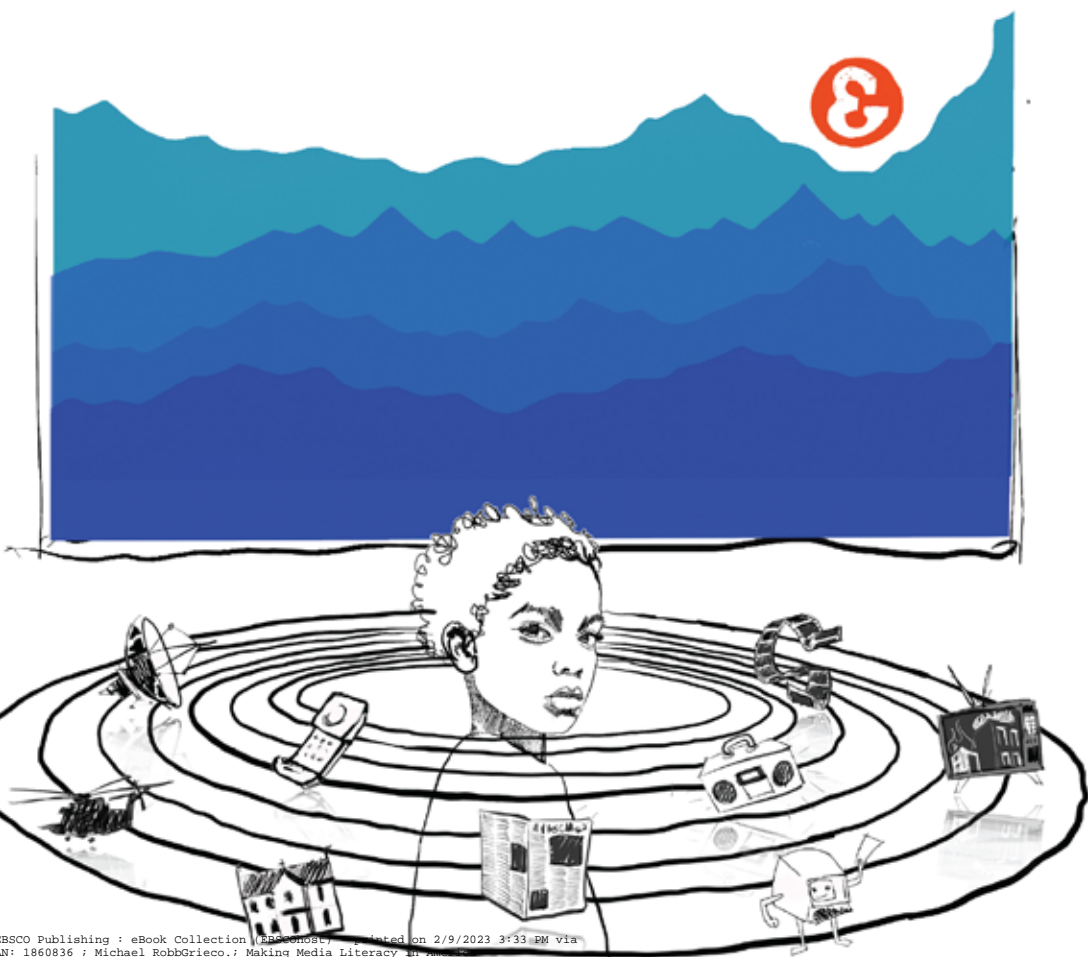


# MAKING MEDIA LITERACY IN AMERICA

MICHAEL ROBBGRIECO



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Michael Robb Grieco

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# Foreword

You are lucky to be holding in your hands a landmark work of historical scholarship on media literacy in the United States. In a field that generally lacks an understanding of its own history, this work performs a vital service for readers. It offers the missing link that connects the discourses of media literacy to the theoretical roots that underpin the diverse practices in the field today.

Today, people with an interest in media literacy review multimedia curriculum resources, read research and scholarship, and examine accounts of practice in professional journals. They may interact with local colleagues or meet at regular gatherings, participating in talk about media literacy in professional development programs or at national and international conferences. If you're reading this book, you're likely to be part of this knowledge community.

Within minutes of such dialogue, it becomes immediately obvious that members of the media literacy community have shared ways of using ideas, concepts, and knowledge in highly particular ways. Terms like *language*, *access*, *constructedness*, *representation*, and *autonomy* all have a specialized application to the practice of media literacy education. But how did this discourse come into formation?

In this volume, media literacy educator and historian Michael RobbGrieco has turned his attention to Elizabeth Thoman's groundbreaking *Media&Values* magazine, produced by the Center for Media Literacy. In this prodigious book, the author shows how media literacy emerged during the twentieth century in the United States through an examination of the changing power relations among media consumers, creators, texts, technologies, educators, learners, parents, and children.

Using an approach to intellectual history rooted in the work of French historian Michel Foucault, RobbGrieco provides a genealogy of the key concepts and core principles of media literacy education. By examining the complete corpus of the magazine over its seventeen-year run, RobbGrieco charts the repetition of statements that occur at multiple levels of analysis, from word choice to sentence level and paragraph structure. From this, key themes emerge that reveal the development of the big ideas at the heart of the field, as this rigorous and powerful methodology is used to track the emergence, development, and representation of the theory of media literacy through public discourse.

By revealing key patterns in the intellectual history of media literacy, *Making Media Literacy in America* will become a must-read volume for current and future scholars. In the pages that follow, you will see how the various practices of media literacy, including mitigating media's potentially harmful effects, apprenticeship in media production, discriminating use of media, and advocacy for media reform each developed in relation to individual, group and institutional power struggles.

This book offers deep insight on the multivocal (and sometimes contested and contradictory) ways in which media literacy discourses were framed in relation to a range of contemporary political, social and educational issues. Armed with insights from this book, contemporary readers will understand why at certain times, media literacy gains traction with the public, only to see it eventually cool off. You will recognize why some approaches to media literacy seem to move forward with funding and resources while other approaches are ignored.

Although Elizabeth Thoman died in 2016 while this book was still in formation, she would have marveled at its depth and insight, I am sure. She would have been inspired by the passion, integrity and wisdom of this new and important scholarly voice in the field. By examining the big ideas that emerged from the media literacy education movement as reflected in and shaped by *Media&Values* magazine, Michael RobbGrieco honors Thoman's important legacy to the media literacy community. But the book's primary value extends far beyond that of a historical review.

In tracing the genealogy of ideas in the uniquely American approach to media literacy, Mike RobbGrieco offers current and future scholars and educators a great gift. Charting the discourses of the knowledge community helps us recover useful theory that supports the creation of both new knowledge and new educational practice. This masterful work shows us how media literacy's past may help to extend and enlarge its future.

Renee Hobbs  
University of Rhode Island

## *Chapter 1*

# **Now, More Than Ever, Always**

## *The Field of Media Literacy Education Needs History*

“Media literacy, now more than ever.” At the time of this writing, scholars and educators, citizens and corporations, journalists and politicians, doctors and activists, parents and youth in the United States and around the world are clamoring for media literacy as part of the solution to social ills and as a means of empowerment for all. Today, we hear urgent calls for media literacy education as a means to address fake news, prompted by FBI reports of Russian influence on the 2016 US presidential elections through fabricated viral news stories in social media, and exacerbated by President Trump’s refrain of accusing most journalists and media outlets of reporting (and being) fake news. We hear urgent calls for media literacy education to empower citizens to understand and engage in struggles over digital rights, responsibilities, and political issues, as former US National Security Agency agent Edward Snowden, Wikileaks founder Julian Assange, anonymous hackers, and the US government struggle over control of private, classified, and public information. We hear urgent calls for media literacy education to help us understand and counter inflammatory rhetoric and images on race, gender, and nationality in social and mainstream media-related issues of immigration, the Black Lives Matter movement, and gender/sexuality rights. As military and paramilitary groups like the Islamic State (ISIS) in Syria recruit young warriors through social media, we hear calls for media literacy to respond to the need for cross-cultural understanding and communication, and for evaluating propaganda, as a way to mitigate extremism and radicalization that leads to terrorism. We hear urgent calls for media literacy education to connect the classroom to the relevance of digital culture in students’ lives, to help students and teachers personalize learning experiences, and to address equity issues in schools. What we seldom hear is how urgent calls for media literacy education have recurred constantly

in the United States over the past thirty years. Ten years ago, we needed media literacy “more than ever” to address the digital divide and navigate emerging social media. Twenty-five years ago, we needed media literacy “more than ever” to address a youth violence epidemic in the wake of the L.A. race riots following the Rodney King verdict. In the past two decades, I have attended multiple media literacy education themed conferences and symposiums for teachers and scholars each year, and I cannot recall a time when I failed to hear a presenter or conference organizer deliver the message that “We need media literacy, now, more than ever” in relation to current events. What we have little perspective on is how media literacy education emerged and developed as social reform, as understanding representation and reality, and as pedagogical innovation. We need a history of media literacy in order to gain this perspective. We need this history to understand why media literacy education continues to be called upon with such urgency and regularity in the public sphere without cohering into a common set of practices in American education. This book contributes a piece of this history of media literacy in relation to current issues in media literacy education.

A history of media literacy is an account of people’s organized efforts to develop and practice the knowledge and skills of media communication necessary to participate and claim power in societies where media (messages, modes, texts, technologies and institutions) play increasingly important roles (in personal experience, social relations, identity, public health, politics, economics, and culture). In the United States, media literacy has been a response to a common feeling that media change fast while playing a major role in our daily lives and the structures of our society—a feeling that we need help keeping up, we need support, skills, knowledge, and tools for understanding and using media to participate more fully and more powerfully, to understand and assess the costs and benefits of our media use and media systems, and to affect change in our society. In some ways, media literacy has been a response to our rapidly changing media and communication technologies, which has kept the field of media literacy education in a constant state of flux looking at the present with an eye to the future. This fixation on the present and future has left us with a deficit in history, a field without foundation.

The ways people have publicly discussed and written about media literacy in the past have great bearing on how citizens, educators, and learners are able to think about and practice their own media literacy. Current concepts of media literacy have evolved over time in response to changing contexts of media studies<sup>1</sup> and educational discourses as well as changes in communication technologies, media industries, politics, and popular culture. A broad history of media literacy must proceed from a body of

rigorous historical scholarship; this book seeks to make a significant contribution to the creation of this body of research to form a foundation for a broader media literacy history that will give coherence to the field. From 1977 to 1993, *Media&Values* magazine (*M&V*) published ideas about media issues for shifting audiences of community leaders, communications professionals, media reformers, and educators, which developed into an effort to lead a media literacy movement in the United States. My research on the history of *M&V* magazine traces developments of media literacy concepts over time to offer much needed perspective on the discursive contexts that constitute the field of media literacy practices today. This research on *M&V* magazine provides a precedent for ongoing and emerging works of specialized contemporary historical research on media literacy, creating a backbone for the body of scholarship necessary before we can effectively produce the broader history of media literacy that the field needs to inform current decisions.

In order to understand how *M&V* relates to the history of media literacy in the United States, this book uses historical methods of document and discourse analysis to investigate primary sources of magazine issues and archival documents from *M&V* in pursuit of the following research questions:

- RQ1. What discourses of theory and practice from media studies, education and beyond were at play in the texts of *Media&Values*, particularly in relation to media literacy education? How do they appear, disappear, persist, change, or remain absent through the run of the magazine?
- RQ2. How do the discourses around media literacy in *Media&Values* magazine produce subject positions and organize power relations among the people, institutions, texts, and technologies discussed?
- RQ3. What intentions were behind the editorial choices in addressing, positioning, representing and omitting certain audiences in *Media&Values*?

Below, I discuss how these research questions arise from approaches to intellectual history that view ideas as best understood in networks of discourse, which designate “particular ways of representing particular aspects of social life” (Fairclough, 2005), and I outline the methods of document, discourse, and speech act analysis that I used to create this contribution to media literacy history. I chose these methods primarily because of how useful they are for analyzing power, particularly the power of ideas to frame our identities and our social practices, including the ways we think about and use media. Applying this approach to the text of *M&V* magazine has produced many discoveries for the history of media literacy relevant to our contemporary field.



## KEY FINDINGS FOR MEDIA LITERACY HISTORY AND THE CURRENT FIELD

This book contributes several important historical findings to the field of media literacy, timely for our current dilemmas, and pertinent to the recurrent tensions we face in theory and practice. In this introduction, I will point to the contemporary relevance of key findings; however, I do so with caution since the concerns of the historical moment will change soon enough, and the relevance of this history will evolve.

Every seven years or so since *Media & Values* founder Elizabeth Thoman initiated the 1992 Aspen Institute's National Leadership Conference that produced the most enduring shared definition of media literacy, scholars have engaged in high-profile debate over the current state and future directions of the field of media literacy in America. Examples include the 1998 special issue of the *Journal of Communication* on media literacy framed by Renee Hobbs' "Seven Great Debates," the 2006 Alliance for a Media Literate America (AMLA) leadership debates producing the core principles of media literacy education (now the core principles of the National Association for Media Literacy Education to which AMLA changed its name in 2008), and the Potter versus Hobbs debates over what counts as media literacy research in the *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* in 2010–2011.

The latest installment in this recurrent struggle began with digital ethnographer danah boyd's 2017 opinion piece in the blog of independent research think tank *Data & Society* entitled, "Did Media Literacy Backfire?" Declaring herself a provocateur among thought leaders in digital media, boyd questions the value of media literacy education as a response to the current crises around fake news, and theorizes that the focus on critical thinking about media makers and media texts may be more likely to open the door for malign and misleading online influences than to lead learners to more accurate and helpful information; boyd posits that media literacy backfires by destabilizing meaning-making, breeding doubt disconnected from action. As the reader will find, the organizing principle of *Media & Values* magazine, the primary source of this historical research, was the connection between media awareness and action. As in prior debates, boyd had a limited research base for historical perspective on the field of media literacy from which to make her claims about past and future failures. Without a record of intellectual history in media literacy, the social imagination for the future is limited, and vulnerable to such conjecture.

Prompted by boyd's provocation, in 2018, Bulger & Davison published a white paper through *Data & Society* on "The Promises, Challenges and Futures of Media Literacy," which "identifies five broad recommendations

for those interested in developing the future of media literacy” (p. 4), as follows:

- a. develop a coherent understanding of the media environment,
- b. improve cross-disciplinary collaboration,
- c. leverage the current media crisis to consolidate stakeholders,
- d. prioritize the creation of a national media literacy evidence base,
- e. develop curricula for addressing action in addition to interpretation.

Other than prioritizing an evidence base, four of these 2018 recommendations for the future have direct antecedents in the core strategies of the *M&V* magazine editorial staff from 1977 to 1993. The magazine latched onto then-current media crises throughout its run and convened diverse cross-disciplinary perspectives for its articles on various media issues, which problematized and raise awareness of the media environment alongside curricula for addressing action. This book is organized around the following key findings about the intellectual history of media literacy that are crucial for informing these current recommendations and provocations, as well as for the debates among thought leaders to come.

### **The Recovery of the Notion of Media Literacy as Reform**

The recovery of the notion of media literacy as reform in this history reconnects media analysis with institutional reform through group action, and traces how activism, once a core component of the emerging media literacy movement of the late 1970s and 1980s, receded from practice as media literacy sought to reach more diverse audiences and formal learning spaces. From the mid-nineties through the time of this publication in 2018, media literacy education has moved increasingly into schools, libraries, youth programs, and museums to serve young learners. One common implementation strategy in most of these spaces has been to avoid politicized instruction, which is also common now for media literacy in higher education. However, the story of media literacy in America found in *Media&Values* magazine begins with engaging adult communities in activism related to religious values, feminism, and civil rights.

### **The Development of Deconstructing Media Stereotypes from Multiple Perspectives as a Core Media Literacy Practice**

The portrayal of media literacy as understanding representation and reality, as found in *Media&Values*, focused on three key areas—stereotypes, values, and news bias—each with enduring significance to the field.

By detailing how *M&V* modeled the deconstruction of stereotypes by experts, and later included methods for group educational practice, this history offers the reader a chance to reflect on the complex assumptions and competing ways of knowing that we engage through media analysis of recurrent portrayals of social identities in various news and entertainment media. Deconstructing stereotypes in media texts remains a central practice in media literacy education; in this book, the reader sees how the practice emerged and evolved in relation to competing theories of vulnerable and powerful audiences in media studies, and in educational contexts shifting from group activism to individual skill development. By tracing how *M&V* involved inter-disciplinary voices of researchers, psychologists, activists, and educators in developing this media literacy practice, this book offers a useful historical example for a contemporary field that critics like boyd (2018), and Bulger & Davison (2018), charge with “improving cross-disciplinary collaboration” (p. 4).

### **The Recovery of Values Clarification Pedagogy for Negotiating Meaning from Media**

This history includes an account of how the progressive 1970s pedagogy of *values clarification* applied self-reflection to media analysis as a central feature of media literacy in *Media&Values* magazine through the 1980s. Through historical examination of the constructions of power in values clarification practice, the reader rediscovers possibilities for engaging diverse groups of learners in the evaluation of media representations as harmful or beneficial, as good or bad, in relation to their various ethical stances. When boyd doubled down on her “Did Media Literacy Backfire?” premise at a 2018 South by Southwest media festival presentation, she included a critique of current media literacy education for not including opportunities to negotiate multiple perspectives on reality,

From an educational point of view, this means building the capacity to truly hear and embrace someone else’s perspective and teaching people to understand another’s view while also holding their view firm. It’s hard work, an extension of empathy . . . . The goal is to understand the multiple ways of making sense of the world and use that to interpret media.

(boyd, 2018)

Whether or not the current field actually neglects one of its key questions, “How might different people understand this media message differently?” (Rogow & Scheibe, 2007), as boyd alleges, the goals of mutual respect, empathy, and understanding across diverse ways of knowing, found in *M&V*,

speak directly to current calls for media literacy to do more than simply assert a dominant episteme of scientific or journalistic fact to supersede the learner's primary belief systems (boyd, 2018).

### **A Version of News Literacy that Begins with Addressing Inevitable Biases, and Connects Analysis to Both Individual and Institutional Action**

Alongside the contemporary calls for media literacy to address our current crises around fake news, researchers have begun to question whether common approaches to analyzing news stories can be effective for countering propaganda, misinformation, distrust, cynicism, and audience fragmentation. In particular, overly simplified information literacy and news literacy techniques of fact-checking have come under fire as inadequate (boyd, 2018; Bulger & Davison, 2018). The history of addressing news bias in *Media&Values* magazine recounts a sophisticated and complex approach that begins with assuming that all representations of reality in news are necessarily biased due to a range of constraints on the media composition and production process, in addition to conscious and unconscious ideological biases of news makers and gatekeepers, as well as market, industry, and audience influences. The solution is never simple but involves an active participation in seeking diverse sources for news for comparative analysis to triangulate biases and relative accuracy. Unpacking the evolution of approaches for addressing news bias in *M&V*, which also includes learning how to take action for institutional reform, offers the reader historical examples of more comprehensive approaches to understanding representation and reality in news than fact-checking and labeling sources as liberal or conservative. The significant difference of news media distribution in our current digital social media era, compared to the mass media of print, television and radio in the *M&V* era, provides a useful opportunity for the reader to reflect on how nuanced media literacy responses to news bias might succeed or fail to translate across differences in media eras.

### **The Innovation of Applying Freire's Empowerment Spiral to Media Experience and Media Literacy Teaching and Learning**

Perhaps the most significant original contribution to media literacy education found in this history is Elizabeth Thoman's application of Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy process of awareness-analysis-reflection-action to media experience. This is the method Thoman used for organizing both the magazine content and the curricula produced by *Media&Values*, always maintaining the importance of each recurring phase of the spiral for deepening media

literacy. In *M&V*, this process is designed to engage groups in working from awareness to action, not limiting goals to individual skill development, which contemporary critics identify as an over-emphasized and limiting aspect of current media literacy education for addressing media issues in networked online digital environments (Mihailidis, 2018). Although the social network was mostly analog and face-to-face in learning settings for *M&V* curricula, the learning process was explicitly social and addressed potential complexities of diverse beliefs within groups of learners. By embedding Freire's empowerment spiral into the media literacy education process, Thoman positioned social justice activism as integrated with media literacy practice. When this process began to get into the hands of US educators through *M&V* in the late 1980s, it ran into all of the tensions around negotiating power in the classroom that British scholars had been debating in the journal *Screen Education* for the prior decade.

### **The Variety of Modes of Empowerment in Media Literacy Pedagogy**

The variety of modes of empowerment in media literacy pedagogy analyzed in this historical account engages the reader in considering how different approaches to designing media literacy learning experiences produce particular possibilities for teachers and learners to occupy positions of power in relation to each other and the media they encounter. When media literacy is called upon with urgency to respond to any one given media crisis, the tensions in education discourse among different approaches to teaching that affect the implementation of media literacy education are seldom discussed. The 2018 crisis is no exception, as we see little mention of the tensions among current approaches to critical, progressive and traditional pedagogy in either appeals for, or critiques against, media literacy as a response to fake news. The analysis of how *Media&Values* negotiated these tensions provides opportunities for the reader to consider the complexities of applying media literacy principles in teaching and learning practice in both formal and informal settings. One of the most compelling teaching stances portrayed in *M&V* curricula, is the facilitator as provocateur, instigating learners to ask critical questions about their own beliefs, meaning-making processes, and possible actions while creating safe spaces for sharing and negotiating differences among participants. Ironically, this positioning mirrors boyd's position as a provocateur in public discourse on the limits of media literacy, while providing a historical example of media literacy curricula that promotes the sorts of power negotiation among ways of knowing that she critiques the field as lacking.

As I have said, these findings seem most compelling and relevant for current issues facing media literacy education at the time of this writing; however, of

equal or greater potential importance is the contribution this study makes to the history media literacy as a wider scholarly project. The relevance of different findings herein may shift with changes in contemporary mediascapes and education systems, but constructing a foundational piece of what I hope will be an emerging body of media literacy history will provide the field with evidence based perspectives from which to assess our progress and project possibilities for years to come.

