needed and should be built.
1 Agree
2 Hard to say
3 Disagree
9 Irrelevant

14 9
Argument statement (4):
Strong Canadian identity can strengthen the polity (national unity).
1 Agree
2 Hard to say
3 Disagree
9 Irrelevant

15 10
Argument statement (5):
Weak Canadian identity may weaken the polity (national unity).
1 Agree
2 Hard to say
3 Disagree
9 Irrelevant

16 11
Argument statement (6):
US-Canada relationship is asymmetrical.
1 Agree
2 Hard to say
3 Disagree
9 Irrelevant

17 12
Argument statement (7):
Canada is different from the United States.
1 Agree
2 Hard to say
3 Disagree
9 Irrelevant

18 13
Value judgment phrase (1):
Appraisal of American products or American ways of doing things.
1 Positive
2 Mixed
3 Negative
9 Irrelevant

19 14
Value judgment phrase (2):
Appraisal of popular culture.
1 Positive
2 Mixed
3 Negative
9 Irrelevant

415
Value judgment phrase (3):
Appraisal of free market mechanism.
1 Positive
2 Mixed
3 Negative
9 Irrelevant

Value judgment phrase (4):
Appraisal of government communication policy.
1 Positive
2 Mixed
3 Negative
9 Irrelevant

Value judgment phrase (5):
Appraisal of government intervention.
1 Positive
2 Mixed
3 Negative
9 Irrelevant

Value judgment phrase (6):
Appraisal of the kind of impact communication exercises on Canada's national culture.
1 Positive
2 Mixed
3 Negative
9 Irrelevant

Value judgment phrase (7):
Appraisal of the role of communication technology in society.
1 Positive
2 Mixed
3 Negative
9 Irrelevant

Does the journal article discuss at least one of the above arguments or value judgment statements?
1 Yes
2 No

Does the journal article address cultural tensions?
1 US cultural threat
2 The cultural tension between the French and English
3 The distinctiveness of Quebec culture
4 The cultural tension between region and centre
5 Multiculturalism
Appendix 2: Sample Interview Questions

Rationale of Media Literacy Program

1. What are the objectives of the media literacy program?

2. Why are there a need to include media education into the Ontario school curriculum?

Media Literacy and Communication Technology

3. Do you think Canada has entered the information age?

4. In what ways does the development of communication technologies affect the Canadian society? Has it changed our cultural landscape?

5. Were there any cultural debates in Ontario concerning mass media influence in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s?

6. Do you think Marshall McLuhan had any influence on the media literacy movement in Ontario?

Mass Media and School Education

7. Do you agree with the saying that the mass media are "parallel schools"?

8. In your opinion, in what ways do the information, knowledge and values disseminated by the school and the mass media different? How should the school react to this situation?

9. How do you describe Canadian students' relationship with the mass media?

10. Has media education gained any public support in Ontario? Why does the public favour such a school program? How does their concern with the negative influence of the media such as media violence relate their concern with the mass media?

Changing Concept of Literacy

11. Is media education a new kind of literacy training? Why?

12. Do you think there has been a change in the concept of literacy in the context of continuing communication technology advances?
Development of Media Literacy Program in Ontario

13. How do you account for the "history" of the media literacy movement in Ontario?

14. How did the social and cultural environment in the mid 1980s relate to the emergence of media education?

15. Why was the media literacy program integrated into the English curriculum but not other subjects? Who were involved in making this decision?

16. Why did Ontario become the first province in Canada to officially integrate media education into the school curriculum?

17. Please describe the current situation of media education in Ontario high schools. How do the teachers feel about it? Is it gaining or losing importance?

18. What is the underlying philosophy of the media literacy program in Ontario?

19. Please describe the view of what the students are like behind the media literacy curriculum. What are the teachers expected to do? What are the contents and methods of teaching about the media? How do you feel about it?

20. Was the Ministry of Education aware of the underlying philosophy of the media literacy program? How did they choose the approach among existing ones?

21. The present underlying philosophy is only one of the several. Are you personally in favour of this philosophy? Is it the best one for media education?

Characteristics of the Media Literacy Program in Ontario

22. What is the uniqueness of the media literacy program in Ontario? How is it different from the British and Australian ones?

23. Where do you think the subject of media education gets its theoretical and practical guidance?

24. How do you evaluate Len Masterman's influence on the Ontario media literacy program? Do you personally know him?

25. Does media education as a school subject have a link with some academic disciplines in universities?
People Involved in Advocating the Media Literacy Program

26. How were you involved in the curriculum development of the media literacy program in high schools?

27. Who are the key figures in advocating media literacy in schools? Which are the major lobbying groups?

28. What role did English teachers play in the curriculum development process of the media literacy program?

29. What role did the Association of Media Literacy (AML) play in the lobbying process? What part did Barry Duncan play?

30. How did the lobbying groups successfully include media literacy into the school curriculum? What were their strategies?

31. Did they submit any formal proposal to the Ministry? Who wrote it? What were its main points?

Implications of Media Literacy

32. What are the social use of media literacy? (How would the promotion of media literacy benefit the Canadian society?)

33. Can media literacy promote Canadian cultural identity?

34. Do you think media education is a kind of political/cultural socialization to train good Canadian citizens?

35. What is your opinion on the American cultural penetration through the mass media? Does media education in Canada have anything to do with this issue?
Appendix 3: Interview List

A. Face-to-Face Interview List

Andersen, Neil  
Face-to-face interview on June 20, 1995 in Toronto.

Appleyard, Freda  
Face-to-face interview on October 19, 1994 in Toronto.

Bear, Ellen  
Face-to-face interview on June 22, 1995 in Toronto.