### MY STAKE IN THIS VERSION OF MEDIA LITERACY HISTORY

I share the belief that every historian's work involves a political project of some sort, whether we are willing and able to admit and see it, or not. For my part, I have been compelled to do this research by my belief that most of the ways that media literacy education has developed have value, and that each may become greater through appreciation, and critique, of the others. Therefore, you may notice that throughout this book I resist making evaluative judgments about the relative worth or efficacy of different approaches found in the historical record, instead presenting affordances and limitations evident in the documents I examine for the reader to judge. I am not being timid in reserving my judgment; I am aiming to allow more readers to enter into conversation about the evidence of discourse and discursive effects on power, without giving you "the out" of dismissing my judgment as biased by a particular current view. My political project is to provide ways for scholars and practitioners to discuss media literacy approaches across their silos with some informed historical perspective. Analyzing the formation of discourse and the effects of power provides an informed perspective on complex notions, which I do not think of as productively reduced to my judgments about what's best for the current field. What's best, in my opinion for my stake in this project, is people understanding their own and others' practices in historical perspective in relation to influential organizing principles of media literacy, which I unpack in their contingent historical evolution.

#### **Media on Media Literacy: Studying *Media&Values* Magazine as Media History**

Created by a pioneer and major figure in the US media literacy movement, Elizabeth Thoman, *Media&Values* was the flagship publication of the Center for Media and Values, which became the Center for Media Literacy (both founded and led by Thoman), the most influential non-profit organization promoting media literacy in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s.

By looking closely at the full run of *M&V* magazine, this study offers insight into the development of media literacy concepts and practices, as well as the conversations between discourses from media studies, education, and the public sphere that have produced the field of media literacy education.

*Media&Values* magazine ran for fifty-nine issues from 1977 to 1993, beginning in the final years of the “formative stage” of the US media literacy movement, spanning “the regression” of media literacy programs in the 1980s, and ending with the “resurgence” of media literacy in the early 1990s (Tigga, 2009). Through this period Thoman claims that *M&V* reflected the shifts in media literacy education from a mostly protectionist paradigm concerned with helping individuals mitigate negative media effects, to include early manifestations of an empowerment paradigm seeking to help people use media for their benefit (Thoman, personal correspondence, June 26, 2012). Figure 1.1 shows a sample of four covers from different stages of the magazine’s run. Through a time in the media literacy movement described by both Tigga (2009) and Brown (1991) as disjointed and sparse, *M&V* grew to a distribution of over 10,000 copies and produced lesson plan kits to encourage educators to put the ideas in its pages into practice. During this so-called regression in the movement, *M&V* sustained the public discussion of media literacy on a national level. A high school journalism teacher and Catholic nun turned media scholar, Thoman founded *M&V* as a class project at the University of Southern California to help educators and religious leaders incorporate ideas from media studies into their understandings of their constituents and into their pedagogy. In the late 1980s, Thoman founded the Center for Media and Values for outreach through curricula related to topics in the magazine. Through this period, Thoman sought connections to both grassroots and scholarly efforts in media education, which found voice and recognition in the pages of the magazine she edited. After retiring, Thoman donated her personal archives in 2013 to the National Association of Media Literacy Education for posterity, including full sets of *M&V* magazine, business documents from the magazine and from organizations under her leadership (Center for Media and Values, Center for Media Literacy, Partnership for Media Education, and Association for a Media Literate America), editorial correspondence, and artifacts from her experiences as an advocate in the field.<sup>2</sup> Some of Thoman’s perspectives on the history of media literacy have been shared through interview transcripts and excerpts in the work of Jolls (2011) and Tigga (2009), but there is no rigorous account of the development of the ideas and practices in media literacy education that her work sustained. My research seeks to address this gap in the history of media literacy by analyzing the full corpus of *Media&Values* magazine and related archival sources in relation to the ideas and practices



Figure 1.1 *Media & Values* magazine covers. Clockwise from top left: *A Call to Action on Media Education*, Fall 1977; *Filling Gaps in the News*, Summer 1981; *Cracking the Color Code—Minorities in Media*, Winter 1987; and *Media Violence—Searching for Solutions*, Fall 1993.

of the media literacy movement and the discourses of media studies and education that frame them.

### Media Literacy Education in the United States Today: Strands in Need of Roots

For two decades, the basic conceptual definition of media literacy, “the ability to access, analyze, evaluate and create media in a variety of forms” (Aufderheide & Firestone, 1992), has been used as a reference point for most



scholarly and practitioner discourse on media education in the United States. Moreover, some scholars claim:

We have reached a phase of generalized agreement upon the definitions, aims and even the core instructional practices of media literacy education, even as this work occurs in a wide variety of settings, including in formal education and in tertiary contexts, and involves stakeholders who share their work on the broad range of issues that align with children, youth, media, and technology.

(Capello et al., 2010, p. 66)

However, the conceptual contours of meaning, theory, and application of the basic definition and the terms within it have been continuously contested and employed in very different ways by scholars and practitioners with different disciplinary and institutional interests. A constant refrain at academic and practitioner conferences calls into question the meaning of media literacy, often suggesting new terms (e.g., *new literacies*, *digital literacy*, *transliteracy*, etc.) that seek to update and revamp the concept for contemporary concerns. The contemporary media literacy education community has many strands, each emphasizing (and sometimes neglecting) certain aspects of media literacy, and privileging certain educational goals over others. Stakeholders with diverse interests from public health to participation in digital cultures, from media reform to broadband adoption, from social justice to information literacy, all claim media literacy as their domain and struggle to gain traction for their directions. The debates over what constitutes the field of media literacy, purposes of media literacy, and best practices in media literacy education proceed without the benefit of a history of the ideas, practices, and discourses that have produced the field.

A recent example of the need for work on the history of media literacy was the public debate in the *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* between James W. Potter and Renee Hobbs over *The State of Media Literacy* (Potter, 2010; 2011; Hobbs, 2011). In this invited essay, Potter, an influential media literacy scholar, portrays the field of media literacy education and research without any methodological approach to the evidence he gathers. He refers to a body of “over 10,000” articles on media literacy, which he claims cannot all be reviewed. In her response to the essay, Hobbs asserts that Potter takes a narrow view of the field emphasizing media effects research and protectionist approaches to media literacy education over the significant developments in research and practice of media literacy in an empowerment paradigm. Despite many selected references Hobbs offers as evidence of her claims, in the following issue, Potter responds to Hobbs with accusations that her view is based on personal experience and political interests in shaping the field, as opposed to his own, self-declared, detached, and objective

view of the field. Neither scholar has recourse to a history of media literacy that maps the development of its concepts, contextualizes practices in the field, nor traces the conversations between discourses that have produced “The State of Media Literacy.” In fact, none of the articles and books in the past decade that seek to describe the field and practices of media literacy has made a rigorous attempt to detail the history of the concepts and discourses that have produced the field—and none has made reference to such historical scholarship.

When the media literacy education community gathers, its diversity can be a barrier to communication among practitioners. At a national media literacy conference in the United States, a single presentation on using hip hop music for critical inquiry attracts a diverse audience of educators and scholars each coming with different expectations for the session: an English teacher looking for ways to get her suburban students to appreciate conventions of poetry; a youth activist eager to help urban kids connect hip hop culture with civic action; a scholar interested in teens resisting the negative effects of sexualized images in music videos on self-esteem; the list goes on. The mix of ideas and experiences is exhilarating, but also confusing and unfamiliar. Misunderstandings may ensue; disappointment may follow. I have experienced this mix of feelings in sharing my own work on music and media literacy at National Association for Media Literacy Education (NAMLE) conferences—twice—in 2007 and again in 2011. How have such different interests come to converge on the same space?

Contemporary media literacy educators and scholars are a diverse community held together by a common interest in helping people access, analyze, evaluate, and create media in order to enable healthier, safer, more ethical, more effective, and more powerful participation in our media and technology saturated society (Capello et al., 2010). The people who design, teach, study, and engage in media literacy education do so in a variety of settings (from schools and libraries to community centers and businesses) with a variety of stakeholders (from teachers, students, parents and children to community leaders and politicians) (Hobbs, 2008). Reaching out from its common core principles (NAMLE, 2007), the many strands of the media literacy education (MLE) community each focus on certain core concepts, types of media, kinds of access, and purposes for MLE rather than others. The contemporary strands of MLE practice gravitate toward two poles that distinguish MLE approaches: the protectionist and the empowerment paradigms (Hobbs, 2011). As the terms suggest, protectionist approaches offer MLE as a defense against big bad media influences, and empowerment approaches practice MLE as a means to personal, social, economic, and cultural efficacy in a media-rich society. Although distinctions between the two paradigms can be contentious among advocates of each side, the approaches are not mutually

exclusive. The history of media literacy examined through this book illustrates how this complicated, intertwined relationship between protectionism and empowerment shifts and changes over time, which leads me to discuss the limitations of this dichotomy and to propose new ways of describing power dynamics in media literacy to move the field forward in my concluding chapter. Considering the historical developments of these paradigms allows for this rethinking, which I invite the reader to engage in throughout the book. However, it is important to begin with a description of the current paradigms and their strands of practice, keeping in mind that these terms are contested and in constant flux.

Protectionists recognize that big media often operate outside of people's interests for profit and for political motives that do not consider costs to public health, equity, or power (Hobbs, 1998). Media literacy is often seen as an inoculation against negative media influences and as a means to resist and challenge media power. Learners are seen as vulnerable, in need of awareness, knowledge, skills, discipline, enrichment, and refinement of their media use in order to be healthy and make positive change in society. Prominent strands of the protectionist paradigm include *media and public health*; *digital ethics and online safety*; *media reform*; and *critical media literacy*. The *media and public health* strand focuses on helping learners to mitigate unhealthy influences of media messages (e.g., drug use, sexual activity, etc.), and to develop healthy habits of media use with pedagogy underpinned by research in media effects and theories of media cultivation, developmental psychology, and social cognition (Brown & Cantor, 2000). The *digital ethics and online safety* strand focuses on helping learners practice ethical behavior in digital media around safety issues (cyberbullying, privacy, predators, etc.), legal issues (copyright, piracy, fraud, etc.) and free speech issues (hate speech, racism, sexism, homophobia, etc.) (Frechette, 2002). The *media reform* strand helps learners analyze the political economy of media production to understand the structures and influence of powerful media institutions, take action against their control of cultural resources, seek out diverse information and entertainment, and create independent media for public and community interests (Lewis & Jhally, 1998). The *critical media literacy* strand embraces issues of health, digital ethics, online safety, and media reform, with an emphasis on identity politics and social justice (especially for disadvantaged groups), addressed through negotiating, opposing, resisting, and countering oppressive representations in dominant media, rather than accepting preferred meanings and reproducing the status quo (Kellner & Share, 2005). Some critical media literacy approaches skew toward empowerment by focusing on learners' abilities to identify and address social problems through their own agency.

The empowerment paradigm of MLE has grown with the notion that all people can use media to create, develop, promote and spread their own interests, and that such participation is essential for healthy democracies (Hobbs, 2011). With roots in humanities education for personal enrichment and a belief in the power of media to serve public interests, approaches seek to develop learners' voices in various media languages, to ensure all citizens access to media resources and technologies, and to support learners' connections to communities of interest in which to grow and contribute. Learners are seen as having valuable media experience, interests, meaning-making skills, and expertise that can be cultivated and enhanced through reflective practice. Prominent strands of the empowerment paradigm include *broadband adoption*; *digital literacy*; *digital media and learning*; *news literacy*; *information literacy*; *youth media*; and *visual literacy*. The *broadband adoption* strand emerged over the past seven years from federal initiatives in the United States to address the "digital divide," positioning MLE as a means for citizens to acquire basic skills for using online resources to access family health services, workforce training, and business opportunities (Genachowski, 2011). The *digital literacy* strand extends broadband adoption efforts by helping learners to use digital tools, to practice digital ethics and safety, and to collaborate online as means to economic and academic opportunity. In addition to training "threshold" skills for accessing computers and mobile media, digital literacy involves practice with authoring tools for document creation, website building, and social networking to expand work opportunities, as well as to support academics (Lankshear & Knobel, 2008). The *information literacy* strand helps learners find and evaluate relevant, credible information in media texts. The strand has a rich history among librarians, now media specialists, and reaches out through all areas of academic research, as well as community, consumer, and business education, to support learners in developing skills to effectively search, navigate, sort, share, cite, and use diverse information with a variety of media tools (Eisenberg et al., 2004). Whereas *broadband adoption* and *digital literacy* strands seek to empower economic participation of learners as consumers and workers, the *information literacy* and *news literacy* strands seek to empower learners as citizens. *News literacy* helps learners understand and participate in the roles that newsmakers, news consumers, news texts, and news organizations play in a healthy democracy (Mihailidis, 2011). The strand positions learners as responsible for developing habits of seeking and evaluating quality news in order to contribute powerfully to a strong democracy as well-informed citizens. *Visual literacy* gives learners practice in slowing down the automatic cognitive processing commonly engaged with visual media to understand how production choices construct messages and influence emotional responses to media texts. This strand seeks to empower individuals to enrich their knowledge of visual

media languages for use in their own media communication (Messaris, 1998). The *youth media* strand helps learners find their voices and express themselves by telling their own stories through media. Positioning learners as having valuable experiences to share, youth media facilitators encourage media production around pro-social issues that takes pride in local communities and heritages (Goodman, 2003). The *digital media and learning* strand helps learners explore new media and participate in digital cultures to pursue their interests while learning new media literacy skills from their experiences with other users in online affinity groups. Practitioners prioritize high engagement, play, individual interests and peer mentoring, as keys to learning while embracing new digital tools (including video games, social networking hubs, and virtual worlds) for exploring knowledge, solving problems, creating and remixing new media texts, spreading messages, and socializing to share skills and interests (Jenkins et al., 2006).

Some readers may object to how I have described their strands of practice above in relation to protectionism and empowerment. I encourage readers to continue debating and clarifying their positions, to mark up and talk all over my text, and to engage colleagues in the debate. This history in this book does not serve to validate or invalidate my brief sketch of the current field; this history aims to inform and improve our debates, to encourage understanding across discourses, and to provoke synthesis of new ideas.

For my own identity as a media literacy educator and scholar, I am most compelled by a broad view of the field, seeing the diversity of MLE approaches and settings as a great strength with potential benefits for teachers and learners. NAMLE, of which I am an active member, also maintains this broad view of MLE, as does the Media Education Lab,<sup>3</sup> with which I am an affiliated faculty member. These institutions are influential in the current field in the US and in my personal identity as a media literacy educator and scholar. In my practice as a K-12 teacher, a university instructor, and a teacher educator, I have favored balanced approaches to practice across wide ranges of media texts, contexts, and purposes. My preference for the broad view of MLE has often left me puzzled as to how to respond to squabbles between factions in the field. Problems within the field are complicated to the point of being unproductive when members of different strands engage in arguments over best practices without understanding or recognizing their differences in knowledge base, practices, purposes, settings, constituents, and history. To inform such arguments, the field needs a greater understanding of its historical roots, particularly regarding how such diverse strands of practice have come to claim ground in the field of media literacy. Historical research into how media literacy concepts and practices emerged and developed as a field of competing and converging discourses in the past may offer useful perspectives for the dilemmas facing the current field of diverse stakeholders.

## Previous Research on the History of Media Literacy Education

There have been two significant historical studies of US media literacy, and one recent significant journalistic effort. J. A. Brown's *Television "Critical Viewing Skills" Education: Major Media Literacy Projects in the United States and Selected Countries* (1991) offers interpretations of the concepts and practices evident in selected media literacy curricula gathered purposively from practitioners and organizations teaching about television from the 1970s and 1980s. Brown's work profiles a broad range of practices, which he assesses with reference to theoretical frames of pedagogy and media education in order to provide an "encyclopedia of models" for contemporaries interested in developing programs in media literacy. Rangit Tigga's *Rise, Decline, and Re-Emergence of Media Literacy Education in the United States: 1960–2000* (2009) uses oral history methods in interviews with prominent scholars along with textual analysis of select curricular, pedagogical and organizational documents to trace the history of the media literacy field through "five factors of inquiry—individuals, education system, political system, social and religious institutions, and media industry" (p. 44). Tigga's analysis tells a story of how broad cultural and institutional contexts contributed to a formative stage of the media literacy field in the 1970s, a regression due to back-to-basics education policies in the 1980s, and a revitalization of practice in the 1990s with rise in concerns about youth health issues. On the Center of Media Literacy website, Tessa Jolls published *Voices of Media Literacy: International Pioneers Speak* (2011), a series of twenty in-depth interviews with prominent scholars and practitioners in media literacy education from the United States, Canada, UK, Australia, and Switzerland who have been in practice since 1990 or earlier. With responses to questions about each "pioneer's" historical understandings, participation in the field, and hopes for the future of media literacy education, the webpage offers full transcripts of the data from each interview. Jolls (2011) offers a one-page synthesis claiming, "media literacy is a field ... a pedagogy ... [and a] movement" (p. 1).

Although these studies make important contributions to the history of media literacy education, they each have weaknesses as media history. Brown admits that much of the work profiled in his study was developed by educators working in isolation, with little or no connection to the emerging field, in response to local issues. Therefore, although there is some effort to analyze the data in terms of theories of pedagogy and media studies, Brown's history can offer little insight into how the models of practice that he describes contributed to the development of ideas about media literacy and to the evolution of the field. Tigga's analysis concentrates on institutional and cultural contexts of the development of media literacy ideas and curricula by key figures in the field without deep discussion of the pedagogy and media theory

underpinning the concepts and practices evident in the documents and sources he reviews. Tigga offers excerpts of the opinions and recollections of research subjects at face value, which fails to address possible biases in their accounts stemming from their ongoing roles as advocates of media literacy practice. Jolls abstracts macro-historical claims from her interview transcripts without discussing the institutional, cultural, nor theoretical contexts of the historical arc of her interpretation. None of these studies offers a rigorous investigation of the public discourse that reflected and shaped the field through its history. While addressing these issues of data sample and analysis through sound historical research methods, this research builds upon these prior studies by investigating the role of *Media&Values* magazine in the history of the media literacy movement in the United States.

*Media&Values* was published following a major shift in the history of the American magazine amid a thriving culture of special interest magazines. As media historian David Abrahamson points out, these “small” magazines not only reflected contemporary societal changes, but also acted as catalysts, “shaping the social reality of their sociocultural moment” (Abrahamson, 2007, p. 667). Abrahamson’s research (1996) shows that niche market magazines like *M&V* create for readers a sense of co-membership in a discourse community of shared interests and knowledge, taking up an important place in reader’s lives:

When contemplating the typical relationship between the magazine journalist and his or her readers, and then contrasting it with a similar consideration in the newspaper world, it is quickly evident that something special is apparent. In most cases, the editors and writers of magazines share a direct community of interest with their readers. They are often, indeed literally, the same people. There is no journalistic distance.

(Abrahamson, 2007, p. 669)

Editors of these magazines commonly designed content to lead to action, which their audiences also sought in reading them. As chronicled in chapter 3, my research into *M&V* magazine shows the magazine to have grown in its design of actionable content from an overview of media issues with resources for practical organizational communications and involvement in media reform, to an educational resource, which in the latter third of the publication run included direct discussion of how to incorporate ideas raised by researchers into educational practice for youth and adults.

The paramount quality of the specialized magazine was an essential enthusiasm for its subject matter. Readers had to feel that their devotion to and reverence for a specific avocation was reflected in the particular magazine’s perspective.

Because one of the central motivations for readership was the audience's need for advice, assistance, and instruction, it was essential that the editorial persona of each special interest magazine be a practical authority on the publication's subject. Furthermore, it was important that they be able to offer their advice in a tutorial manner. The preferred approach was to offer sophisticated treatments of complex subjects aimed at the expert enthusiasts who represented the publications' core readerships, while at the same time including a few articles that would meet the needs of entry-level readers. The goal was to assist in the education of the novices so that, through their loyal long-term readership of the magazines, they too would become experts.

(Abrahamson, 2007, p. 670)

Insofar as *M&V* magazine fits this mold of special interest magazines as instructing toward expertise and action, its content will represent key concepts and practices of the media literacy movement from the period. Given the editor's personal identities as both classroom media teacher and media studies graduate student, and her intentions to speak across discourse communities of scholars and K-12 educators, *M&V* magazine is a fruitful venue for exploring the interests and practices of the media literacy education community through an important period of change and development of the US movement.

### **Making the Media Literacy History We Need: Theoretical Framework and Method<sup>4</sup>**

Intellectual history that seeks to understand the historical development and applications of concepts in a field of knowledge can play an important practical role in informing current discussions in the field. Leading scholar of the Cambridge School of intellectual history, Quentin Skinner, claims that intellectual history:

Uncover[s] when and why certain concepts initially came to be formulated, how they may subsequently have been put to radically different uses, how they may have eventually become confused in the process, and how they came to bequeath to us the complex and often contradictory understandings we now confront.

(Skinner, 2005, p. 34)

Theoretical insights from Quentin Skinner, Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault and many others "have contributed to the now-commonplace historical principle that ideas are best understood as elements in systems of 'discourse'" (Gordon, 2012, p.15). Although defined with slight variations by different scholars, discourses are commonly understood as "designating particular



ways of representing particular aspects of social life” (Fairclough, 2005, p. 2). For intellectual historians, discourses are not merely linguistic and semi-otic systems, but socially constructed uses of language that develop over time. By telling the story of what historical discourses made the emergence and development of certain concepts possible, we gain perspective on the constructed nature of ideas we may take for granted today, which in turn can open space for rethinking ideas and their practical applications. My task is not to judge the value of particular notions of media literacy and media education practices presented in *Media&Values* magazine, but to use the texts and archive to explore how these notions and practices were constructed and employed, for what purposes and to what effects.

## Sources

This research treats the corpus of *Media&Values* magazine as its most valuable primary source for exploring how concepts and practices of media literacy were constructed and represented in public discourse through an important period in the history of the US media literacy movement. I examine a set of all fifty-nine original issues from its thirteen-year publication run, along with all *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* and educational supplements related to the magazine. I also analyze all artifacts in the Elizabeth Thoman Archive related to the production of *M&V* magazine, a remarkably complete collection including original documents of all board of directors meetings, planning documents, budgets, promotional materials and membership memos from 1983 to 1993, and a wealth of editorial correspondences. Using the archive as a primary source allows me to conduct inquiry into how editorial choices and institutional influences shape magazine content. This research also uses scans of newspapers (e.g., *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*) and news magazines (e.g., *Time*, *Newsweek*) as primary sources to provide an understanding of the broadest historical contexts of national media discourse that situates the work in *M&V*. Since media literacy education often develops ideas and practice in response to current events in the news media, scanning the major stories in the news alongside analysis of the articles in *M&V* reveals what issues in current events were included and excluded in the magazine. In addition to archival documents, this research uses responses from a semi-structured interview with founding editor Elizabeth Thoman, conducted in September 2013, about what she was doing with *M&V* at different times through the production run.<sup>5</sup> As the only staff member consistent from founding to the last issue, Thoman remained chief editor throughout the run, which positioned her as the only informant who could offer recollections of the full history of the magazine production. I interviewed her after I had finished my textual analysis of the magazine and my exploration of archival

documents, when I had already outlined my findings chapters. While the interview data does not take a primary position as a source for this historical account, Thoman's recollections provide nuance to my findings and insight into editorial intentions that could not have otherwise been considered. Finally, this study makes use of secondary sources to explore the networks of historical discourses in media studies, education, and other fields, which the contributors to *M&V* magazine draw upon to discuss media literacy concepts and practices.

### Analyzing Discourses as Media Literacy History

Methods of discourse analysis are necessary for pursuing answers to my first research question about what discourses of theory and practice from media studies, education and beyond were at play in the texts of *Media&Values*, and how they appear, disappear, persist, change, or remain absent through the run of the magazine. Discourses are shared ways of using language, concepts, and knowledge, which are common to particular groups of people or institutions. The rules around the deployment of language and concepts constitute the discourse. These rules accrue with the repetition of statements. The historian decides upon how to describe the flexible, moveable boundaries of discourses based on evidence in the archives gathered through the analysis of repetitions and variations; the conceptual and linguistic similarities of a discourse may contain variations, or significant variations may represent discursive shifts or differences between discourses. The analysis takes its cues from what is found in the archive, resisting application of grand theory, especially at the stage of discourse analysis exploring the formation of discourses. The most important issue for the validity of the analysis is showing how discourses are recognizable in evidence from the archive, which is why the reader will find each discursive statement that I discuss illustrated with multiple examples from the magazine and archive.

The history in this book derives from three levels of discourse analysis focusing on "1) the linguistic features of a text, 2) processes relating to the production and consumption of the text (discursive practice), and 3) the wider social practices to which the communicative event belongs (social practice)" (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 11), each level informing and shaping the others (Fairclough, 1992). Analysis of linguistic features of the texts concentrates on formal elements of lexical relations (wording, word choice), grammatical relations (e.g., noting passive constructions) and semantic relations (meanings produced in phrases, sentences, and longer passages), to investigate how identities (of speakers, subjects, and concepts) are constructed through language (Fairclough, 1995, p. 36), and how genres and discourses are realized linguistically. For my research, I apply this level of analysis to

each article in each issue of *M&V* magazine, treating each article as a communicative event considered within the communicative event of the particular issue. Thus, this research follows Fairclough's methods for discourse analysis involving textual analysis of magazine articles and issues, intertextual analysis between articles in different issues and archival documents, and interdiscursive analysis between discourses at play in the text of the magazine and in institutional practices of production and consumption as well as wider social practices.

In my approach to the magazine texts, I combine document and discourse analysis. I use standard strategies of document analysis, taking notes on electronic spreadsheets to track details of each article: date; title; page numbers and section of magazine; authors with their job titles and institutional affiliations; genre type of article; topics and themes of articles; references and appeals to the authority of other ideas or sources; notes on the use of recognizable historical discourses of media and education; and notes on the repetition of statements around concepts and practices of interest (media, literacy, analysis, production, media effects, meaning-making, pleasure, etc.) as well as those concerning constituents of interest (teachers, students, parents, children, etc.). In subsequent levels of analysis, I examine particular columns of data to discover recurring discursive statements, which I record in another spreadsheet along with reference information for each occurrence and a tally of articles featuring a particular discursive statement by year. The goal was not to produce a content analysis of the text with distinct categories, but rather to trace the emergence and persistence of discursive concepts that have flexible, overlapping boundaries that may move, dissolve, or strengthen with time and use. Thus, in subsequent stages of my analysis, I grouped particular discursive statements together as informing each other (statements about parenting, about teaching analysis, about audiences as vulnerable in particular ways, about civic rights and responsibilities around media, etc.). I also found connections between discursive statements from my different categories of quotes about users, media texts/technology, industry/reform, and teaching. By applying this process through several readings across the complete corpus of the magazine, I arrived at the overarching themes of my findings, which I discuss using copious examples from the text of the magazine to illustrate the construction of discourses around media literacy concepts.

## **Analyzing Power in Media Literacy History**

This research seeks to unravel how historical discourses around media literacy concepts and practices produced power relations in the field of media education. To do so, I use a theoretical framework informed by Foucault's genealogical approach to an analysis of power. Foucault's approach unfolds

in two phases, one describing the formation of discourses, which he calls archaeology, and another analyzing how the variable employment of statements in institutional discourse over time produces shifts in power relations, which he refers to as genealogy (Foucault, 1980; 1980b). With this approach, the historian does not look to evaluate who has power or what the nature of power may be in particular historical contexts, but rather we ask, “How does power work?” For Foucault, this is a question of describing power as relations between forces shaping discourse, and knowledge as forms of discourse that are sustained over time. The relations of power and knowledge within discourse produce subject positions through which people take action. Media literacy history, in particular, needs a theoretical approach that is sensitive to how both intellectual and institutional discourses position human subjectivities—given that media literacy, as a concept, as a pedagogy, and as a movement, intervenes in the power dynamics between individuals (learners, citizens), groups (teachers, students, families, parents, children, minorities), media institutions, reform movements, media messages, and communication technologies. Media literacy is based on power-laden concepts such as empowerment and protection, just as literacy itself, as an individual or social set of skills, and as a supposed means of cultural, civic, or economic participation, is a power-laden concept.

The discourse analysis methods of Foucault and Fairclough enable an analysis of the power relations produced by the formation of discourse, which I use to investigate my second research question about how the discourses around media literacy in *Media&Values* magazine produce subject positions and organize power relations among the people, institutions, texts, and technologies discussed. Analysis of the linguistic features of the text often lends insight into such effects on power relations. For example, an article in an issue of *M&V* with a focus on videogames uses the adjectives “engrossing” and “spellbinding” to describe the user’s engagement with the medium. These adjectives suggest manipulative and powerful effects of the video games over users, especially when considered in the context of discourses of media effects research to which the article makes reference. If textual and intertextual analyses reveal a repetitive pattern of such wording in relation to video games across many different articles, this may indicate an emerging discourse that positions users as vulnerable to influences in video game texts. Interdiscursive analysis would explore how this discourse around video games compares to discourses on other media and how it fits with the wider field of intellectual discourses and social practices beyond the text; this level of analysis also involves discussion of power relations. The analysis considers how the use of discourse in texts supports or challenges the existing orders of discourse (Fairclough, 2005). For example, exploration of wider social practices shows that children and adolescents at the time used video games

more often than adults, but television use was common among both groups. If engagement with television were discussed in different terms than videogames (e.g., as an opportunity to discuss important social themes in movies, rather than as a negative influence on behavior), the analysis would have to consider whether such differences were more reflective of the actual relationships between media and users or of the power dynamics in relationships between parents and children (and perhaps the absence of children's voices in the magazine). As it turns out, however, there are few articles in *M&V* that discuss videogames at all despite their mass popularity in the 1980s and 1990s. So, since there is little repetition of any discursive statements about them, I interrogate the absence of videogames and discuss the exceptions as anecdotes relating to discourses about media in general established by articles with other repetitive discursive statements.

The analysis of the formation of discourses leads to an analysis of its effects on power and knowledge. In order to identify discourses at play in *M&V* magazine, I have found statements that accrue, through repetition, to form the rules of particular discourses. I also look for the use of knowledge claims and reasoning from historical discourses of media studies, education, religious communication, and the media literacy movement. By recognizing the discourses formed through repetitions of statements, situated by historical discourses, I am able to describe the networks of discourses that made possible the emergence and development of ideas about media literacy through this time period. By comparing the networks of discourses around media literacy concepts and practices from different periods in the magazine, I locate moments of ferment or consensus, as well as periods of stability or change. For example, in the latter years of the magazine's run, issues were organized to be included as curriculum material for educators rather than as an overview of media issues and trends for community thought leaders—the primary target audience in earlier years. The analysis of historical discourses of pedagogy employed in the magazine in the later years shows differences from those employed earlier, which helps situate the emergence of different ways to organize the magazine content, and produces focused questions as to the significance of particular concepts and practices to the media literacy movement at large.

### **Considering Influences of Historical Actors on Media Literacy History**

While discourse analysis discovers what sorts of discursive logic around media literacy concepts and practices were prominent in *Media&Values*, and how the emerging and developing discourses of media literacy position people, it cannot investigate the ways magazine readers and media literacy

practitioners may have resisted, negotiated or otherwise taken up the ideas promoted in *M&V*. Furthermore, Foucault sometimes denies the role of authors as historical actors, and Fairclough's discourse analysis methods similarly downplay the influence of individual agents. To supplement these limitations, I add methods of speech act analysis to investigate the intentions behind editorial choices, target audiences, and the positioning of readers, as articulated in my third research question.

For Skinner (2002), to understand historical texts, the analyst must appraise both what the text means (in terms of its own logic and the historical contexts of discourse networks) and what the author meant by creating the text (p. 113). For my research, I explore whether editorial choices seek to inform audiences about media phenomena, to persuade readers to take up certain practices, to inculcate certain attitudes toward media and education, or to achieve some other purpose. As Skinner describes it, the analysis of authorial and editorial intentions in creating a text involves finding clues in the meanings of the text in question, in the archival documents related to the text's production, and in the genre conventions and discourses of the historical moment available to the author. By adding Skinner's methods of analyzing historical texts as speech acts to methods of discourse analysis, this research explores not just the construction of media literacy concepts and practices in *M&V* magazine situated by historical discourses, but also what the editors and contributors were doing by offering their ideas in particular ways for particular audiences through the magazine. This is particularly important for studying *M&V* magazine because of its apparent attempt to communicate across diverse discourse communities; for example, many articles involve Thoman and other authors "translating" scholarly research for K-12 educators. This exploration of the intentions of editors and contributors regards "authors of texts as intending a meaningful change in political thought via the performative capacity of language" (Wagner, 2003, p. 76), and thus affords the analysis to direct further discussion of (and research on) how and whether these intentions were realized historically.

This addition of an analysis of the texts of *M&V* as speech acts performed by historical actors for particular audiences and purposes, places an emphasis upon the publications' role in negotiating voices of the media literacy movement; it adds to the methodologies for exploring questions of *what* and *how* concepts and discourses formed, methods for addressing the question of *who* was represented and excluded, which, for this study means examining the tribes and stakeholders in (and missing from) *M&V* magazine. My genealogical approach using methods of discourse and speech act analysis allows me to pursue this question as my research "examines what historical circumstances and agendas gave rise to the idea or practice, in order to be able to evaluate what kinds of social and political projects it supports" (Saukko, 2003, p. 124).

Thus, through my analysis, I describe shifting conceptions of and allegiances to the paradigms of protectionism and empowerment, as well as antecedents to current strands of practice, articulated in particular ways in *M&V* magazine, a project that sought to build and lead a media literacy movement in America.

## How to Navigate and Use this Book

By taking a genealogical approach to historical inquiry, this book maps the discourses of media studies, education reform, and the public sphere that made media literacy concepts and practices possible in America. This history may be of interest to scholars of media communication and education, as well as for thought leaders in teacher education, informal learning, youth media, educational technology, library sciences, and media reform—all of whom comprise the field of media literacy today.

Preoccupation with the present and future, amid rapid change in information and communication technologies, has left media literacy education without a foundation of historical research from which scholars and practitioners may draw common language to fruitfully understand and debate the current situation and future directions for the field. This book contributes to this foundation, first by reviewing the discourses of media studies and education reform (chapter 2) prominent during the run of the magazine in relation to contemporary strands of media literacy practice. A production history (chapter 3) shows the magazine's relationship to the emerging field, chronicling how *Media&Values* grew from a newsletter promoting a communications ministry in Catholic religious communities to a magazine on media-related issues for thought leaders across many faiths, finally becoming an independent non-profit corporation producing curricula for media educators directly. Trends across the seventeen-year run include a consistent effort to involve scholars, activists, media professionals, and teachers in a movement for media awareness and media literacy in the US While this chapter will be of special interest to media historians, as well as for leaders who produce media to advocate for media literacy education, it provides all readers with important details of the magazine's production that contributed to and constrained the articulation of media literacy concepts and practices that may have bearing on what we think and do in media education today.

Findings from my historical inquiry unfold in three sections to show how the magazine constructed media literacy as reform, as understanding representation and reality, and as pedagogy. Each of these findings chapter is organized by discursive statements or ways the magazine positions media literacy concepts; for example, "Media overwhelm people." Most subsections

of each chapter begin with a statement of a media literacy concept or practice that accrued historical significance through repetition and prominence across the magazine run. Readers from diverse strands of practice will thus be able to locate and focus on topics of interest and current concern. Discussion within these sections engages in analysis of the effects on power relations among people, institutions, texts, and technologies implicated by discursive statements. Thus, a discussion accrues throughout the book of how notions of agency have developed over time in relation to media literacy.

In positioning media literacy as reform, *M&V* magazine problematized many aspects of media effects and industry power (chapter 4), and offered many ways to contribute to possible solutions through taking action (chapter 5)—thus, crafting a narrative of transformation for its readers from victims of malign media influence to crusaders for public health, social justice, and media reform.

The concepts and practices of media literacy as understanding representation and reality unfold in terms of demystifying media stereotypes (chapter 6), deconstructing values messages in media texts (chapter 7), and addressing inevitable biases in news (chapter 8). These interventions in media's textual power through interpretive skill development and social learning remain at the heart of media literacy practice today, but have become fragmented in different contemporary applications in media education.

As pedagogy, *M&V* constructs media literacy as a means to negotiate identities of teachers and learners in the classroom, and of parents and children in the home, through alternating and integrating traditional and progressive methods within a critical pedagogy process (chapter 9). The approaches address ongoing concerns within critical media literacy practices, critique traditional academic training in media analysis and professional training in production, and challenge proponents of extreme student-centered pedagogy in media education to consider balanced and alternating methods to avoid reproducing an oppressive status quo (chapter 10).

The book concludes with a proposal to develop more descriptive theories of media literacy agency, beyond the persistently divisive protectionist and empowerment paradigms (chapter 11). Using the historical example of *M&V*, the concluding discussion suggests theorizing in terms of overlapping modes of emancipatory, transformative, and participatory empowerment afforded by media literacy at personal, social, and institutional levels of engagement. The conclusion reflects on implications of each of the major findings for the contemporary field of media literacy, and evaluates the significance of *Media & Values* for the history of media literacy in terms of its innovation in pedagogical design, its endeavor to speak across various discourse communities, and its positioning of media literacy as interventions in power.



**NOTES**

1. I use the term “media studies” broadly throughout this book to refer to studies of media communication across a wide variety of approaches, including social scientific research on media effects, critical cultural studies, critical studies, cultural studies, semiotics, media ecology, and so forth.
2. The Elizabeth Thoman Media Literacy Archive, dedicated in 2013, was housed in the Curriculum Resources Library at the University Rhode Island, and moved to Temple University in 2018.
3. The lab was formerly at Temple University—now at the University of Rhode Island.
4. Scholars interested in a more elaborate explication of the theoretical framework and methods described in this section will find a more detailed discussion in chapters two and three of my dissertation, *Media for Media Literacy: Discourses of the Media Literacy Education Movement in Media&Values Magazine, 1977–1993* (2014).
5. To view my semi-structured interview protocol, see appendix A of my dissertation, *Media for Media Literacy: Discourses of the Media Literacy Education Movement in Media&Values Magazine, 1977–1993* (2014).

## *Chapter 2*

# **Powerful Media, Powerful Audiences, Powerful Learners**

## *Roots of Media Literacy in Media Studies and Education Reform*

Do media have great power in the lives of people and cultures? Do people use media in powerful ways to shape their own lives and cultures? How do learners acquire knowledge and skills to participate in and shape culture in powerful ways? The various ways that scholars in media studies and education reform have researched, debated, and responded to such questions have created key contexts for media literacy history.

The field of media literacy and the media literacy education movement in America are sites of struggle over the best practices for understanding, using, and acquiring the skills and knowledge necessary for civic, cultural, and economic participation in our society. To examine a period in the history of media literacy concepts and practices, a theoretical framework using a genealogical approach offers a means to situate concepts and practices in networks of historical discourses while analyzing the power relations produced by deployment in particular contexts. As Foucault describes it, genealogy seeks to describe historical events and ideas in their proper dispersion:

Recourse to history ... is meaningful to the extent that history serves to show how that-which-is has not always been; i.e., that the things that seem most evident to us are always formed in the confluence of encounters and chances, during the course of a precarious and fragile history ... [T]hese forms of rationality ... reside on a base of human practice and human history; ... since these things have been made, they can be unmade, as long as we know how it was that they were made.

(Foucault, 1988, p. 37)

This research investigates the fragile history of media literacy concepts in order to inform the current discussions and debates in the field over best practices.

To understand such concepts ... what we need to find out is when, and how, and why the vocabulary in which they are expressed originally arose, what purposes this vocabulary was used to serve, what role it played in argument. What is needed, in short, is a history of concepts ... concerned ... with the history of their acquisition and deployment in argument, the history of what has been done with them, and thus with the changing roles they have played in our culture.

(Skinner, 2005, p. 35)

The discourses of media studies and education reform, which I review in the following sections, provided contexts within which the concepts and practices of media literacy education could emerge and develop.

## POWERFUL MEDIA OR POWERFUL AUDIENCES: DISCOURSES IN MEDIA STUDIES

From the beginning of the twentieth century, public intellectuals and educators have questioned our relationships with media, and the roles of media in our lives and society. The current landscape of the media literacy field retains traces of major theoretical developments in media studies and draws upon the variety of theoretical history in contemporary practice. The publication run of *Media&Values* magazine (*M&V*) from 1977 to 1993 spans a fertile and contentious time in the field of media studies, beginning amid the return of powerful media effects research and the rise in prominence of both critical cultural studies and feminist communication theories, leading to the pivotal ferment in the field of 1983 between social scientific and critical cultural research approaches, and culminating with the rise of cultural studies of media audiences. The range of media scholars, from those who think media are powerful forces to those who celebrate the power of the media user, is reflected and refracted in the range of media literacy practitioners across the protectionist and empowerment paradigms of the media literacy education field. In order to recognize the discourses from media studies at play in media literacy history, I will briefly review the history of major theoretical orientations in media studies with special attention to the discourses prominent during the publication run of *M&V*.

### Media Effects Paradigm

The roots of media literacy practices that seek to mitigate the effects of harmful media messages can be found in media effects research that predates the 1970s. As television became more pervasive in Americans' lives through the 1960s, political leaders invested in the public concern about the influences

television may have on people's attitudes, beliefs, values, and behavior, particularly in relation to the exacerbation of social unrest and social ills during the period. In 1969, the Media Task Force division of the US National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence issued its influential report, *Violence and the Media*, introducing comparisons between the media world and the real world with a growing concern for long term effects (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995, p. 308). Two years later, the Surgeon General's *Report on Television and Social Behavior* gathered the efforts of forty media experts to assess television's influence, primarily through primetime entertainment and children's programs. These studies were especially concerned with violence and aggression, but through the 1970s some researchers also considered television's influence with regard to health risk issues, health initiatives, and pro-social behavior, as demonstrated in the National Institute of Mental Health's 1982 report, *Television and Behavior: Ten Year's of Scientific Progress and Implications for the Eighties* (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995, p. 373).

After Second World War, the dominant paradigm of US media research had shifted from early twentieth century views of powerful media influence over vulnerable audiences to notions of limited media effects (Gitlin, 1981). Theories of interpersonal influence in the flow of ideas from mass media (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Hovland et al., 1953; Klapper, 1966) emerged in place of earlier sender-receiver and stimulus-response theories of direct media effects (Lasswell, 1938). In the late 1960s through the 1970s and the first years of *Media & Values* magazine, a powerful media effects paradigm returned to prominence in media studies, this time in terms of cumulative effects of media exposure. In an era when three television networks ruled the airwaves and maintained a dominant place in the daily lives of most Americans, George Gerbner's cultivation theory conceived of media audiences as developing attitudes that conform to the "recurrent patterns of stories, images, and messages" portrayed in television through years of heavy exposure" (Gerbner et al., 1994, p. 37). Through a series of "violence profile studies" by Gerbner and Gross, cultivation research correlated results of content analyses—counting representations of antisocial behavior (violence) and socially conservative stereotypes (of social roles related to gender and ethnicity) across all programming—with survey measurements of media use and attitudinal consequences; they found that heavy viewers (compared to light viewers) see their world as more violent and crime-ridden (*mean world syndrome*) and maintain attitudes about gender and ethnic social roles that are more like stereotypical television portrayals (*mainstreaming*). Albert Bandura's social cognitive theory of mass communications (1994), emerging from a series of lab experiments in the late 1960s and early 1970s on direct effects of television shows on children's behavior, emphasized the process by which individuals use media as symbolic environments which

“expand the range of models” portraying “patterns of thought and behavior” allowing audiences to “transcend the bounds of their immediate environment” (p. 69). Media models introduce audiences to new behaviors, provide new competencies required for new behaviors, and strengthen or weaken restraints over previously learned behavior. This emphasis on the power of media modeling compliments cultivation theory by articulating the processes of how learning from models and symbolic environments manifest in both immediate response and lasting patterns of behavior, attitudes, and affective dispositions. Studies framed by these theories of powerful media effects most often centered on the effects of the medium of television, which Gerbner reasoned to be the dominant storyteller in Western society (Gerbner et al., 1994, p. 35); however, through the 1980s and early 1990s, effects researchers extended the approaches of cultivation and social cognitive research to various media, including popular music and videogames (Morgan et al., 2009). These theories of cumulative media effects signaled a return to positioning mass media audiences as vulnerable to media influence (Rubin, 1994).

Discourse positioning media users as vulnerable and passive is shared by media literacy approaches seeking to protect learners from negative media influences by raising awareness, disciplining habits of media use, and countering passive processing by practicing active critique of representations of violence and negative stereotypes. In these approaches, “audiences are vulnerable to negative media messages and media users must gain knowledge and skills in order to resist media influence and attain a critical distance from the overwhelming symbolic environment of media” (Hobbs & RobbGrieco, 2010, p. 284). This view constitutes a deficit model of learning—students need knowledge and skills in order to resist media influence and think for themselves (Tyner, 1998). This discourse conversely privileges the teacher’s position as enlightening students about negative media influences by disabusing them of the alleged casual pleasures they enjoy in mindless consumption (Buckingham & Sefton-Green, 1994).