Cavanagh, Gray  
Face-to-face interview on June 8, 1995 in Toronto.

Clemson, Jan  
Face-to-face interview on August 22, 1995 in Vancouver.

Coghill, Judy  
Face-to-face interview on June 21, 1995 in Toronto.

Dixon, Des  
Face-to-face interview on June 12, 1995 in Toronto.

Duncan, Barry  
Face-to-face interview on October 21, 1994 and June 20, 1995 in Toronto.

Dyson, Rose  
Face-to-face interview on June 13, 1995 in Toronto.

Flemington, Peter  
Face-to-face interview on June 28, 1995 in Toronto.

Fowlie, Jamie  
Face-to-face interview on October 23, 1994 and on June 18, 1995 in Toronto.

George, Jerry  
Face-to-face interview on October 6, 1994 and on June 11, 1996 in Vancouver.

Goller, Claudine  
Face-to-face interview on June 21, 1995 in Toronto.

Greenaway, Kristine  
Face-to-face interview on June 22, 1995 in Toronto.

Harvey, John  
Face-to-face interview on October 18, 1994 in Toronto.

Hogarth, Meg  
Face-to-face interview on June 12, 1995 in Toronto.

Hoyes, Mima  
Face-to-face interview on October 27, 1994 in Toronto.

Lalonde, Pierre  
Face-to-face interview on October 20, 1994 in Toronto.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Interview Method and Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Livesley, Jack</td>
<td>Face-to-face interview on June 13, 1995 in Toronto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitchell, Bill</td>
<td>Face-to-face interview on October 21, 1994 and on June 23, 1995 in Toronto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morrison, Ian</td>
<td>Face-to-face interview on June 15, 1995 in Toronto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mowbray, Gwen</td>
<td>Face-to-face interview on June 16, 1995 in Hamilton, Ontario.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peers, Frank</td>
<td>Face-to-face interview on June 27, 1995 in Toronto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pungente, John</td>
<td>Face-to-face interview on October 25, 1994 and on June 9, 1995 in Toronto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepherd, Rick</td>
<td>Face-to-face interview on June 20, 1995 in Toronto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigurjousson, Kay</td>
<td>Face-to-face interview on June 12, 1995 in Toronto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slade, Mark</td>
<td>Face-to-face interview on August 17, 1995 in Vancouver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vander Volt, Susan</td>
<td>Face-to-face interview on June 15, 1995 in Toronto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worsnop, Chris</td>
<td>Face-to-face interview on June 19, 1995 in Toronto.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Telephone Interview List

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Interview Method and Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bray, John</td>
<td>Telephone interview on June 15 and 19, 1995, Toronto-Simcoe County.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan, Barry</td>
<td>Telephone interview on June 26, 1995, Toronto-Toronto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graydon, Shari</td>
<td>Telephone interview on May 28, 1994, Toronto-Toronto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labatt, Mary</td>
<td>Telephone interview on October 26, 1994, Toronto-Toronto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moscovitch, Arlene</td>
<td>Telephone interview on May 26, 1995, Vancouver-Toronto.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Smith, Ken  
Soutar-Hynes, Mary Lou  
Taylor, Anne  

Telephone interview on June 23, 1995, Toronto-Toronto.  
Telephone interview on June 19, 1995, Toronto-Toronto.  
Telephone interview on May 25, 1995, Vancouver-Ottawa.  

C. Other Interview List  
Andersen, Neil  
Duncan, Barry  
Ungerleider, Charles  

E-mail communication on May 1, 1997, Hong Kong-Toronto.  
E-mail communication on July 2, 1997, Hong Kong-Toronto.  
E-mail communication on June 24, 1997, Hong Kong-Toronto.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>Alliance for Children and Television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AML</td>
<td>Association for Media Literacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAC</td>
<td>Canadian Association of Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAMEO</td>
<td>Canadian Association of Media Education Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cancom</td>
<td>Canadian Satellite Communications Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAPC</td>
<td>Canadian Association for the Prevention of Crime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASE</td>
<td>Canadian Association for Screen Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBC</td>
<td>Canadian Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBI</td>
<td>Children's Broadcast Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-CAVE</td>
<td>Canadians Concerned About Violence in Entertainment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEA</td>
<td>Canadian Education Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJC</td>
<td>Canadian Journal of Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRTC</td>
<td>Canadian Radio-Telecommunication Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTV</td>
<td>Canadian Television Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DES</td>
<td>Department of Education and Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECCO</td>
<td>English Co-ordinators and Consultants of Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELAN</td>
<td>English Language Arts Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETV</td>
<td>Branch of Educational Television, Ontario Department of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FCB</td>
<td>Friends of Canadian Broadcasting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FWTAO</td>
<td>Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMI</td>
<td>Her Majesty’s Inspector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFTC</td>
<td>International Film and Television Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesuits</td>
<td>Society of Jesus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>METRAC</td>
<td>Metro Action Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDP</td>
<td>New Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NFB</td>
<td>National Film Board of Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OAC</td>
<td>Ontario Academic Course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCTE</td>
<td>Ontario Council of Teachers of English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECA</td>
<td>Ontario Educational Communications Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECTA</td>
<td>Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Associations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSIS</td>
<td>Ontario Schools: Intermediate/Senior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSSTF</td>
<td>Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTF</td>
<td>Ontario Teacher's Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROSE</td>
<td>Renewal of Secondary Education in Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEFT</td>
<td>Society for Education in Film and Television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERP</td>
<td>Secondary Education Review Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT</td>
<td>Television Awareness Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TVO</td>
<td>TVOntario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCOAD</td>
<td>Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YTV</td>
<td>Youth Television</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>