Parallel to the re-emergence of theories of powerful media effects, uses and gratifications theory continued the legacy of the limited effects paradigm (Rubin, 1994), which had reached its apogee in the 1960s with the arguments of Joseph Klapper’s phenomenistic theory (1966). Klapper built upon the strength of earlier studies (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Hovland et al., 1953) showing the dominance of interpersonal influences over mass media influences. Klapper (1966, p. 476) claimed that the primary effect of mass media was reinforcement, and its influence was miniscule compared to factors such as education and group membership. Uses and gratifications theory “underscores the role of psychological and social elements in mitigating mechanistic media effects” (Rubin, 1994, p. 418). These elements are detailed in terms

of “concepts such as motives, needs, uses and sought gratifications . . . as antecedents to behavior” (p. 424). Uses and gratifications theory draws on survey research and concepts from psychology and biology to posit a range of variables of individual differences as contingent conditions that may enhance or limit the effects theorized in cultivation and social cognitive theories. Theories of uses and gratifications inform approaches to media literacy as a means of managing one’s own media exposure and processing in hopes of protecting young people from negative media effects (Potter, 2004). While cultivation and social learning principles place audiences in a passive role, and uses and gratifications “seeks to rectify these weaknesses by seeing the audience as the active principle,” Lawrence Grossberg (1992, p. 156) points out that uses and gratifications theory “potentially leads back into a kind of passivity—for the audience interpretation is always determined by something outside of its actual encounter with the text” (p. 156). Grossberg sees each case as measuring ways “the audience makes the text fit into its experiences” while treating these experiences as “nothing more than already defined structures of meaning, interpretive practices, or social psychological functions, which are themselves only the product of previous cultural and communicative practices” (p. 156). Thus, theoretical approaches from the media effects perspectives do not afford discussion of learners as producers of their own identities and cultures, even if they can be differentially “active” in monitoring media exposure, selecting processing strategy, and directing attention to media models.

### **Critical Theory and Critical Cultural Studies**

While media effects theories conceptualize media audiences as media-influenced individuals, discourses of critical studies conceive of passive audiences at a macro-level of analysis as constructed by the media they consume. Beginning with the Frankfurt Schools’ publications between the World Wars, media scholars have been challenged to account for the organization of the whole of society when considering the particular details of audience responses to mass media. Adorno and Horkheimer (1972) theorize the audience of mass media as passive dupes of the culture industries. The mass audience consumes the products of the culture industries, which reproduce power relations in favor of those who control the means of production. Taken as the audience’s own culture, these media products alienate the masses from the means of production of their own culture. The products of mass media suppress critical thinking on the part of the audience by producing a spectacular demand for automatic cognitive processing. The entertained masses rarely think to question the political economy and social relations that media texts produce by gratifying their audiences.

In this approach, audiences are capable of resisting dominant discourses only through oppositional meaning-making by experts. Conceptualizations of audience from critical theory perspectives clearly translate into specified roles for teacher and learner in media literacy education. The teacher inhabits the role of enlightened critic who must snap her class of cultural dupes out of false consciousness constructed by their passive relationships with media; a neat trick, performed by sharing some expert knowledge about the semiotic production of ideology and its base in the political economy of media institutions.

Unlike the radical division between producers and consumers of media apparent in both critical theory and media effects perspectives, Stuart Hall's theory of *Encoding/ Decoding* (1980) positions the audience as participating in a moment in the process of meaning-making and cultural production involving media messages. "Before a message can have an 'effect' (however defined), satisfy a 'need' or be put to a 'use', it must first be appropriated as a meaningful discourse and be meaningfully decoded" (p. 236). The audience employs meaning structures, discourses or codes, in order to make sense of media messages. This central theory of the critical cultural studies perspective emerged from studies in the 1960s and 1970s by Hall and his colleagues at the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham. Their research described youth subcultures as developing signifying systems in which borrowed semiotic materials from mass media and popular culture were re-purposed to express aspects of group life, which often negotiated or opposed dominant cultural discourses (see, for example, Hall & Jefferson, 1977; Hebdige, 1979). From critical cultural studies perspectives, mass media audiences make meanings and take up identity positions while constrained and often dominated, but not wholly determined, by culture industries and their mass media messages and products. The discourses of feminist communications studies extended the critical cultural theorization of identity positions as constructed (or annihilated) by mass media representations within an unapologetically politicized research agenda to affect social change (Friedan, 1963; Tuchman, 1978). Media literacy education aimed at social justice issues often shares the critical cultural studies view of learners as capable of resisting dominant discourses through negotiated and oppositional meaning-making. Assuming that corporate media institutions perpetuate injustices, teachers instruct learners to identify sexist, racist, hetero-normative, and class-biased media messages and representations, and to create their own media messages to counter these representations (Kellner & Share, 2005). The teacher, like the critical cultural studies scholar, offers knowledge and models techniques for recognizing and resisting oppressive ideological structures perpetuated in media representations.

## **Semiotics and Media Ecology**

In the 1960s and 1970s, the theoretical innovations of scholars Marshall McLuhan in media ecology, and Roland Barthes in semiotics, established influential models of techniques for deconstructing the symbolic power of texts and media channels. While media effects and critical cultural studies developed in response to the common problem of how to understand “new centralized forms of symbolic control over populaces” (Peters, 1993, p. 377), theories of media ecology and semiotics responded to the proliferation of powerful new media technologies and texts. Both Barthes and McLuhan worked within the oldest tradition in communication studies—rhetorical analysis—expanding upon questions (reaching at least as far back as Aristotle) of how our symbol systems and communication tools structure our thoughts and actions. Building from deSaussure’s notion of the linguistic signifier as relating arbitrarily to the meaning of that which is signified (deSaussure, 1959), Barthes used the analytic concepts of denotation, connotation, and myth to demonstrate how all manner of media texts (literature, photographs, music, etc.) construct and naturalize meanings (Barthes, 1968). Barthes believed that by revealing the structure of texts through analysis of sign systems that conceal ideology in naturalized myths, one could restore a sense of the historical context and social construction of the text. Rather than looking to media languages for meaning, McLuhan focused on the affordances of the medium, as reflected in his famous aphorism, “The medium is the message.” McLuhan (1964) theorized each communication medium as an extension of human perception and all invented human technology as structuring our symbolic environment in an ecological way. Much like his own theory suggests, the enduring legacy of his work for media literacy education has not been the content of McLuhan’s expansive, metaphorical riffs on “hot and cold” media, “Gutenberg man” in the electric age, and the like, but the inquiry model he offered for thinking and teaching about media:

Often considered the grandfather of the media literacy movement, McLuhan created a media literacy syllabus (Marchand, 1989) ... emphasizing the practice of interpretation, not through an expert transmission model, but through student-centered practices of probing, deconstruction and close reading, using the media of communication as the text of study. Terms like genre, language, audience, message, medium, meaning, form, content, and context are central in this approach to critical analysis.

(Hobbs & RobbGrieco, 2010, p. 286)

Although McLuhan modeled pedagogy of student-centered inquiry, his theoretical contributions also suggest a focus on understanding media technologies as determining social relations (and often everything else), which may inform some technology and tool-focused approaches to media literacy.



Likewise, Barthes saw his analytic method as a means to address media texts as naturalized articulations of bourgeois ideology, but his work may be used in some approaches to media literacy education as a means to focus on the grammar of media languages in texts without considering historical or political implications of its production and consumption.

## Fan Studies and the Powerful Audience

While the power and influence of big media producers expanded with cable television and video games in the late 1970s and 1980s, the period of *Media&Values* publication also saw new trends in technology toward a distribution of media making power, which coincided with the emergence of theories of the powerful audience in media studies. The proliferation of audio cassette recorders and VHS video camcorders gave consumers the opportunity to both create their own music and videos, and record popular programs to listen to or share on their own time, while personal home computers allowed people to manipulate, store, and share more information than ever before (Briggs & Burke, 2005). Meanwhile, in media studies, the notion of the powerful audience emerged from ethnographic research on the practices of media consumers in interpretive communities (Radway, 1984; Ang, 1985; Jenkins, 1992), which challenged media effects and critical cultural studies notions of media consumers as dominated by influential media messages and ideologies.

Building on 1980s reader response and reception studies, *Reading the Romance* (Radway, 1984) and *Watching Dallas* (Ang, 1985), Jenkins (1992) expands the conceptualization of the media fan beyond the notion of individual readers and beyond the constraints of group identifications bound by particular texts and genres. Jenkins claims that Hall's model of encoding/decoding implies stable reading positions (dominant/negotiated/oppositional), which fail to consider the "multiple sets of discursive competencies" that media fans access "by virtue of more complex and contradictory places within the social formation" (p. 34). For Jenkins, and many scholars in the American cultural studies tradition, critical and critical cultural perspectives over-emphasize the power of dominant media and conceive of media audiences as too tightly bound to particular sub-cultural identities and codes as a means of negotiation and resistance. According to Grossberg (1988, pp. 169–170), people living within alternative practices, structures and spaces perform a celebratory or positive sort of resistance to dominant culture in our current condition of post-modern politics, whether or not the dominant culture notices the resistance. For Jenkins (1992), media fandom represents such an alternative space:

One defined by its refusal of mundane values and practices, its celebration of deeply held emotional and passionately embraced pleasures. Fandom's very existence represents a critique of conventional forms of consumer culture. Yet fandom

also provides a space within which fans may articulate their specific concerns about sexuality, gender, racism, colonialism, militarism and forced conformity.

(p. 283)

Cultural studies that celebrate the power of media audiences to create meanings, new texts, and new communities resonate with media literacy educators who seek to nurture adolescent voice in creating media (Hobbs, 2004). These perspectives also resonate with media literacy approaches that seek to transform the teacher-student relationship by building from students' existing knowledge and skills in media use—an acquisition model (Tyner, 1998) rather than a deficit model. Such approaches recognize that the media in learners' lives provide pleasures that are an integral part of the identities in which they invest (Buckingham & Sefton-Green, 1994).

In conclusion, understanding the relationships between theoretical discourses in media studies is essential for telling the story of media literacy history as reflected and shaped by *M&V* magazine. Media effects theories work within the social scientific paradigm seeking to explain audience relationships to media in terms of dependent variables of media content, media exposure, and individual differences, which predict independent variables of behavior, attitudes, and beliefs. Research framed by theories of semiotics, media ecology, critical studies, cultural studies, and feminism seeks to describe media makers, texts, and audiences in wider fields of social, cultural, and semiotic structures or within particular historical contexts. Amid the social upheavals of the 1960s, scholars across a variety of disciplines posed challenges to the then dominant social scientific paradigm on epistemological (objectivity vs. historicity), methodological (qualitative vs. quantitative) and political (administrative vs. critical) grounds, which resulted in the rise in prominence of critical and cultural studies paradigms in media studies (Melody & Mansell, 1983). Scholarly discourse on the tension between social scientific and critical cultural studies paradigms piqued in 1983 with the *Journal of Communication's* special issue, *Ferment in the Field*, and persisted through the next decade (Craig, 1993). Through the period of the run of *M&V* magazine, media scholars set up camp in sub-disciplines framed by these theoretical discourses. This research traces how *M&V* magazine negotiated these tensions in using discourses of media studies to present ideas for media literacy education to K-12 educators.

### TRADITIONAL, PROGRESSIVE, OR CRITICAL: DISCOURSES OF EDUCATION REFORM

US education in the twentieth century responded to a cycle of economic crises and social issues with a series of reform movements while the basic

structure of schooling remained constant (Tyack & Cuban, 1994). Discourses of traditional and progressive education (Dewey, 1938) framed this history although the articulation of each meant different things for policy, teachers, and learners at different times (Ravitch, 2000). For *Media&Values* magazine, reaching K-12 educators in the late 1970s through the early 1990s meant negotiating the thicket of progressive and traditional discourses that shaped school policies, teacher practices, and understandings of student learning. With the development of personal computers, cable television, and video recording devices, tensions emerged between enthusiasts for using technology for teaching and learning and those concerned with the degradation of human relationships between teachers and students by machines (Cuban, 1986; Tyack & Cuban, 1994; Oppenheimer, 2003). Important innovations in critical pedagogy, critiquing and seeking to reform both traditional and progressive approaches, emerged and developed following Paulo Freire's ideas in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). In this section, in order to frame my investigation of *M&V*, I review discourses of traditional, progressive and critical approaches to education, with particular attention to the articulations of each in the late 1970s through the early 1990s and to the theoretical implications of each for media education.

Dominant discourses of US educational policy reform have recurred in cycles fueled by alternating concerns: with international economic competition during politically conservative eras (1890s, 1950s, and 1980s); or with educational access and equality of opportunity domestically during liberal eras (1930s and 1960s) (Tyack & Cuban, 1994, p. 42). Within these cycles, traditional and progressive approaches to education have addressed national concerns from conflicting philosophical points of view: traditional approaches see education as a ladder to cultural and economic participation by transmitting the best knowledge and civic values of our culture to students; progressive approaches see education as a means for social reform by nurturing students through experimentation, inquiry and rational reflection upon their experiences in preparation for deliberative democratic participation (Dewey, 1938). In the late 1950s through the 1970s schools themselves became the site of the social problems to be addressed rather than the instrument for preparing future citizens to participate in our culture and economy or to engage in democratic social reform.

### **Progressive Education in the 1960s and 1970s**

The social upheavals of the 1960s swung US schools away from the conservative social conformity of 1950s education toward a radical, liberationist version of progressive education in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Ravitch, 2000). Schools responded to social unrest by "cutting back graduation requirements, expanding electives, eliminating dress codes, and easing

disciplinary rules” (p. 402). As historians David Tyack & Mark Cuban (1994) point out, each period of school reform reacts to the perceived failure of the preceding era. Reformers in the 1960s sought to dismantle the institutionalized inequalities of the 1950s school system, which disproportionately placed poor people and minorities in vocational and general education tracks (rather than academic tracks) based on IQ tests and grades from middle school. As federal and state legislation forced schools to integrate and offer the same curricula to all students, the standards of traditional educational approaches eroded with the perception that, not only was the formal educational structure oppressive, but so was core traditional knowledge itself:

Radical critics of the 1960s were legitimately angry at the appalling conditions of urban schools for black children, but their rage turned into a rejection of virtually all manifestations of formal education: textbooks and texts, marks and grading, curricula and lesson plans, and knowledge itself.

(Ravitch, 2000, p. 391)

In *Teaching as a Subversive Activity* (1969), Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner championed an extreme version of progressive principles of education, extolling the virtues of an inquiry environment to bring about a “delightful, fitful, episodic, explosive collage of simultaneous ‘happenings’” (p. 29), while railing against teachers’ traditional roles as transmitting knowledge and culture to children—going as far as to say that teachers should swap subjects so as not to be tempted to impart authoritative knowledge (p. 138). Such proposals from social critics became influential among teacher educators and in schools, which supported changes in the curriculum in pursuit of relevance to students’ interests:

Social studies courses focused on immediate personal and social issues; chronological history and civic knowledge, which required students to think about worlds larger than their own acquaintance, were relegated to minor roles in social studies departments. “Values clarification” courses, which encouraged students to make their own decisions about whether to use drugs or engage in other dangerous behaviors, proliferated. English became “English language arts” with more attention to self expression and social issues than to classic literature ... in an effort to promote self esteem and group identity, schools reduced their once-customary attention to the values of self restraint, self discipline and humility.

(Ravitch, 2000, pp. 406–407)

Drastic changes in curricula opened doors for greater support of youth voice in student journalism, and for experimentation with high school elective courses in film and mass media, which capitalized on student interests in

popular culture (Tigga, 2009). However, such courses developed mostly in isolation based on student and educator interests (Brown, 1991). Before becoming a media studies student at the University of Southern California and founding *Media&Values* magazine in 1977, Elizabeth Thoman had worked as a high school journalism teacher in the early 1970s amid these changes. By the time she published the first issue of *M&V*, the doors for curricular expansion and experimentation, which progressive educators had opened, were closing.

### **The Resurgence of Traditional Approaches to Education in the 1980s**

By the mid-1970s, falling achievement test scores, continuing social conflict in schools, increased remediation in higher education, and a plunging economy nationwide led to a backlash against the reforms of the past decade (Ravitch, 2000). Popular discontent with schools and a swing to conservative politics in the early 1980s fueled a strong resurgence of traditional educational discourses, which drove policies moving schools toward greater standardization (Tyack & Cuban, 1994). By the late seventies, back-to-basics reform movements in most states had instituted (or re-instituted) minimum competency requirements in core subjects at elementary and secondary schools, putting pressure on teachers to teach ‘basics’ in order to raise standardized test scores (p. 79). In the 1980s, the standardization movement intensified, gaining momentum with the landmark report, from a committee appointed by Terrell Bell, the education secretary under Reagan, *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education [NCEE], 1983), which described schools of the day as dooming a generation to become losers in the international economic competition with their educationally superior counterparts in Japan and the USSR. The report blamed the progressive legacy of the previous decades, and weak standards in recent years, for the general lack of “excellence,” which could be regained through renewed focus on core subjects, higher expectations for all students, and more academic requirements for teacher certification. States responded in the next three years by promulgating “more educational laws and regulations than they had generated in the past twenty years” (Tyack & Cuban, 1994, p. 78).

For teachers and learners, the resurgent discourses of traditional educational approaches reasserted a transmission model of pedagogy wherein teachers impart expert knowledge to students through direct instruction. Undergirded by behaviorist learning theories (Skinner, 1968; Bandura, 1977), direct instruction involves didactic teaching methods of memorization and routine skill drills, and positions the role of the teacher as a model for target behaviors of students. The learner is treated as a novice who must master the

subcomponents of skills and behaviors (as in phonics reading instruction) before attaining competency and moving toward expertise (Bruner, 1985). Through the 1980s, traditional discourses also supported growth of programs for the direct teaching of morals, values and character as part of social studies, English and health curricula (Ravitch, 2000). While recommending contraction of elective courses outside of core academics, the *Nation at Risk* report proposed computer science as one of the “new core” subjects in the 1980s due to its projected role in the economy of the future (NCEE, 1983).

For media literacy education, the discourse of traditional education has many implications. The focus on canonical texts and core subjects limits possibilities for elective courses and for using popular culture texts as central texts in the classroom. However, media literacy can be positioned as a bridge to core curricular objectives—for example, by critically viewing a historical film for accuracy, or, most commonly, by comparing literary works to their film versions (Hobbs, 2004). The primacy of content knowledge in traditional education privileges media literacy approaches that teach about the history, political economy, and ideology of media industries as bodies of knowledge (Lewis & Jhally, 1998; Kellner & Share, 2005; Potter, 2004), over which the teacher can show mastery to share with the students. Likewise, media education pedagogy that features teachers imparting knowledge of media languages (e.g., propaganda techniques; elements of visual composition), or demonstrating correct techniques for analysis and effective media production (as in vocational TV production classes), would fit with traditional education practices. Teaching students to recognize harmful behavior models, to monitor their own media use, and to direct their processing of media messages more actively (Potter, 2004) fits well with traditional approaches to character education. Finally, the incorporation of computer science into the core academic disciplines is a manifestation of the propensity for educational discourses to propose learning new technologies as an answer to major issues—in this case, computer skills as an answer to “crises” of economic opportunity and educational competitiveness (Cuban, 1986; Oppenheimer, 2003). Similarly, approaches to media literacy may emphasize training of new media skills as important for economic competitiveness, as we see today with the broadband adoption and digital literacy strands of MLE.

## **Learning Theories and Progressive Education**

Despite the 1980s backlash against radical progressive reforms of the previous decades, the principles of progressive education remained prominent among many teachers, who valued their own educational experiences as students, and among education professors (Ravitch, 2000, p. 414). Education schools commonly taught the developmental and cognitive learning theories

of Piaget, Bruner, and Vygotsky underpinning progressive pedagogy. Jean Piaget's Cognitive Developmental Theory (1926), which breaks down types of learning in ages and stages, supports child-centered instructional and curricular design that is sensitive to learning characteristics in different stages of life. Jerome Bruner's constructivist theory (1960; 1961) claims that learners construct their own meanings from experiences building on their prior knowledge by negotiating internalized codes of iconic and symbolic representations (images and languages). Bruner's research and theories suggest that learners benefit more from teachers who craft rich learning environments for students to explore rather than from teachers imparting knowledge. Bruner (1985) also suggests that learners benefit from metacognitive practice, or learning about their own learning styles, which positions the teacher in support of students reflecting upon learning experiences as a means of intellectual growth. Vygotsky (1978) differentiated between spontaneous concepts learned through practice in specific cultural contexts with limited potential for generalizability, and scientific concepts learned formally for application more generally. Vygotsky identifies a zone of proximal development (ZPD) between a learner's ability to understand a concept or perform a task on her own and her ability to do so with a teacher's support. Both Vygotsky and Bruner emphasize the social nature of learning, and their ideas position teachers as providing scaffolding for student learning experiences. Vygotsky's theories in particular offer an opportunity to synthesize progressive and traditional educational approaches with the concept of the ZPD, which moves beyond the dichotomy between spontaneous growth through discovery and direct instruction.

Undergirded by these theories, the instructional practices of progressive educators include project-based instruction, Socratic dialogue, concept and skill focus over content, and student-led inquiry into subject matter. Progressive approaches position the teacher as a *guide-on-the-side*, rather than a *sage-on-the-stage*, while learners are seen as capable of meaningful inquiry and of creative synthesis of concepts from reflective practice. Introduced in 1983 (the same year as *Nation at Risk*), Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences reinvigorated enthusiasm for student-centered instruction (Ravitch, 2000) in educational discourse and practice. Gardner (1993a) used empirical evidence to claim that all people have differential aptitudes to learn across a spectrum of intelligence modes, including visual, spatial, interpersonal, intrapersonal, emotional, linguistic, auditory, and kinesthetic intelligences. Multiple intelligence theory suggests that all learners benefit when teachers communicate ideas in a variety of modes (differentiated instruction), and allow students to practice skills and demonstrate knowledge in a variety of modes (differentiated assessment) (1993b). In his effort to bridge theory and practice, in 1983, TheodoreSizer

published *Horace's Compromise*, which called for reform that integrated progressive teaching practices with a traditional reverence for canonical texts and core academic disciplines following Dewey's notion (1938) that neither approach is sufficient of itself. Through the next decade, a coalition of hundreds of "essential schools" gathered around Sizer's ideas, which he expanded in two more books.

Media literacy approaches that cater to learner interests map nicely onto progressive discourses. Given their emphasis on experience and reflection, progressive discourses privilege MLE that balances analysis and production. In analysis, progressive discourses favor discussion that allows students to discover new concepts through social interaction over teacher-led demonstrations of clever readings. For production, MLE approaches that nurture student voice and encourage reflective practice are consonant with progressive pedagogies. MLE focusing on evaluating quality news and information to make informed decisions moves toward progressive goals of preparing students for deliberative democratic participation; and, the progressive aim of preparing students to be social reformers is shared by MLE encouraging students to pursue questions about who benefits or may be harmed by media use and media messages.

## Critical Pedagogy

Critical discourse on education was also influential in this period for teachers: having read Henry Giroux's *Theory and Resistance in Education* in a book group in 1985, progressive activist teachers in Milwaukee founded the newspaper *Rethinking Education* to spread ideas for putting the critical pedagogy of Paulo Freire into action in US schools; within three years, subscription circulation grew to 30,000 (Peterson, 2011). In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), Freire draws on Marxist social critique to condemn both progressive and traditional approaches to education for failing to empower disadvantaged students to change the system that kept them down. For Freire (1970), traditional education dehumanizes students by treating learning as a "banking system" where teachers deposit knowledge in students' heads for them to use later. Following Frankfurt School critique, critical pedagogy sees the liberal pluralist rhetoric of progressivism as concealing a hidden curriculum that feeds into the perpetuation of an unjust system (Giroux, 2001). Freire champions informal learning through dialogue where learners are encouraged to "read the world" by teachers who support an awareness of problems, an analysis of the situation, action (based on shared values), and reflection on action (which leads, again, to awareness of how the problem has changed). By focusing on the lived experience of learners involved in community problem-solving based on shared values, this process seeks to emancipate students



from reproducing the dominant ideology and enable the political action of the group (Giroux, 2001).

For US media education discourse in the late 1970s through the early 1990s, the growing popularity of the ideas of critical pedagogy presented the possibilities of using Frankfurt School and critical cultural studies paradigms of media studies to reach interested teachers. Freire's idea of "reading the world" is consonant with the idea of media literacy as an expanded view of literacy. However, the focus on locally produced folk culture may conflict with media literacy approaches that celebrate interests in mass popular culture. Critical pedagogy privileges media literacy approaches that seek to demystify the ideology of the culture industries, produce independent media on local issues, and take action against social injustice (Kellner & Share, 2005).

In conclusion, in order to understand the place of *Media&Values* in the history of media literacy education, this study must be sensitive to how the editor and contributors negotiated or neglected the prominent educational discourses around teachers, learners, and schooling. Thoman made her editorial choices amid the tensions between traditional, progressive, and critical discourses of education reform, just as many of her contributors and readers negotiated these discourses in their own pedagogy.

### **My Position as a Researcher**

Just as this study must be sensitive to how discourses of media studies and education position the makers and readers of *Media&Values*, I must be transparent about how my own experiences in the fields of education and media studies position me as a researcher. My position as a researcher investigating *M&V* activates my experiences as an English literature student, a high school teacher, a teacher educator, and media researcher as well as my identities as both media literacy educator and scholar. My training in critical reading as an undergraduate literature major affords me comfort with humanistic approaches to historical study as well as post-structural techniques for literary analysis. My understandings of discourses in the history of education draws on my work for my Master's degree in teaching, which encouraged me to apply constructivist pedagogy in the English classes I taught. My seven years of teaching media literacy in high school English has left me sensitized to the struggles of the rank and file teacher to both nurture and challenge students. My media research has led me to design studies using both quantitative and qualitative methods, and to publish work theorizing media literacy in the English Language Arts. All these experiences position me in specific relations to the discourses of education and media studies that I investigate in *M&V*. I share this introduction to my own experience as the beginning of my

endeavor to remain wary and transparent, throughout the research process, about the influences on my own meaning-making.

In recent work as a consultant for a museum, I was called upon to produce a report describing the field of media literacy education to facilitate outreach for a traveling exhibit on historical propaganda. Creating a guide to this diverse, ever-emerging field led me to wonder about how so many different approaches to teaching and learning about media had all come to see themselves as doing *media literacy*. Fittingly, for a consultant to history educators, my wonder has led me to intellectual history research.

When integrating media literacy into my work both as an English educator and a media studies scholar, I have been aided tremendously by reading intellectual histories. As a high school English teacher, Robert Scholes' *The Rise and Fall of English* (1998) helped me understand how the disciplinary history of English might make the media literacy concept of an expanded notion of literacy harder to swallow for other educators than it had been for me. With my personal experience as a musician and independent filmmaker, I had found it natural to use media as texts in my classes, but I was met with resistance from colleagues when sharing my practices. Scholes explains the tensions within the discipline that have made educators cling to the literary canon and resist the study of popular texts and media texts.

When I arrived on campus for orientation in my media studies doctoral program, I was paralyzed by one of my tour guide's opening questions, "So, are you quantitative or qualitative?" Coming from an English education and humanities background, I was incredibly anxious, as I only vaguely understood the question as something about my preference for methods using numbers versus textual meanings. Although I improvised an answer, "I am pragmatic, I guess; I want to learn to use whatever methods will help me address media literacy research problems, like how people benefit from different ways of learning about and using media," I had no idea why I would be asked to choose, or what the tension between methodologies in mass media and communications was all about. I was fortunate to be attending a program with training in a range of methods, but even doubly fortunate to read histories in my first week of classes about how struggles between "administrative" and "critical" research agendas emerged in conversations among colleagues at Columbia University in the 1940s. The historiography of Gitlin (1981) and Hardt (1992) helped me understand and navigate these tensions by situating the tensions among the institutions, scholars and intellectual heritage of their specific contexts while analyzing their constitutive effects for the identities of subsequent researchers in the field. With this research, I hope to provide current media literacy scholars and educators with a contribution to the historiography of their field that will help them understand a piece of the genealogy of its concepts and practices.

## SUMMATION

*Media&Values* magazine published ideas about media literacy education in historical contexts of ideas from media effects research, semiotics, critical cultural studies, and cultural studies of media audiences. The genealogical approach to intellectual history allows this research to explore what discourses from media studies framed ideas about media literacy, and how. Likewise, this approach allows me to consider how the discussions of media literacy in *M&V* negotiated or neglected the discourses of progressive, traditional, and critical education reform as historical contexts of educational practice. While *M&V* was published in the context of these historical discourses in media studies and education, there was also a historical actor involved whose intentions we need to think about. Using a theoretical framework of intellectual discourse as speech acts, this research explores how Elizabeth Thoman (in her editorial decisions) was trying to affect the field of media literacy education, and what her relationship was to the wider historical contexts of media studies and education reform. Together, these theoretical frames allow this research to consider *Media&Values* magazine in dialectic relations with the field of media literacy education, shaped by historical contexts of discourses in media studies and education reform, and shaping concepts and practices that produce power relations among teachers, students, institutions, and media.

## Chapter 3

# Making Media for Media Literacy

## *Production History of Media&Values Magazine*

*Media&Values (M&V)* changed significantly as a publication and an organization over the course of its 17 years and 59 issues. Before exploring an analysis of discourses and concepts relating to the development of notions about media literacy in *M&V*, this chapter grounds the discussion in the production history of the magazine. *M&V* had three distinct phases, each differing in key contributors, publishing institution, readership, purpose, and format of the magazine. From its founding through the early years (1977–1982), *M&V* was a 12-page, black-and-white, cut-and-paste newsletter with reviews of communications issues, media technology trends, and practical production tips for a mostly Catholic religious readership in community communications offices. After the ecumenical group, Media Action Research Center (MARC), bought the magazine from the Center for Communications Ministry in 1983, the publication grew into a 16–24 page, two-color, typeset magazine with a central theme for each volume on a range of social issues involving media, transforming into an educational resource for thought leaders in a broad range of religious congregations. With independence from MARC and the incorporation of the non-profit Center for Media and Values in 1989, the magazine expanded to a 24–48 page glossy format that included regular columns from staff writers who applied analyses of media and society from feature articles in practical contexts alongside action ideas and curricula for an audience that added educators and parents to its core of community thought leaders and media activists. A glance across the magazine slogans appearing on the nameplate through the years illustrates the range of purposes and identities *M&V* sought to serve through its production run (see Table 3.1 and Figure 3.1). To understand the evolution, the following sections discuss each phase of the magazine’s history in terms of how the format and design changed in relation to shifting purposes, how the publishing institutions and readership

**Table 3.1 Nameplate Slogan of Purpose/Identity for *Media&Values*.**

Years	Volumes (total issues)*	Magazine Subtitle on Nameplate
1991–1993	57–63 (6)	A Cornerstone of the Media Literacy Movement
1991	54/55–56 (2)	A Quarterly Resource for Media Literacy
1986–1990/91	36–52/53 (16)	A Quarterly Resource for Media Awareness
1981–1986	17–35 (19)	A Quarterly Review of Media Issues and Trends
1978–1981	5–16 (12)	A Resource Newsletter of the National Sisters Communications Service
1977–1978	1–4 (4)	A quarterly look at Modern Communication and its impact on Religious Values

\*Several issues are double issues listed with two volume numbers (40/41, 52/53, 54/55, 59/60). The number in parentheses in the second column of the table refers to the number of actual magazine issues out of the total fifty-nine published.



**Figure 3.1 Nameplates from *Media&Values* magazine covers.**

related to the magazine's growth and development, and who contributed to the vision and achievement of *M&V*'s goals.

## FOUNDING AND EARLY YEARS: 1977–1982

Sr. Elizabeth Thoman founded *Media&Values* magazine in 1977 as her culminating project for a graduate seminar in *Communications and Value Systems* with Dr. Richard Byrne, PhD., at Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Southern California (Silver, 1983). A Catholic nun of the Iowa religious women's community, Congregation of the Humility of Mary, with work experience as a high school journalism teacher and a public relations consultant, Thoman was working toward her Master of Arts in Communications Management degree while running the National Sisters Communication Service (NSCS); *M&V* began as the newsletter for NSCS. Funding for *M&V*, which Thoman described as operating on "a shoestring budget" (Thoman & Rifkin, 1990, p. 175), came from grants, donations, subscriptions, and membership fees in the NSCS, which also raised money for staff salaries through sales of educational resources and workshop fees. The purpose of *M&V* as the NSCS newsletter was to promote among Catholic religious the importance of a communications ministry that included media education as a key component (Thoman, 1977).

*M&V* feature articles covered a wide range of topics including Church politics around media and communications, service of religious communicators for social justice, the impact of television on families, use of media technology in health care, and representation of religious in mass media (see Table 3.2 for a list of cover feature titles). These feature articles sought to establish broad media and communications issues as fundamental to a communications ministry for the professionals in the NSCS network who ranged from producers of community newsletters to religious mass media producers and public relations officers for large dioceses. The magazine also sought recognition for media and communications expertise as vital for a range of religious ministries, including health care, counseling, pastoral ministry, and education (Thoman, 1977).

Thoman perceived a problem in congregational leaders not recognizing the value of the communications ministry despite interest, need, and talent among their constituents (Inter-Comm, 1978, p. 2). In its early years, *Media&Values* addressed this problem for a readership of thought leaders and communications personnel in religious communities with articles emphasizing a multifaceted communications ministry, which Thoman described as including policy reform, media effects, issues of representation, and political economy (Inter-Comm, 1978, p. 2). In the first feature article in *Media&Values*,

**Table 3.2 Cover Feature Articles and Topics in *Media&Values*, 1977–1982**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Vol.</i>	<i>Cover Feature Title (vol. 5–17), or Topics “Inside” (vol. 1–4)</i>
1982	21	The Churches Go Satellite: An Overview of Who’s in Orbit and Why Others Will Follow
	20	Cartoons ‘N Comics: Communication to the Quick
	19	Personal Computers: Big Miracles in Small Packages
	18	Is there Life After the Communications Revolution? A Collection of Views on the New Technology and What It Is Doing to Change Our World, Our Society, Ourselves
1981	17	Television as Religion: A Noted Communications Researcher Proposes that Television Does for Society Today What Religious Ritual Did for Our Prehistoric Ancestors
	16	Filling Gaps in the News: A Guide to Finding Out What’s Really Going On in the World
	15	Will the Real Gospel Please Stand Up? ... Continuing the Discussion About Religion and Television
	14	Uncovering Talent: A Guide to Finding and Training People for the Communications Ministry
1980	13	Cable TV: The Last Media Frontier
	12	World Share: Communicating Heart to Heart: A New NSCS Project Spans the Globe to Bring Religious Communicators Together
	11	If Religious Life is Dying, PR Won’t Save It: Some New Ideas on the Organization of Communications and Public Relations Programs in Religious Congregations Today.
1979	10	Growing Up in a Media World: As We Wrap Up the International Year of the Child, Here Are Some Reflections and Resources for Better Understanding How Children Are Growing Up in an Increasingly Mediated World
	9	No, Walter, That’s Not the Way It Is
	8	Stay Tuned ... TV Can Be Good For You!
	7	The Seven Million Dollar Question: What Should the Church Communicate?
1978	6	Between the Lines: Stereotyping of Sisters in the Media
	5	The Sad Saga of Sister Aggie
	4	INSIDE: Women’s Ordination in the Press; Summer Workshops; Prize Winning Photos; Job Listings
	3	INSIDE: Women Oppose Media Violence; Satellites Explained; Jobs in Communications; Multimedia Resources; and More
1977	2	INSIDE: Media–1990; Children and Advertising; Finding Good Movie Reviews; Are you Addicted to Television?; How to be a Better Communicator
	1	INSIDE: A Call to Action on Media Education; Fall/Winter Communications Workshops; Media Dictionary for the Non-Professional; Loving/Hating “The Tube”

Thoman made it clear that each of these aspects of a communications ministry should be taken up by teachers who must be supported in learning to integrate media education into their pedagogy:

The sisters who staff schools all over the country could be doing media education at the grassroots level, just as they initiated peace education and education for justice in recent years. Media education is another part of that same process, which says schools should prepare students to make life decisions, not just to pass tests and examinations.

(Thoman, 1977, p. 6)

An index of articles in issue 12 shows media education was the second most common topic for articles in *M&V* after television (see Table 3.3). This editorial choice served to promote the importance of communications ministry for teachers, the most common vocation among sisters in US religious communities. By 1981, the services of NSCS had expanded beyond religious

**Table 3.3 Frequency of Articles by Topic in *Media&Values*, Vols. 1–12**

Rank	Topic	Number of Items Listed	Number of Feature Articles
1	Television	24	5
2	Media Education	13	4
3	Women in Media	12	3
4	Technology	11	3
5	Films	10	1
6	Communications in Religious Life	8	4
7	Justice Issues in the Media	7	1
8	Media Terms	6	0
9	Newsletters	6	0
10	Public Relations	5	2
11	Religious Life in Media	5	2
12	Satellites	5	2
13	Media Basics	5	1
14	Radio	5	0
15	Photography	4	2
16	Communications in the Third World	4	1
17	Computers	2	0

This table ranks the article topics from most to least common as reflected in the “Index of Back Issues” insert in *M&V vol. 12* in 1980. The final column lists the number of feature articles included within the total items to show topics that received prominent treatments (other articles were included within recurring sections). The list reflects how the editors of the magazine perceived categories of magazine topics in the context of an ad selling prior issues to readers.



women “to promote communications as a ministry and to provide professional growth opportunities for everyone—sisters, priests, brothers, and lay professionals—in the field” with *M&V* editorial coverage to “include news and features for communications persons in parishes, dioceses, schools, hospitals, and other religious institutions” (Staff, 1981, p. 12), prompting the NSCS to change its name to the Center for Communications Ministry (CCM). However, the magazine’s format had not expanded, limiting coverage to a few feature articles, no longer than three pages each and short sections that gave readers news briefs and information for seeking more in-depth resources.

While the broad range of feature topics from early years intended to illustrate the importance of communications to a wide range of religious ministries and to legitimize the place of religious communications professionals as part of a communications ministry with its own specialized bodies of knowledge and skills, the other sections of the magazine sought to support the practical work of religious communicators while expanding their development as thinkers and activists. The twelve-page, tabloid newsletter format of *M&V* followed feature articles with several recurring sections: “Comm-Line”; “Media & Ministry”; “Media Call to Action”; “Media Basics”; “Media Wrap”; “Word Breaking”; and “Resources.” The “Comm-Line” section, organizational news about NSCS/CCM and *M&V*, news of media and communications efforts of other religious organizations and their publications, and job listings for media production, public relations, or office positions in congregational communications. “Media & Ministry” featured a one-page profile of the use of media in health care, counseling, religious service, education, or other ministries. The “Media Call to Action” section consisted of a half-page outline of a media issue, such as sexual violence in music lyrics, or equal broadcast time for political candidates, and a half-page profile of activism efforts to address the issue with instructions and information for engaging reader involvement. “Media Basics” (also called “In Terms of Media”) introduced a glossary of vocabulary and concepts of communications technology (photography, film, computers) or media systems (broadcast, cable, satellite). “Media Wrap” was a catch-all section, spanning two columns to two pages in length, of news briefs on anything related to media and communications with varying lengths from a few lines to a column. “Word Breaking: Food for Thought” related a biblical passage to communications vocations in a single column. A “Resources” section, two columns to a page long, listed books and magazines related to feature articles, practical resources for novice media producers (writing style guides, film techniques, religious clip art, newsletter design pamphlets, etc.) and for educators (films about media, lesson plan booklets), scholarly books on media and communication, and contact information of organizations,

conferences, workshops, and events for professional development in communications and media activism. Much of the *M&V* content in early years, including feature articles, consisted of summaries or excerpts from other publications—other media-related magazines and religious newsletters as well as research studies and academic articles or chapters. The visual style used cut-and-paste techniques to include photos and graphics with each feature and recurring section, but sections often moved around in sequence from issue to issue with “Media & Ministry,” “Media Call to Action,” and “Media Basics” appearing intermittently. In the beginning, the newsletter format seemed to fit the purpose of maintaining contact with NSCS members, offering practical articles for small congregational communications efforts (tips on newsletter production, bulletin board design, economics of conference calling, etc.), while including feature articles and news brief items that would give congregational leaders an idea of the potential scope of communications ministry. However, by 1981, with the *M&V* purpose expanded to serve a broader audience as “A quarterly review of media issues and trends” published by the newly renamed Center for Communication Ministry, the range of topics in each issue appeared more disjointed—macro-issues of televangelism or political economy in telecommunications, profiles of the media work of social justice activists and educators, and step-by-step guides for magazine layout each appealed exclusively to particular segments of the expanded audience with little space for depth. The magazine lacked the unifying concepts of media awareness and media literacy as organizing principles, which did not emerge as such until the middle years of production after significant shifts in the institutional organization, staff, and audience of the magazine.

Production of the magazine in the first year was mostly a one-woman job with Elizabeth Thoman as the only full-time employee, handling editorial and fund-raising duties, with part-time help in publishing, research, finances, and office management from a staff of two to four others. This changed when Sr. Shirley Koritnik joined the staff in 1979 as associate director of NSCS, assisting in editorial duties and contributing feature articles alongside Thoman. Koritnik’s experience as Director of Modern Media for the Archdiocese of Kansas City helped to expand the reach of *M&V* and the NSCS beyond religious congregations to the network of Catholic Church dioceses. Koritnik joined Thoman in leading workshops and conferences sponsored by NSCS, most notably the summer workshop series in congregational media production (public relations and community media), and in communications office organization and leadership. NSCS also sold binders on newsletter production, cassettes of Thoman and Koritnik talks on communications ministry, pamphlets on FCC policies and media activism, and other items listed in the “Resources” section of *M&V*. Although revenues

from these resource sales along with workshop and consulting fees supplemented memberships and subscriptions (also a “benefit” of membership), *M&V* struggled to get by financially as reflected in “Comm-Line” sections with constant solicitations for donations and pleas for readers to spread the word to colleagues and to convince leaders to invest in organizational memberships/subscriptions. “Comm-Line” sections of *M&V* established an ethic of transparency around the production of the magazine that would continue throughout its run. With NSCS celebrating its fifth birthday in 1980, the “Comm-Line” section described the growth of the organization and its newsletter:

From a dream of a few sisters in 1975, the NSCS now has dozens of completed projects and a variety of ongoing programs to assist religious congregations in utilizing mass media effectively ... *Media&Values* is now mailed to almost 1400 subscribers and 130 communities have congregational subscriptions. Over 200 priests, brothers, and sisters have participated in the NSCS summer seminar.

(Staff, 1980, p. 7)

With an expanded network, Thoman and Koritnik added an editorial advisory board to *M&V* magazine in 1981 that reflected the vision for the breadth of magazine’s target audience. The back cover article about NSCS rebranding as the CCM offers mini-bios of the new board, which included a priest from Ithaca, NY involved in religious communications leadership with a masters degree in the field; a youth media producer and educator in Los Angeles; a professor of broadcasting at Brooklyn College and a religious journalist; an advocate for community access TV in Saskatchewan; a PhD. candidate in communications research at the University of Pennsylvania interested in religion and TV, and alternative rating systems; a communications professor at Emerson College and president of a consulting firm in telecommunications; the Public Relations Director for United Methodist Communications on the board of the Religious PR Council; and the Director of *National Catholic Reporter* Cassettes service in Kansas City (Staff, 1981b). The geographic range of board members reflected the target range of magazine subscribers across the United States and Canada, as did the inclusion of two Catholic religious (a priest and sister) with four lay Catholics and a protestant, a balanced gender split, as well as the range of professional experiences in religious communications, communications research, youth media, media activism at local and federal levels, media industry, public relations, and news. The same article announced plans to expand the magazine length and format to reflect its wider target audience, but these plans were not realized under the CCM as financial struggles outpaced ambition.

## MARC & THE MIDDLE YEARS: 1983–1988

In November 1983, with a heavy heart at the impending closure of the CCM, Elizabeth Thoman attended the North American Broadcast Section of the World Association for Christian Communication (NABS/WACC); however, before she could register for the conference, Thoman was pulled into a meeting with the board of the MARC who proposed to buy *Media&Values* magazine if Thoman would continue as editor (E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013). MARC officially bought *Media&Values* in 1984 for \$6,250.00 (Price, 1984). Thoman had known MARC since their inception in 1974, meeting leaders regularly at NABS/WACC, and contributing pieces for their Television Awareness Training (T-A-T) manuals, which *M&V* had featured as a recommended resource in several issues.<sup>1</sup> In the prior decade, MARC had conducted T-A-T sessions for thousands of community leaders and parents, and had a contact list of 500 T-A-T certified teachers, but lacked an organizational infrastructure and a vehicle for communicating with the T-A-T network.<sup>2</sup> While *M&V* could offer a membership organization and communication medium, MARC offered the magazine access to a wider audience of religious community leaders, media educators, and media activists. The influence of MARC's board and the expanded readership precipitated significant changes in the purpose and format of the magazine, shifting *M&V* to focus on central themes for each issue and to include practical applications of ideas about media and society for community thought leaders to pass on to educators and activists.

The broad ecumenical representation in the MARC Board of Directors and T-A-T network augmented a trend of reaching beyond Catholic circles at *M&V* that had begun in the final year of its publication under the CCM. In the final issue before MARC bought *M&V*, the masthead proclaimed:

The Center for Communications Ministry is people of all denominations who care about the ethical, philosophical and spiritual dimensions of media in our world today. The Center engages in analysis and reflection on media issues, networks religious communicators, and conducts seminars and publishes resource materials covering topics from newsletters to teleconferencing to promote the field of communications as a professional field of service (ministry) in religious organizations.

(Staff, 1983)

In a 1990 letter seeking funding from the Lilly Foundation (providers of the first NSCS grant 15 years earlier, and the *M&V* start-up grant), Thoman described the support of MARC's network and their motives for purchasing *M&V*:

You need to know that throughout the 80's the keeper of the flame has been the religious community, particularly the progressive Protestant, Catholic and Jewish community who supported *Media&Values* magazine as it matured .... An ecumenical coalition, known as the MARC, owned us for several years .... Their support was clearly an attempt to defuse the religious right in their domination of media debates with single-issue emphasis on "sex and violence."

(Thoman, 1990)<sup>3</sup>

MARC's coalition of communications leaders from thirteen religious denominations supported a liberal progressive approach to media issues reflected in the values clarification approach to media education central to T-A-T (Brown, 1991).<sup>4</sup> This liberal pluralist stance contrasted sharply with the conservative religious right, which was in resurgence in the early 1980s and active in Moral Majority campaigns to censor mainstream media for contradicting "traditional family values" (Williams, 2010). The shift from a primarily Catholic religious readership to serve such a broad range of Christian and Jewish communities was a challenge for *M&V*. Thoman recalls her first action under the new MARC ownership as sending free *M&V* issues to everyone on the T-A-T mailing lists to announce the new alliance and solicit subscriptions (personal communication, September 21, 2013). With the new connections to so many religious communities,<sup>5</sup> *M&V* had to clarify its target audience and purpose, as explicated in the "Editorial Policy" set forth by the new Board of Directors in 1984:

Potential audiences of *Media&Values* readers include: Church leadership persons, grass roots constituents, and media practitioners. Lay media people should be included. They should probably receive free copies, subsidized through a special grant. *Media&Values* can create leaders through sharing of information and helpful communication strategy. We should be aware of whom we're making leaders as *Media&Values* is distributed. The journal should digest trends within the communications industry for each past quarter year. Treatment should be from the values implications vantage point. Long-range communication policy and regulatory matters are two key areas deserving treatment in future issues.

(Board of Directors, 1984)

With such a diverse range of community leaders in the target audience, *M&V* adjusted its content, moving away from specific religious themes and Catholic topics in features (such as Church telecommunications investments, the politics of the Communications Collection, Catholic missionary work, etc.) and dropping "Media & Ministry" and "Word Breaking" sections of the magazine. Although MARC's T-A-T network brought many potential readers

interested in media education and media reform activism, the most influential new audience consisted of the congregational leaders across the denominations represented on the new Board of Directors. Each director coordinated communications leadership among dozens to hundreds of congregations. Thus, a jump in organizational memberships and subscriptions accompanied the transition to MARC ownership, which led to magazine design changes to appeal to a core audience of diverse religious community leaders rather than a core of Catholic communications professionals. The main purpose shifted from promoting a communications ministry to promoting media awareness, a concept that took shape through the middle years and evolved into the magazine's notion of media literacy.

The magazine had begun to focus feature articles around a central theme for each issue in 1983 with the influence of Rosalind Silver who joined the staff as Shirley Koritnik left in 1982, and would share editorial duties with Thoman for the next decade through the end of the publication run. Silver had a degree and background in journalism, and brought to *M&V* her talents in research, synthesis and summary of complex ideas for general audiences, which Thoman highly valued in her editorial partner (E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013). By organizing around central themes, each issue became an educational resource on media issues for thought leaders in religious communities who, in turn, could influence how their constituents (from educators, health practitioners, social justice activists, and public relations officers to families attending services and schools in the congregation) learned about and acted upon the "media issues and trends" heralded on the magazine's nameplate and cover (see Table 3.4 for a list of magazine themes by cover titles from the MARC years). The MARC board encouraged the magazine design around central themes, and pushed Thoman and Silver to find ways to make *M&V* a more practical resource for its complex audience, "Thought pieces and practical application must be balanced in order to motivate involvement and action" (Board of Directors, 1984b). The magazine sought "to achieve further visibility at middle and lower judicatory levels of denominations" (Thoman in Board of Directors, 1985). To achieve this goal, *M&V* changed its design beginning in issue 33 (1985) to include regular columnists, each with an ecumenical advisory board, who reflected on themes from feature articles in practical contexts (Staff, 1985). The new columns included the following: "Women," written by a women's studies expert or feminist media activist; "Minorities," written by an ethnic media studies expert; "Youth" written by a youth media facilitator; "Children" written by a media psychologist and children's media expert; "Parenting" or "Family" written by a family counselor or home media expert; "Pastoring," written by a minister and congregational

**Table 3.4 Featured Themes in *Media & Values*, 1983–1988**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Issue Vol.</i>	<i>Theme Title</i>
1988	44	Elections: Image or Issues
	43	Ethnic Diversity: Challenging the Media
	42	Home Video: The Revolution Is Choice
1987	40/41	Tuning In To Television: How the Magic Box Shapes Our Views, Vision, and Culture
	39	Militarism: The Media Connection
	38	Cracking the Color Code: Minorities in the Media
1986	37	Selling the Dream: Advertising And the Consumer Economy
	36	Wide World of Media Sports
	35	Making the Media Work For You: A Resource Issue on Media Awareness
1985	34	Rock and its Role
	33	A Special Issue On Violence and Sexual Violence in the Media in cooperation with the National Council of Churches
	32	Cultures Under Siege
	31	Your Media and You
1984	30	The Technological Child: A Survey of the Ways Media and New Technology are Changing the Experience and Environment of Childhood.
	29	Information: What Is It? Is There Too Much? Or Not Enough? Who Needs It? Who Has Access? How Do We Use It? A Special Issue on the Uses and Abuses of this Major Worldwide Resource
	28	Media in the Nuclear Age: How do today's Mass Media Reflect—or Shape—our Opinions and Attitudes Toward the Crucial Issues of War and Peace?
	27	Group Communication: Making Media to Make Change
	26	The Telephone In Our Lives: Past, Present & Future
	25	As the World Watches: A report on How Television's Coverage of Extraordinary Events Creates Meaning for Our Lives
1983	24	Health Care in the Media Age
	23	Living in the Void: How to Use Technology to Make You More Aware And Alive
	22	Issues in the Information Age

communications expert; “International” or “Global Scene” written by a cultural media critic corresponding from another continent; and “Social Justice” written by a media lawyer and reform activist. Each columnist reflected on the central theme from personal experience and a particular identity, adding their expert knowledge to offer suggestions for synthesizing ideas in practice. These one-to-two column pieces, sometimes with accompanying “Re:Action” boxes with profiles of practitioners and organizations or additional suggestions for action, enabled community thought leaders to pass on the magazine to constituents as a practical resource with

models for understanding and applying new knowledge of media issues to teaching, counseling, parenting, pastoring, and social justice advocacy. With the expanded audience came an expanded budget allowing for new design choices.

With new revenue from the MARC constituents, *Media & Values* expanded to 16 pages in 1984 and added two-tone color to a typeset visual design in 24 pages beginning with issue 33 in 1985.<sup>6</sup> The newsletter format had evolved into a magazine design: an expanded masthead with an editorial theme introduction column on the inside cover replaced the “Comm-Line” section with contents, credits, and organizational details; a longer section of features (4–6 articles, 1–4 pages each) interspersed with shorter, related news columns; the new staff columns in a 4–6 page “Reflection/Action” section took the place of “Media Basics” and “Media & Ministry” sections; the “Media Wrap” and “Resources” sections in the final 2–3 pages at the back of the magazine became more coherent as items tied to the central theme; and the “Media Call to Action” section moved to the back page, renamed “Getting Involved.” While the magazine had hired part-time work-study help from undergraduate students in prior years, *M&V* in the MARC years made greater use of the talents of half- and full-time interns who contributed more to magazine content (e.g., artists who contributed original illustrations and graphics to create a consistent visual theme; editorial assistants who curated media news brief sections; etc.) in addition to part-time staff who helped manage finances, membership, publication, and office duties. By 1986, *M&V* had achieved a consistent design based on a pedagogical philosophy adopted by Thoman.

Continuing the magazine’s ethic of transparency, Thoman published a feature article, “Blueprint for Response-Ability” (1986), in issue 35 that described how the new magazine design embodied the process of “social analysis” adapted from the work of Paulo Freire in critical pedagogy (1970) and Juan Luis Segundo in liberation theology (1976). In this article, which was reprinted six times in issues 40 to 46,<sup>7</sup> Thoman discussed how feature articles in the front half of the magazine raised awareness of social problems involving media and modeled expert analysis of the issues in various contexts (historical, economic, cultural, etc.). The back half of the magazine promoted reflection on media issues in a range of personal and practical contexts, led by staff columnists, with additional suggestions for action in “Resources” and “Getting Involved” sections (see Figure 3.2 for a typical example of the layout).

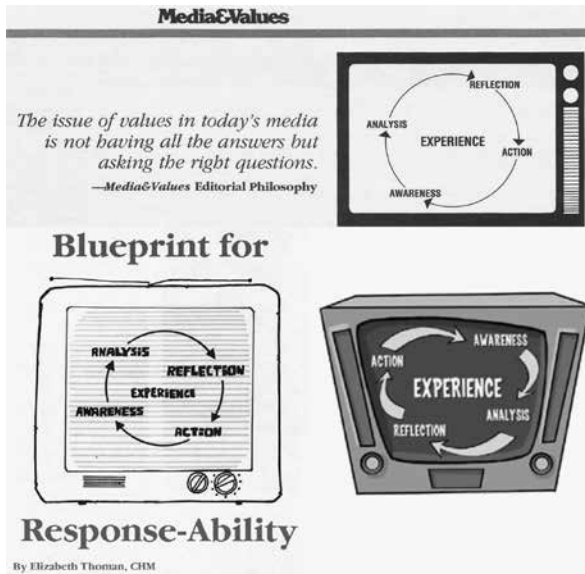
Thus, by design, the magazine modeled the process of awareness-analysis-reflection-action applied to media experience, which the magazine represented in a graphic reprinted above the beginning of the “Reflection/Action” section in every subsequent issue (see Figure 3.3). Thoman portrayed the framework for social analysis as an inquiry-based method of “conscientization” (or





Figure 3.2 Images from visual design of issue 39 (1987). Images are of cover (top left), back cover (top right), and a feature article inside (p. 5); artwork by Christa Occhiogrosso.

critical-consciousness-raising, following Freire) with a list of questions for each stage of the process that could be applied to address any media issue (for in-depth discussion of Thoman’s application of social analysis, see chapter 9, Media Literacy as Pedagogy). Remaining consistent through the end of the publication run, the social analysis magazine design facilitated the conceptualization of *Media & Values* as leading a “media awareness movement,” which the editors began referring to consistently in planning documents (e.g., Thoman, 1987), in their issue introduction columns (beginning in 1986), and in their feature articles (as above). The motto on the nameplate changed to “A Quarterly Resource for Media Awareness” with issue 36, and with the first



**Figure 3.3** Graphic for the “social analysis” spiral. This graphic (top) appeared in issues 40–63 in the “Reflection/Action” section. The term “social analysis” was replaced with the term “media awareness” after issue 40/41 (bottom left) and the process depicted in the graphic was dubbed the “empowerment spiral” by Thoman’s Center for Media Literacy organization in the mid-1990s (bottom right).

glossy cover of double issue 40/41 in 1987, the masthead included a statement of purpose reprinted in each issue through vol. 47 in 1989:

Recognizing that the media environment in which we live is a major agent of socialization and directly affects the quality of life for individuals and society at large, our purpose is to challenge and enable both media consumers and media industries to raise questions about and to claim greater responsibility for that environment.

(Staff, 1987, p. 2)

*M&V* asserted this consistent identity in format and purpose just as the magazine expanded its reach through partnerships with sponsoring organizations brokered through MARC connections and through marketing to groups interested in particular themes.

The new design with central themes allowed *M&V* to partner with other organizations to publish around particular topics of interest. Issue 34,

“Cultures Under Siege,” was published in partnership with the Caribbean Conference of Churches and Intermedia, the communications and adult basic education agency of the Division of Overseas Ministries of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States (NCCC). The partners had covered half of production costs up front and received 500 copies for constituents, contributing to a jump in new subscriptions (Board of Directors, 1985). For the following issue, vol. 35, *M&V* partnered with the NCCC again to publish an official summary of their hearings on “Violence and Sexual Violence in Media” held over five days in 1984 in New York, Los Angeles, and Washington D.C. with testimony from researchers, industry professionals, government leaders, and media consumer groups. NCCC, whose head of communications, Bill Fore, was on the *M&V* board, placed a special order for its membership that boosted *M&V* circulation well over 10,000 for the first time. This began a trend of print runs that reflected a base of individual subscribers that had doubled since before MARC ownership (ranging from 2,000–4,000), plus group subscribers and special orders from sponsor groups and partners (“Budget,” 1988). Print runs after issue 35 ranged from 6,000–12,000 copies per issue, varying with the size of groups involved in particular themes. A marketing scheme developed pitching possible upcoming issue themes to organizations for their potential sponsorship while also soliciting subscriptions and group orders from their constituents. To facilitate liaisons with sponsors, *M&V* maintained addresses with an office in New York and one in Toronto (coordinated by board members) in addition to the home office in Los Angeles where the magazine was made. With growth in subscriptions, special orders, and sponsorship, the total budget for *M&V* increased 150 percent from \$100,000 in 1985 to \$250,000 in 1988 (“Budget,” 1988).

The central themes for each magazine issue also led to a focused role for Thoman in speaking engagements. Thoman targeted conferences of academics, professionals, and advocacy groups to match with issue themes and built presentations around single issues to promote and model the use of the magazine for workshops (Thoman, 1987). Thoman conducted “dozens” of more general workshops and talks on the concept of media awareness, promoting the magazine as an educational resource for this goal to educator groups, congregations, dioceses, advocacy groups, and media industry (E.Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013).<sup>8</sup> Despite the positive experience Thoman had delivering workshops on media awareness, *M&V* had not developed a demand for professional development in media education around the magazine. By 1987, Thoman’s experience promoting *M&V* as an educational resource for media awareness had focused her on shifting the magazine to serve teachers more directly as the foundation of a grassroots media awareness movement (Thoman, 1987). This final shift away from the

core audience of religious thought leaders to reach educators directly began in earnest with the magazine's independence from MARC and the incorporation of the Center for Media and Values in 1989.

### CENTER FOR MEDIA AND VALUES AND THE LATER YEARS, 1989–1993

The final years of *Media&Values* saw few changes to the design of the magazine, but major changes in organization, funding, audience, and supplemental publications. In September 1989, ownership of *M&V* transferred from the MARC to the newly incorporated Center for Media and Values (CMV), a non-profit organization with Elizabeth Thoman as executive director.<sup>9</sup> The Board of Directors of the magazine, which had grown around the original MARC members to seventeen and would add three more, remained mostly the same for CMV, each affiliated with communications leadership of a different religious denomination. The major change was the transformation from a subscription and sponsor based magazine resource to a membership organization. Subscription to the magazine became a benefit of CMV membership, which offered individual, student, community organization, national organization, and corporate levels. The change also facilitated the success of grant applications to philanthropic funders who saw promise in a non-profit membership organization for a media literacy movement with an influential flagship magazine, rather than a magazine promoting media awareness owned by an ecumenical religious group. CMV received start-up grants from the L.J. and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation, John T. and Catherine D. MacArthur Foundation, World Association of Christian Communicators, and Trinity Church/Wall Street Foundation for a total of over \$100,000 (Ebenhardt, 1990; Thoman, 1991). The organization hired more full-time staff to join Thoman and Silver, including a membership coordinator and, most significantly for the magazine, an education director, Jay Davis. An experienced high school teacher with degrees in education and media studies, Davis developed the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits*, curriculum guides built around *M&V* issues, which manifested the new vision of CMV to serve educators directly as the foundation of a media literacy movement in the United States.

The vision for CMV crystallized in Thoman's "Second Decade Plan, 1987–1997," which she presented to the *M&V* Board of Directors to initiate movement toward becoming a membership organization:

As *Media&Values* begins its Second Decade, its vision is to become more than a magazine. By 1997, at the end of its 20th year, *Media&Values* will be the core of a national not-for-profit media awareness organization which will develop

conferences and training programs, provide print and electronic resources for media education in homes, schools, community and religious organizations and raise a constituent voice for awareness/analysis/reflection/action of media issues in our society.

(Thoman, 1987, p. 1)

The first issue of *Media&Values* under CMV publishing included a new statement in the masthead on the inside cover describing the new organization as “an educational not-for-profit membership organization created to stimulate creative and critical thinking and positive action about the influence and impact of television and mass media in contemporary life” (Staff, 1989, p. 2). The reference to “positive action” was an effort to distinguish the organization from anti-media industry reform efforts, especially those of the religious right, in hopes of engaging corporate media as funders and participants in the movement.<sup>10</sup> The masthead statement also declared the role of the magazine in terms of leading a movement:

*Media&Values* is the cornerstone of a pioneering media awareness education movement to promote better understanding of how today’s mass media influences individual and social values—personal attitudes and social behaviors as well as cultural, economic and political worldviews. *Media&Values* believes that a concern for values in today’s media age is not so much knowing all the answers as asking the right questions. Working in collaboration with educational leaders, youth and family serving organizations, religious denominations and academic researchers, the Center’s goal is to empower families and individuals to learn what questions to ask and thus become more selective and knowledgeable consumers of today’s mass media products.

(Staff, 1989, p. 2)

The emphasis of the leadership role in an “education movement” was an important shift, which for CMV meant engaging teachers in order to pursue the goal to create savvy media consumers by using *M&V* magazine as a curriculum resource.

In 1989, CMV discussed a plan for building on the research done for each *M&V* issue to produce something more than a magazine for adults to read, “We determined that what was needed was a process approach—actual outlines for group activities that, if conducted by teachers and leaders, would begin to help participants become more media literate” (Thoman, 1993, p. 1). The next year, new education director Jay Davis began working with Thoman on the first *Media Literacy Workshop Kit* called *Breaking the Lies that Bind: Sexism in the Media*, which would set the template for subsequent kits.



**Figure 3.4 Media Literacy Workshop Kit.** The images below show the contents of the first *Media Literacy Workshop Kit*, which set the template for subsequent kits: the top left image shows the cover of the “Leader’s Guide and Handout Masters” booklet, which reproduced the same images that appeared on the front of the folder; the top right image shows the back cover of the folder; the images below show the covers of *Media&Values* issues 48 (left) and 49 (right). The 8-page booklet *From Awareness to Action: Media Literacy for the 1990s* was also included in the folder. Subsequent kits included a single magazine rather than two issues.

The kit was an illustrated glossy folder containing the *M&V* issues 48 and 49 (“A Two Part Series on Gender and the Media”), and a “Leaders Guide and Handout Masters” booklet (see Figure 3.4). Also in the folder was a document, *From Awareness to Action: Media Literacy for the ‘90s*, in which Davis and Thoman articulated the pedagogical approach for the kits (for in-depth discussion and analysis of this approach in the document and kits, see chapter 9, *Media Literacy as Pedagogy*). Included in each subsequent kit, the document became the calling card for introducing the media literacy education approach of CMV to funders, sponsors, schools, and prospective members, as Thoman discussed with the CMV Board of Directors in March, 1993:

This 8-page resource came to serve as the Center’s formative statement of its methodology for media literacy education. It explained the key principles of

media literacy as we had adapted them from the English and Canadian literature as well as our proposed empowerment process for media literacy education—the four-step “circle of praxis” as conceived by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire and refined in the U.S. by both the social justice movement in the Protestant/Catholic community and adult learning specialists .... We decided the “Media Literacy for the ‘90s” document would become our calling card to introduce what we meant by media literacy. We printed 10,000 copies, anticipating that we would give them away liberally in order to “set the standard” for media literacy in the U.S. as well as introduce how to use our workshop kits in both school and non-school settings.

(Thoman, 1993b, p. 2)

After an additional 10,000 copies had been distributed, Thoman incorporated “Media Literacy for the ‘90s” into the front matter of the “Leader’s Guide” for kits produced in 1993–1995.

**Table 3.5 Featured Themes in *Media&Values*, 1989–1993**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Vol.</i>	<i>Cover Theme Title</i>
1993	63	Media and Violence, Part Two: Searching for Solutions
	62	Media and Violence, Part One: Making the Connections
	61	Global Communication: For the Powerful or the People
1992	59/60	Tuning in to Television: News, Views and How to Live With It*
	58	Rethinking Democracy: Citizenship in the Media Age
1991	57	Impact of Images: Life and Culture in the Media Age
	56	The Media: In War and Peace
1990/91	54/55	Fatal Attraction: The Selling of Addiction
	52/53	Children and Television: Growing Up in a Media World
1990	51	Media and the Earth: Challenging the Consumer Culture
	50	News for the 1990s: A Question of Values
1989	49	Redesigning Women: Second of a Two-Part Series on Gender and the Media
	48	Men, Myth and Media: First of a Two-Part Series on Gender and the Media
	47	Media and Money: How the Bottom Line Affects What We See and Read
	46	The Birds, The Bees and Broadcasting: What the Media Teaches Our Kids About Sex
	45	Coming of Age: Media and the Mature Audience

\*Fifteenth anniversary double issue, mostly reprints of prior articles.

**Table 3.6 Media Literacy Workshop Kits Incorporating *Media&Values***

<i>Kit Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>M&amp;V vols.</i>
Break the Lies that Bind: Sexism in the Media	1990	48, 49
News for the 1990s: A Workshop Kit on Values in the News	1991	50
Parenting in a TV Age: A Media Literacy Kit on Children and Television	1991	52/53
Images of Conflict: Learning from Media Coverage of the Gulf War	1991	56
Selling Addiction: A Workshop Kit on Tobacco and Alcohol Advertising	1992	54/55
Living in the Image Culture: A Primer for Media Literacy Education	1992	57
Catholic Connections to Media Literacy: Forming Values in the Media Age	1992	57
Citizenship in a Media Age: Building the Common Good	1992	58
TV Alert: A Wake-Up Guide for Television Literacy	1993	59–60
Global Questions: Exploring World Media Issues	1993	61
Beyond Blame: Challenging Violence in the Media	1995	62, 63

Titles for each kit appear with the publication year and the volume numbers of the magazine issues included in the curricula folder.

The leader's guides recommended use in workshop and classroom settings with "older youth and adults," except for *Parenting in a TV Age*, which targeted parents and their children in the home. Each guide offered six to twelve "modules" of durations from fifteen minutes to two hours with outlines of group activities for analysis, discussion, writing, media-making simulation, and role-play related to readings from *M&V* articles or video clips prepared by the workshop leader from movies or TV broadcasts recorded off air. Activities in the modules were organized by sections marked "Awareness," "Analysis," "Reflection," and "Action"; thus, CMV asserted the *M&V* design principle of the social analysis spiral as a consistent feature in its curriculum design. The modules revolved around themes from *M&V* issues from 1989–1993, including sexism in mass media and popular culture; print and TV news; children and television; news coverage of the Gulf War; tobacco and alcohol advertising; values embedded in market-driven media; media coverage of elections and civic engagement; television as cultural influence; global media systems and cultural imperialism; and media violence (see Tables 3.5 and 3.6, below, for titles of *M&V* issues and corresponding workshop kits). The most significant change in the magazine itself was the addition of feature articles discussing methods for teaching and learning about media, and a "Reflection Resource" page that encouraged members to copy and use as a handout for group discussion. The practical application of *M&V* issues in the curricula of the workshop kits precipitated a shift in language, as CMV followed the



example of Canadian media educators to replace the term *media awareness* with *media literacy*; thus, the nameplate motto changed to “A Quarterly Resource for Media Literacy” for two issues in 1991, and to “A Cornerstone of the Media Literacy Movement” for the final six issues through 1993. Although the magazine format, and editorial and publishing processes changed little, the transition to a membership organization attempting to lead a national movement, and the expansion of publishing scope with workshop kits for each issue, presented massive challenges for CMV along with massive new opportunities.

In 1991, Thoman was shocked to receive \$125,000 in funding for a special expanded workshop kit, a project grant sum twice *M&V*'s 1983 operating budget, from the institution that she had requested money from for decades to no avail. In a letter to a longtime sponsor of the magazine, Thoman wrote, “Did you hear we got a big grant/ contract from—of all places—the Catholic Church?” (Thoman, 1991b).<sup>11</sup> The grant was to develop, in partnership with the National Catholic Educational Association (NCEA), the *Media Literacy Workshop Kit* entitled *Catholic Connections to Media Literacy*, which followed the same basic format as other workshop kits except with overt references to a Catholic values perspective. The Catholic kit repackaged the kit *Living in the Image Culture: A Primer for Media Literacy Education*, produced the same year for a general audience using *M&V* issue 57, “Impact of Images: Life and Culture in the Media Age,” with the additions of a teacher education booklet, “Forming Values in the Media Age,” of readings on pedagogical approach and methods in high school and adult Catholic education, and a twenty minute video introducing key concepts of media literacy and their classroom application. In keeping with its efforts to be recognized as a leader in media literacy education broadly rather than as a religious organization, *M&V* magazine did not advertise the Catholic kit, as it did all the other kits, but marketed directly through the NCEA. By 1993, over 2,500 kits were on order with a workshop tour of schools in 60 participating dioceses booked and funded for 1994 (Guerrero, 1993). Although the Catholic kit involved by far the most elaborate marketing and implementation process with the largest partner, the demand for other kits was just as great. CMV printed between 2,500 and 5,000 copies of each kit, depending on advance group orders, with several kits reprinted in later editions. The kits sparked significant growth in the CMV membership organization at each level.

By the end of 1992 CMV had over 1,300 personal memberships (\$30 each), 250 group subscriptions (\$10 each), 300 library subscriptions (\$25 each), 600 organizational memberships (\$95 each), and several national non-profit memberships (\$150–1,500 each); membership and subscription revenue along with sales of *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* accounted for nearly half of the income in the CMV budget, which had doubled again since 1989 climbing over half a million dollars (“CMV Profit/Loss Report,” 1993). CMV spent new membership and sales revenue on expanding operational costs for new

staff (full-time office manager, membership coordinator, educational director, etc.), new equipment (e.g., new personal computers for desktop publications), and new marketing (direct mail flyers, monthly membership newsletter, product catalogs, etc.) to keep up with the new programs since the other half of incoming money—from grants, sponsors, and donors—was tied to specific projects, *M&V* issues, and kits. Costs still outpaced income most quarters by a few thousand dollars as the budget fluctuated with irregular income and project schedules (“CMV Profit/Loss Report,” 1993). The demands of the transition to the CMV membership with its new growth and expanded operations taxed the staff and leadership tremendously.

Without securing corporate funding and consistent foundation support for operational costs, CMV struggled to make ends meet and adjusted the production schedule for *Media & Values* magazine in 1990–1993 to buy time for the small staff to keep up with new organizational demands (membership, marketing, promotion) and new creative demands (kits, project development). CMV only produced five issues of the “quarterly” magazine from 1990 through 1991, and only three issues in each of the following years. To keep up appearances, CMV listed three magazines as double issues, though volumes 52/53 and 54/55 only expanded to 36 pages from the usual 24 pages and volume 59/60 consisted of mostly reprinted articles as a 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary “best of” retrospective issue. This tactic allowed time for the small staff to publish the magazine while completing accompanying kits and the *Catholic Connections to Media Literacy* rollout, while managing the training of new magazine and organizational staff to keep up with expansion—but the strategy proved unsustainable.

After the publication of issue 63 in 1993, Thoman proposed to the Board of Directors that magazine publication go on hiatus for a year to allow for development of current assets (outreach with kits) and organizational restructuring, as evident in the “reality check” section of her presentation:

### Reality Check

#### I. Program is not working: it’s time for another transformation:

- locked into 4 issues/kits each year but don’t have enough money or staff to produce quality product on time.
- need for more fluid, flexible approach to media literacy information—a “movement” approach; *M&V* as primary publication is too esoteric.
- can always produce book of essays for future kits but *M&V* doesn’t need to be tied to it. Can be any compilation of support documents.
- we’re losing too many members because they join for one theme but later themes aren’t interesting to them—so they don’t renew when renewal time comes around.
- in addition, not getting enough income from organizational members (600 × \$100) to justify the cost of producing 4 high quality issues/kits per year.

Original planning did not allow for such extended leader's materials. However cannot now compromise—standards are set. Better to do 1 or 2/year well than 4 in a shoddy way.

- the great cry now is for training and demonstration in media literacy—teachers, parents, religious groups, the media. Need a trainer of trainers on staff but cannot afford one.

(Thoman, 1993)

An organizational retreat the following year included a focus on addressing emotional and spiritual needs to support and heal an overextended leader and staff (“Strategic Planning Retreat,” 1994). The group resolved to change the name of the organization to the Center for Media Literacy, and to focus the following two years on outreach to schools with current *Media Literacy Workshop Kits*, and a new kit on media violence, *Beyond Blame: Challenging Violence in the Media*, already in development. Plans to resume magazine publication never came to fruition under the Center for Media Literacy, which continued building membership in a media literacy movement on the strength of the curriculum resources and network developed around *Media&Values*; volume 63 in 1993 turned out to be the last issue of *M&V*.

## **CONSISTENCIES, TRENDS, AND TENSIONS ACROSS *MEDIA&VALUES* PRODUCTION HISTORY**

This concluding section summarizes a few aspects of the magazine's production history that remained consistent, established trends, and presented tensions through the years of its run. I offer an overview of the editorial voice, of the editors' general notions of “media” and of “values,” of the editorial strategy taking a “timeless” approach (avoiding a current event or pop culture focus), and of the global scope in the magazine. I also review the consistent effort by its makers to use *Media&Values* to promote a movement beyond the magazine. These topics unfold in deeper discussion of discourses around concepts of media literacy in the following chapters, but it is useful for the reader to have an introduction to these ideas as part of the arc of the magazine's production history before encountering my findings on the most prominent themes, discursive positioning, and articulations of media literacy concepts in *M&V*.

### **Editorial Voice Speaking across Discourse Communities**

Through the significant changes in purpose over the years, the editorial voice of the magazine remained surprisingly consistent with introductory columns

and closing pieces maintaining a personal, folksy tone to balance expert discussion of media and culture in the scholarly and journalistic voices from feature article contributors. In their columns, editors and staff often used the first person point of view (“I”) and a universal first person plural (“we”; “our”), addressed readers directly, and framed ideas with personal anecdotes (as in the example above from the issue on *Militarism* introduced with Thoman’s story about seeing a *Rambo* movie on a plane). The following examples illustrate these consistent aspects of editorial voice through the years:

Even though we sometimes hate TV, like Listerine, we also love it. And more importantly we have gotten used to it. It has not only taken over our living rooms, but out lives.

(Thoman, 1977, p. 4)

Information explosion has ridden technology into the consciousness of each of us, our eyes can no longer see the future without seeing other cultures, other peoples, other core responses very different from our own. McLuhan’s global village has my house at the center of it.

(Koritnik, 1980, p. 2).

Recently, I heard a teacher say, “Don’t ever try to rub a projector, tune a television, or fix a tape recorder if there’s a competent third-grader around.” How true. When I was a child, the Brownie box camera was a technological marvel. Today even kindergartners can record and play back their favorite TV show.

(Thoman, 1979b, p. 1)

Like fish in water, we are seldom aware of the media environment that continually shapes our lives, values, and attitudes. [We offer] an overview of the basic concepts and techniques to help individuals and families cope with the impact of mass media and new technology.

(Thoman, 1986b, p. 2)

In the midst of finalizing this issue, I tuned one night to the television broadcast of the NAACP’s “Image” Awards .... I was impressed with the way the black community honored its own .... In addition to future “Image” Awards, you might want to look for telecasts of the “Jimmie” Awards [Asian/Pacific American Artists] or the “Golden Eagles” [Hispanic media].

(Thoman, 1987c, p. 2)

Throughout this issue we address the media’s mandate to provide meaningful political discourse, an abstract phrase we struggle to define. But there’s nothing abstract about the object lesson we received here in Los Angeles this spring [riots following the Rodney King verdict] on what can happen when political discourse fails. If I have any doubts about its concreteness, all I have to do is

walk down the street and look at the boarded up appliance store in the mini-mall and the charred front of the little Mom and Pop store on the corner .... Media are not the only institutions responsible for the general malaise we are feeling. But as the glue that binds our society together, the media do bear a heavy responsibility for feeding us a diet of scandals, controversies and personalities while failing to explore issues of concern to real people they reach.

(Thoman, 1992, p. 2)

Cutting back on media violence has been like swearing off junk food. Sooner or later the commercial attractions of blood and gore were too tempting and violent programming once again became a major part of the media menu.

(Silver, 1993, p. 2)

These examples also illustrate the use of metaphors to communicate concepts of media ecology (“fish in water”), complex relationships to media pleasures (“Listerine”), and media effects on attitudes and behavior (“information explosion”; “feeding us a diet”). The editorial voice portrays sensitivity to the intimidating qualities of new media and technology for users and communicators as well as educators, introducing shorter articles to accompany features with basic concepts and techniques to help “cope” with the “impact” of mass media. The jargon-free, folksy tone and easy-to-use resources invite novices to join in the development of knowledge and skills toward participation in the media criticism and activism modeled in pieces by expert communication scholars and media reform advocates.

In a 1985 planning document presented to the MARC Board of Directors, Thoman describes part of the editorial strategy for engaging both beginners and readers with more advanced knowledge of media-related topics: “In its eight-year history, *Media & Values* has provided a provocative and lively ‘overview’ of media issues without an ‘overload’ of technical jargon” (Thoman, 1985, p. 1). Although articles often referred to top-line results of media research and frequently applied sophisticated media theories to engage in criticism and textual analysis, *M&V* articles seldom included details of study design, never included academic citations, and refrained from speaking about theoretical frameworks in abstract terms—an editorial strategy consistent with many popular magazines such as *Harper’s*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *New York Times Magazine*, which also featured work by leading intellectuals for more general audiences of intellectually curious readers, but not necessarily academic specialists. *M&V* editors solicited articles from leading media scholars in media effects (e.g., George Gerbner, Dorothy and Jerome Singer), media history (e.g., Michael Schudson), critical cultural studies (e.g., Todd Gitlin, Sut Jhally), and political economy of media (e.g., Ben Bagdikian), as well as from leading media activists (e.g., Jean Kilbourne, Peggy Charren), asking for

approval to condense, excerpt, or adapt academic articles and book chapters to suit the broad range of media knowledge and skills of the readership.<sup>12</sup> Some authors wrote their own features while others allowed *M&V* editors to adapt their specialized work with their approval; author details followed each article in italics with academic credentials, organizational affiliations, and mention of major works while details for obtaining books and studies often appeared in the *Resources* section at the back of the magazine.

Reading *Media&Values* in the twenty-first century as a historian who has traversed the path from high school English teacher and media artist to media scholar, the folksy editorial voice and refusal to include direct references to research findings and theoretical foundations felt odd to me considering the obvious expert knowledge of the staff and the presence of such large figures in cultural criticism, academia, and activism whose work appears in the magazine. The choice seemed strange, especially considering the overt mission to influence religious and community leaders who held advanced degrees and had experience in communications and other fields. When I asked Thoman about this during our 2013 interview she admitted an anti-intellectual bias that she traced to her upbringing:

First of all, I have a bias against academia, personally. I was afraid of being evaluated. As a young person, I never thought I had enough qualifications—it was my own self-esteem .... I didn't have the time to do a PhD .... But I personally have a bias that comes from, I don't know, it comes from my parents, neither of them went to college. My mother is a very practical person. My religious community is very practical, although we owned a college and had tons of people with PhD's. I just personally, I just never—I see the value of it now, but it's too late for me to do anything about it. But when I was thirty or thirty-five ... I was too busy trying to build a constituency to try to deal with these issues.

(E. Thoman, Personal Communication, September 21, 2013)

Thoman went on to directly address my questions about her intentions and strategy behind the informal, folksy editorial voice:

*Thoman:* The lack of citations and those sorts of things were because we were trying *not* to be an academic publication. The whole social analysis thing was so a janitor could read—you know, involve the janitors; don't just involve the CEO's. You know, the people who need a voice to say something are not the CEO's, they're the people being affected. So if the people being affected by media are moms and dads, teachers, religious educators, youth leaders, why would I want to cite—they won't read stuff that has a lot of citations .... I knew it had to be attractive and interesting and not boring. Boring was the thing we fought against, making it look academic, because most people don't read academic publications. It was not for the academic scholar, not for the academic conversation or dialogue.

*Robb Grieco*: What's interesting to me is, we've been talking about how the magazine was for thought leaders. Most of these thought leaders, certainly, had pretty highly academic backgrounds.

*Thoman*: That's okay. But you look at what they read, look at what they like to read, and it's not always the academic publications that they spend most of their time with. Busy youth leaders don't spend a lot of time with the *Journal of Communication*. That's a publishing game; I was into a readership game.

(E. Thoman, Personal Communication, September 21, 2013)

The “readership game” played by Thoman and the editors of *Media & Values* involved speaking and creating a dialogue across the discourse communities among the magazine's wide variety of contributors and readers in order to build a constituency for, what would become known as, media literacy education. It is useful to bear in mind the qualities of this editorial voice, and the circumstances of its emergence in the magazine's production history, to inform my analysis in the following chapters exploring how the editorial voice and wide range of contributors voices articulated ideas about media literacy, and positioned people and institutions in particular power relations in the process.

### “Media” in the Broadest Sense

The magazine used the term “media” to refer to media messages, genres, modes, technologies, and institutions. Media violence, identity stereotypes, and cultural imperialism are examples of recurring magazine issue themes focusing on the notion of media as media messages. Within such themes, authors refer to how media messages influence attitudes and behaviors, reinforce prejudices, or construct values—most often cumulatively, sometimes directly. *Media & Values* uses the term “media” to include most media genres with some individual magazine issues focusing on news, entertainment, educational media, or advertising, and others including discussion of a variety of media genres related to a particular message theme or technology. As a mode, the magazine most often discusses audio-visual mass media of television and film, but also includes discussion of print modes of mass communications such as the book and newspaper—and occasionally authors discuss relationships between modes of print, audio-visual and electronic media. Other than issue 34, *Rock and Its Role*, music rarely features in *M&V*, but brief news items often refer to popular music. *M&V* discusses radio mostly in relation to the news genre, but also in relation to broadcasting (systems, policy, and history). The magazine discusses the various types of engagement associated with different media modes—viewing, listening, reading, learning, speaking, writing, and producing—though the first four on this list are most common. While *mass* media are the mode in

primary focus, *M&V* featured an issue on media in “Group Communication” (vol. 27) and one on interpersonal communication (“The Telephone in our Lives,” vol. 26). Articles occasionally spotlight interactivity as a media mode within discussions of computers and, albeit rarely, videogames (only four articles featured videogames as a topic). The term media also denotes communication technology, systems, and devices as *M&V* centered particular issues on themes of satellite technology, cable TV systems, broadcasting, computers and computer networks, and home video cassette recorders. In addition to referring to messages, discussions of media influence often referred to media as devices in the home—the television, VCRs, desktop computers, radios, personal stereos, radios, and videogame consoles. Finally, *M&V* contributors referred to media in terms of institutions: news (often *the* media) as the fourth estate; Hollywood and the entertainment industry; and transnational media corporations. *M&V* articles often contrasted public and private media institutions, and critiqued the role of media institutions in the economy, politics, elections, and government as well as education.

By embracing the broad and various use of the term “media,” *Media&Values* positioned the goals of promoting media awareness and media literacy as massive undertakings. This choice presented challenges and opportunities for the magazine in developing concepts around media literacy regarding knowledge, skills, teaching, and learning, which I discuss and analyze in the subsequent chapters.

### **“Values” from Catholic to Judeo-Christian to Secular Audiences**

*Media&Values* employs the term *values* in a broad sense to refer to the things that people deem important and worthwhile, from material possessions and lifestyles to social relationships and knowledge. In the early years of publication by the NSCS and the Office for Communications Ministry, the magazine occasionally specified Catholic values perspectives with references to papal and biblical authority. This shifted with the ecumenical ownership of the MARC in the middle years. With a multi-denominational leadership and audience, *M&V* removed overt references to specific values and religious authority, as Thoman explains in the “Scope and Editorial Direction” section of a 1984 letter to Rabbi Jim Rudin inviting him to join the Board of Directors and to increase involvement of the American Jewish Committee with the magazine:

Under the aegis of MARC, we’ve now published three 1984 issues of *Media&Values*—all enclosed. As you can see, each edition is on a theme, trend or issue in mass media or new technology from a human/ social values



perspective. I do believe these “values” are not exclusively “Christian,” and my Jewish assistant editor and myself are constantly vigilant to edit out religious language/ concepts that might be exclusive to any one denomination. Similarly, we try to edit for our international readers, especially those in the Third World.

(Thoman, 1984)

The letters inviting new board members in 1984 all included a version of this statement about the magazine’s treatment of media issues from a “human/ social values perspective”; each of these letters included descriptions of the magazine “as an interfaith forum to raise the voice of values in today’s Media Age” and made a request of the prospective director that, “When we talk, I need to hear what your needs might be especially in regard to media education or values formation in media issues” (Thoman, 1984). In relation to education, *M&V* uses the term “values” consistently throughout the production run in its advocacy of a progressive pedagogy of values clarification where the learner analyzes and discusses the values implications and representations in media in order to compare and contrast to individual, family, community, and religious values (see chapter 7 for discussion). Consistent with the values clarification approach, *M&V* assumes a neutral pose, most often refraining from overtly asserting particular values as preferable. However, *M&V* often identified values communicated by media as negative, and implied certain values as universal in condemning oppression, discrimination, violence, and so on. In chapters 7 and 10, I discuss the implications of trying to avoid declaring specific values positions of the magazine while problematizing values represented in media, and I situate this editorial choice in relation to complications around the term “values” in educational discourses. Although editors avoided articulating particular values positions in magazine articles, planning documents in the middle years specify the “human/ social values perspective” in the magazine’s approach.

The introduction to the “*Media&Values* Second Decade Development Plan” (Thoman, 1987) begins with lists of the notions of “media” and of particular “values” positions of the magazine:

*Media ... television, video, cable, computers, film, radio, newspapers, satellites, magazines, advertising ...*

*Values ... equality, fairness, dignity, respect, self-worth, justice, integrity, beauty, insight, truth, honesty, responsibility, interdependence ...*

For 10 years, the quarterly magazine, *Media&Values*, has made the connection between the values dimension of human life and the mass media and new technology which increasingly shapes and permeates not only the way children learn and young people image their future but also how we relate to one another as individuals, as families, as nations. (p. 1)

Throughout the middle years, *M&V* spoke of its unique contribution to public discourse in terms of raising awareness of media issues *from a values perspective*. Thoman and the Board of Directors recognized this as *M&V*'s distinguishing trait, as evident in the 1985 planning document, "A Prospectus for Developing New Directions":

In the mind of the planning (executive) committee, the genius of *Media&Values* has never been media—there are lots of media magazines—but VALUES. These values stem from a common interreligious concern that faith is linked to justice and that people of faith must apply their human energy, as well as their spiritual prayer, to creating a society where justice, peace and, hopefully, love prevail.

(Thoman, 1985, p. 5)

As discussed above, the sense of inclusive, interfaith values distinguished the *M&V* approach from the religious right, which Thoman mentions in a 1987 letter to media producer Bruno Caliendo of United Methodist Communications:

As you know, we have absolutely no competition, there is no other organization doing anything like this kind of analysis of media issues. The fact that it comes out of the church community is lauded and highly respected by both the academic world and the media industry. Les Brown, of Channels magazine, says it [*M&V*] is of most importance as an "alternative voice" to the religious right. I myself believe that we must not let the religious right dominate the discussion of values in the media by their narrow definitions of four letter words or nudity. To me, some of the most important value questions related to the media are economic ones—who owns the media, who is bought by mass media, and who makes those decisions?

(Thoman, 1987b)

There is some evidence in editorial correspondences that toward the end of the 1980s, *M&V* was indeed gaining recognition for raising questions of values in relation to media issues, which more mainstream publications also began engaging. For example, in a 1988 letter to a prospective contributor, Thoman writes:

In the space of one week I was contacted by both *T.V. Guide* and Cable News Network as a resource for major projects they are planning for this summer in the area of values and media. *T.V. Guide* is doing a 5 part series on television and values and they were directed to me as a primary resource. Cable News Network is doing a 10 part series on "Ethics and Morality in America" and they plan on doing a segment on *Media&Values*.

(Thoman, 1988)

### E. Guiding Principles and Values

1. Media awareness is more than an intellectual body of knowledge. It is a skill, a process of empowering people to take responsibility for their own involvement with and reaction to media. It is empowering people to be active creators of their own culture.
2. We have learned to consume media in a passive way. If we can get audiences to think of media consumption as less automatic and more intentional, we suspect the character of the media environment will change for all.
3. Technological advances, particularly video, have created new media choices which now provide an opportunity for promoting a new kinds of media behavior.
4. We encourage and promote the concept of partnership between media consumers and media producers so that we work together to improve the products and use of media.
5. The "values" of the Center for Media and Values are the following social justice principles:
  - Dignity of each human person;
  - Truthfulness and honesty in relationships;
  - Equality among all persons regardless of race, gender, age, ethnicity or religious heritage;
  - Concern for justice in all social relations; Problem-solving through cooperation and communication rather than violence.
  - There is value in diversity: cultural, ethnic and otherwise.
  - Media productions can express positive values and still be entertaining and profitable.
6. Of special concern to us is the vulnerable media audience—children, dysfunctional families, families that use television as a baby sitter, families in which the parent or parents are themselves unconscious media watchers, readers or listeners, families with unclear or unknown values, families that do not parent their children. Anecdotal wisdom, if not scientific data, tells us these are the people least able to critically judge media and its impact on their lives and thus more vulnerable to manipulation in their values and attitudes.
7. The purpose of mass media is not just commercial gain but also to inspire, entertain and educate audiences to reach the fullness of human growth and development.
8. In art as well as in life, the dignity of human persons must always be respected. Thus all forms of negative stereotyping, discrimination or exploitation must be avoided.
9. Children have a right to grow up in an environment free from crass commercialism, violence and sexual exploitation. (Television exposes them to violence, sexuality and consumerism far beyond their ability to judge critically the message vs. reality.)
10. Producers of mass media can produce programs which entertain and delight millions but which do so without exploitative sex and gratuitous violence. We believe instead that media productions can express positive values and still be entertaining and profitable.
11. It is the task of adults in society to pass on to the next generation how to survive in the world, how to learn and to live in a way that gives fullness and meaning to life. In today's media society, we must pass on to our children how to live creatively in the midst of the Information Age.
12. Believing that the airwaves belong to the people, there should be equal access to the broadcast media for all people.
13. We believe in freedom of speech and the press.

**Figure 3.5** The "values" of *Media & Values*. Reproduced from the Center for Media and Values "Key Language/ Long Range Plan" (1989).

With independence from MARC in 1989 and the new long-term goal to reach public school educators, the Center for Media and Values shifted its rhetoric from emphasizing values, to employing less loaded terms for secular audiences, such as socialization and critical thinking. A one-page CMV statement of purpose from 1988 made no mention of values, as such, beyond the center's name, describing the magazine as follows:

The Center for Media and Values publishes *Media&Values* magazine as a forum for creative and critical thinking on media issues as well as a resource to stimulate discussion and action programs in both formal (schools, churches/synagogues) and informal (youth programs, Scouts, senior centers, parenting classes) educational settings ... the media environment in which we live is a major agent of socialization ... an influence which deserves to be better understood through systematic and thoughtful reflection.

(“Statement of Purpose,” 1988)

1989 CMV document, “Key Language/ Long Range Plan,” explicitly articulated the “values” of *Media&Values* in a section entitled “Guiding Principles and Values” (see Figure 3.5). However, *M&V* magazine seldom explicitly articulated any of these values positions, but chose instead to emphasize its position as raising questions for critical thinking about media. In addition to CMV’s intentions for this strategy to facilitate secular audiences and educators for whom “values” was a loaded term, as I discuss in chapter 7 and chapter 10, the “values” of *Media&Values* was also a stumbling block with funders. Thoman wrote about this issue in a 1990 book chapter about religion’s role in media reform:

Laura Lederer, Social Concerns Program Director of the L.J. and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation in Oakland, California, a philanthropic leader in the media reform movement, says fear over just whose values are being spotlighted also keeps the movement from going forward. Private and corporate foundations are willing to give monies to media producers who work outside the mainstream media and to non-profit organizations developing hands-on programs for children and adults to give them practical knowledge of media. But they are hesitant about getting involved with the question of values because of the ambiguities and potential for conflict that the word conveys to many, Lederer says, “People don’t want to face the issue of values because they’re afraid it will not be their values that will be pushed.”

(Thoman & Rifkin, 1990, p. 180)

Given the difficulty with funders and the complications for educators around the notions of “values” and “whose values,” it is not surprising that the Center for Media and Values changed its name to the Center for Media Literacy with the magazine’s demise in 1993.

In our 2013 interview, I was curious to hear how Thoman would respond to a question about the “values” of *Media&Values*. I wondered whether her intentions had always involved promoting the secular “social/ human values perspective,” or if she held religious values that she translated into her work and editorial choices for secular audiences. Thoman answered without hesitation:

*RobbGrieco:* What were the values of *Media&Values*?

*Thoman:* The values are those of becoming the best human being you could be; of justice and fairness as promised by the [US] Constitution; freedom of speech; the discussion of ideas; equity, the representation issue—we want our children to learn how to be the best persons they can be, and we want to give them the resources to do that. This helps teachers find how to do that in the midst of a media-saturated society.

*RobbGrieco:* Did you and your staff ever address the complexity of the term values, for educators and others?

*Thoman:* Oh, all the time. Funders would say, “What are the values of *Media&Values*? Are you trying to promote an agenda? What is your agenda?”

*RobbGrieco:* What would you say to them?

*Thoman:* Well, just what I just said.

*RobbGrieco:* Is it safe to say that you assumed the notion of common, universal, American democratic values?

*Thoman:* Yes. Yep. Certainly the opportunity to become an adult without the baggage of sexual oppression, or race, of being categorized or being dismissed because of your race, of being equal to others and having the opportunity to become, as I often would say depending on my audience, to become either the person everybody was born to be, with all of our gifts, or I’d say, the person who God created us to be.

*RobbGrieco:* The overt focus on religious themes, topics, and references subsides as the magazine run progresses, why—I think I’ve got some of the answers, but I just want to give you the opportunity to say—why, and how did you make your choices about religious content and overt reference to Christian values or Judeo-Christian values?

*Thoman:* Well, it definitely changed because at first, my whole world was working with Catholic sisters and with Catholic religious educators with the Franciscan Communications service. So that was the main audience I was concerned with.

*RobbGrieco:* So speaking to them, obviously, you used . . .

*Thoman:* We use religious language because that would be appropriate for them. As the audience broadened, and the task was not teaching people how to thread a projector, but would be teaching how to analyze television commercials, we had to change the language to reflect the issues, or that coverage.

*RobbGrieco:* Why were you not talking about religious values anymore, later on?

*Thoman:* Because, religious values are really human values. So, when you have the opportunity to speak about human values, religious values are subsumed in that. So that, if you’re talking about, let’s say, representation of women, it’s not just the representation of Catholic sisters, it’s the representation of all women—elderly, young girls, mothers who are not wed and have children.

*RobbGrieco:* But you’re not saying, “Jesus said we need to treat each other as we’d want to be treated.”

*Thoman:* Well, again, this was going to be used—I kept hoping—

*RobbGrieco:* But it was a pretty broadly Christian group [behind *Media&Values*] for a long time. Before it was beyond that for the readership, you weren’t making those references.

*Thoman:* Well, again, because I think that those references are easy, are too easy to dismiss.

*RobbGrieco:* For people not in [religious discourses]—

*Thoman:* Yes. It makes it hard to raise the money.

*RobbGrieco:* So, even when the audience wasn't beyond that [religious] group, you had a vision—

*Thoman:* That it would be. And that we'd never reach that vision if we kept using that religious language.

*RobbGrieco:* So, in a sense, your target audience was the actual audience, but also was that actual audience.

*Thoman:* Yeah. It was the audience we wanted to have.

*RobbGrieco:* So your target audience was your actual audience plus—

*Thoman:* Plus everybody in the world. [laughs]. Why not?

(E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013)

Thus, in Thoman's recollection, the editors' of *Media&Values* sought to promote a critique of media and action for social reform from a position conceived in terms of common, universal, American, democratic values—which, she says, “are really human values” within which “religious values are subsumed.” Laughing at her own ambition for the scope of the magazine's target audience, Thoman reveals her hopes to share her quest to promote universal values with a global audience.

## Global Awareness and Scope

Thoman's interest in global audiences was manifest in the magazine. Four issues of *Media&Values* center on global media issues—“The Churches Go Satellite” (vol. 21, 1982), “Cultures Under Siege” (vol. 32, 1985), “Media and Money” (vol. 47, 1989), and “Global Communication” (vol. 61, 1993), and every issue includes some reference to media issues beyond the United States and North America. Often, contributors discussed the media systems and media cultures of other countries to contrast with practices of US media industries and users. The recurring “International” or “Global Scene” column offered views from a foreign correspondent on the issue theme.

The actual global reach of *M&V* may have been overstated. Although promotional materials boasted circulation reaching over fifty countries (e.g., Thoman, 1985), such numbers usually reflected distribution of no more than a few magazines to each religious mission around the world with close ties to communications personnel of the religious communities and denominations represented on the *M&V* Board of Directors (e.g., “Budget,” 1988).<sup>13</sup> Still, the general interest among readers from religious communities in international social justice and missionary work warranted the global focus in *M&V*. Thoman traveled the world to attend international media conferences from

the 1979 World Administrative Radio Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, (to divvy world broadcast spectrum and satellite slots), to the 1982 and 1990 UNESCO conferences on media education in Grunwald, Germany and Toulouse, France (where she presented *M&V* approaches to media literacy education). Through Thoman's networking abroad and the magazine's worldly contributors, *M&V* collected and discussed ideas and perspectives on media issues and media education from around the world. In the following chapters, I analyze how this consistent theme of global awareness informed the development of media literacy concepts in *Media & Values* magazine.

### **"Timeless" Approach, Rather Than Current Event and Pop Culture Focus**

With some notable exceptions, *Media & Values* magazine avoided coverage of current news and popular culture. A letter in response to a query from Beth Nissen of ABC-TV news asking about *M&V*'s take on a public controversy over a Nike ad, Thoman explains:

Because our magazine is quarterly and contents are more timeless than timely, we have not specifically "covered" the implications of the controversy over the Nike ad. We do try, however, to stay abreast of issues that emerge and to cull from them the ongoing questions that can be worked into our long-range educational agenda.

(Thoman, 1990b)

Consistent exceptions to this approach come in the editors' introduction column to the issue theme (offering personal anecdotes involving pop culture and reflections on current events as discussed above—*Rambo*, L.A. riots, etc.) and the news brief blurbs in the "Media-Wrap" section. Otherwise, feature articles rarely report on national news items and new popular culture unless references illustrate an example in a historical or projected trend. For example, feature articles discuss TV shows like the *Golden Girls*, *Roseanne*, and the *Cosby Show* in detail to illustrate exceptions to the stereotypical portrayal of age, gender, class and race in entertainment media (Cassata, 1989; Steenland, 1989; Eisenach, 1986). *M&V* even managed to avoid focusing on current event news stories that directly relate to an issue's theme, like the Iran-Contra affair and the trial of Oliver North, which coincided with the preparation and publication of the "Militarism" issue. That issue focused on broader trends related to media and the Cold War, only making reference to the Reagan administration's foreign policies in terms of historical comparisons to images of war heroes and to Vietnam era press coverage. The only significant exceptions to this policy of "timelessness" came in issue 57, "The Media in War and Peace," which featured articles discussing specific news coverage of the 1991 Gulf War, and in issue 28, "Media in the Nuclear Age," which covered responses to the 1984

TV broadcast of “The Day After” in relation to antinuclear activism. The timelessness approach facilitated the magazine’s effort to avoid taking values positions and engaging in political controversy. “Timeless” topics also allowed the magazine to avoid criticizing particular media companies or productions, which had implications for how the magazine developed ideas about media literacy as reform (discussed in chapters 4 and 5), as well as for how the magazine could demonstrate analysis of media texts (discussed in chapters 6–8).

### **Beyond the Magazine, Building a Movement**

Before turning to my close analysis of the magazine text and discursive contexts, I want to reiterate the intention of the *Media&Values* makers to promote movements beyond the magazine. In the early years, editors intended *M&V* to legitimize and support a communications ministry as a movement to transform the social reform efforts of religious communities and the Catholic Church so that they would become relevant to contemporary concerns through modern communications savvy. The magazine makers were Catholic nuns with experience in public relations and education, sharing ideas and practical knowledge with religious leaders and congregational communications professionals. A key component of the vision for this communications ministry was general media education toward something the magazine referred to as media awareness. New ownership in 1984 and a new ecumenical Board of Directors with roots in media education and activism broadened the scope of the *M&V* audience beyond Catholic leaders and communications professionals. In the middle years, the magazine found its calling in applying a “social analysis” design to articulate the stages of media awareness movement for individuals and groups in what later became known as an empowerment spiral of awareness-analysis-reflection-action applied to media experience. The magazine shifted in the middle years from targeting the media awareness development of community thought leaders, to reaching out to educators directly with a magazine that became the centerpiece of a series of curriculum resources, the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits*. With the kits and the focused audience, the magazine creators nurtured a membership organization of educators in hopes of laying a grassroots foundation for a media literacy education movement in the United States. An understanding of these intentions to build movements beyond the magazine in the context of the *M&V* production history is essential to understanding my analysis in the following chapters of how ideas about *Media&Values* developed in the magazine.

### **NOTES**

1. In the early years, *Media&Values* listed NABS/WACC conferences in *Comm-Line* and *Resources* sections regularly with details of Thoman’s involvement in



presentations and workshops. NABS/WACC was a multi-denominational gathering of Christian media professionals at which UNDA/USA, the Catholic Association of Broadcasters and Allied Communicators, also convened annually. Through networking at NABS/WACC, many Catholic nuns became involved in Television Awareness Training with the Media Action Research Center, a multi-denominational Protestant group of religious communications leaders, most of whom had offices in New York City (E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013).

2. Although Television Awareness Training sessions had created the most extensive network of K-12 and informal media educators in the United States at the time, MARC only maintained contact with about 500 certified T-A-T teachers who completed eight-week courses; unknown to *Media&Values* were the numbers of other concerned teachers and parents who attended parts of MARC courses or who were fully trained in subsequent sessions conducted by the 500 certified teachers that had been directly served by MARC. T-A-T growth had also been inhibited by costs with teachers needing to invest in a substantial textbook of lesson plans and 16 mm films of television clips (hundreds of dollars) updated each year or two. Despite the cost reduction with the transition from film to video cassettes in the late 1970s, the combination of cost and weak organizational infrastructure had stalled T-A-T by the time MARC purchased *M&V*. MARC saw *M&V* as an opportunity for a new direction. (E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013)

3. This positioning of *Media&Values* in opposition to the religious right is never articulated as such in the magazine. However, minutes of Board of Directors meetings and editorial correspondences from the MARC years make the distinction from conservative media reform explicitly in many instances.

4. Television Awareness Training and *Media&Values* both promoted a variation of the progressive pedagogy of values clarification, encouraging learners to analyze values messages in texts in comparison to their own family and community values, which both approaches assumed to be common Judeo-Christian and American democratic values. See chapter 7 for discussion of values clarification pedagogy in T-A-T and *M&V*.

5. The *Media&Values* masthead during the MARC ownership years listed all the religious denominations represented in the publishing group:

*Media&Values* is published in cooperation with United Methodist Communications, Episcopal Church, American Lutheran Church, Church of the Brethren, General Conference Mennonite Church, United Church of Canada, Unitarian Universalist Association, United Church of Christ, Mennonite Church, Church Women United, North American Region/World Association for Christian Communication, Ethnic Communications Outlet (Divine Word Missionaries), Center for Religious Telecommunications (Marianist Fathers and Brothers), Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, American Jewish Committee. The Media Action Research Center is an independent not-for-profit organization to research the impact of television on viewers and to create educational resources on media's influence on our society ... M.A.R.C.'s work is made possible through grants, contributions and sale of its educational resources and services. As a 501(c)(3) ... contributions are tax deductible. (Staff, 1984b)

Each denomination and organization listed had an officer active in MARC on the *M&V* Board of Directors, and most were part of the National Council of Churches of Christ (NCCC).

6. This change coincided with the magazine's use of personal computers to facilitate publishing preparation. The computer had been *Time* magazine's "person" of the year in 1982, and desktop publishing software had emerged in 1983, becoming commercially available in 1984 and expanding in use in 1985 with the Apple Laser Writer and the Pagemaker program from Aldus. *M&V* was on the cutting edge of this shift in magazine publishing. In her editorial introduction to issue 36 in 1986, Thoman says:

You're already noticing, I'm sure, Media&Values "new look," especially our move to full text typesetting. Although the design change is not dramatic, the change in our production process was as we shifted from the traditional cut-and-paste layout system to a computerized electronic publishing program. Just press a button and enlarge a headline ... or move a column of type ... or even change the typeface. It's magic! No, we don't own the system ourselves (wish we did!) but our Presbyterian connections led us to Stuart Ritter and Terry Bloomer-Ritter of The Abington Group who have invested early in this exciting new industry. With their help, you're reading a more attractive magazine, and we're saving money as well. (Thoman, 1986c, p. 2)

Since 1982, the magazine had listed the purchase of a personal computer to facilitate production among its goals for growth (Staff, 1983), often asking for funding donations to support the purchase; for example, "We don't have our own computer yet (our computer fundraising campaign is still going on now ... how about a donation to celebrate our birthday?)" (Thoman, 1982, p. 12). While the magazine by 1985 used borrowed computer time donated by an associated publisher as noted above, the goal to purchase an in-house system remained in 1987, as reflected in the first one-year goal listed in the "Second Decade Development Plan" document:

1. Upgrade technological support for *Media&Values* activities now and in the future through the Macintosh computer desktop publishing system which can be used not only for editorial preparation but also for financial management, communications networking, membership records and funding development.

*Needed:* 3 Macintosh SE computers with 20MB hard disks, LaserWriter printer, peripherals and software.

*Cost:* \$20-25,000

*Strategy:* Application under consideration by Apple Computer Grants Program for one basic Macintosh system. Funding needed for additional equipment. (Thoman, 1987, p. 2)

The Center for Media and Values finally acquired their own computer in late 1988 ("Notes for an Annual Report," 1989, p. 1).

7. *A Blueprint for Response-Ability* was reprinted in a condensed form under the title *How to Build Media Awareness* in issues 40/41-46 with the term "social analysis" replaced with "media awareness." Above the beginning of the Reflection/Action section, subsequent issues printed the graphic of the social analysis spiral with a quote

from the article, “‘The issue of values in today’s media is not having all the answers but asking the right questions.’—*Media & Values* editorial philosophy.”

8. Thoman presented workshops and talks on media awareness, which became media literacy by 1989, to groups including educators (National Council for Teachers of English, National Catholic Education Association, etc.), academics (International Communications Association, National Association of Broadcasters, etc.), religious communicators (World Association of Christian Communicators, UNDA-USA, etc.), media industry (Screen Actors Guild, National Association of Community Affairs Directors in Radio/TV, etc.), and advocacy groups (Women and Philanthropy Conference, Center for Population Options, etc.). (Sources: Thoman, 1987; “Notes for an Annual Report,” 1989; “Business Plan,” 1991).

9. MARC forgave a \$15,000 debt and an additional subscription liability in the process of transferring ownership, a de facto grant to the Center for Media and Values, which illustrated both the continuing financial struggles of the magazine and the sustained belief in its potential from the board (Eberhardt, 1990).

10. This sentiment is evident in editorial correspondences, such as a 1989 letter from Thoman to an educational video advocate describing the CMV’s mission to “teach media awareness skills and generally, try to broaden the debate about values in the media from the religious right’s narrow definitions of sex and violence” (Thoman, 1989). Also, CMV invited dozens of media industry executives to join the Board of Directors and become funders, as documented in editorial correspondences in the *Elizabeth Thoman Media Literacy Archive*, but received little financial support from corporate media. See chapter 5 on Media Literacy as Reform, for more details and analysis of *M&V*’s quest to engage media industry in media literacy education efforts.

11. Although *Media & Values* had received financial support from Catholic religious communities throughout its existence, before the *Catholic Connections to Media Literacy* workshop kit project, the Catholic Church itself—the worldwide hierarchical institution of parishes, dioceses, and archdioceses on up to the Vatican—had given little support.

12. Details in italics about author credentials also included signal phrases, and sometimes credits, for editorial process (e.g., “excerpted from ...”; “condensed from ... by ... with the author’s permission”; or “reprinted with permission from ...”). *Media & Values* used standardized forms for contributors and publishers to grant permission for condensing, excerpting, and reprinting articles. Editorial correspondences from each year of *M&V* in the *Elizabeth Thoman Media Literacy Archive* (University of Rhode Island, Kingston), boxes A2 and A3, illustrate this process of soliciting work from leading media scholars and activists, some of whom authorized *M&V* editors to adapt their work, and others who wrote contributions themselves for the *M&V* audiences.

13. Issue 32, “Cultures Under Siege,” for example, had more significant international distribution due to a single issue partnership with the *Intermedia* and international religious missions resulting in special orders; however, this was an exception to the generally minimal international distribution.

## *Findings Section 1*

# MEDIA LITERACY AS REFORM

From the first to the last issue of *Media&Values (M&V)*, the magazine constructed the concepts of media awareness and media literacy as means for readers to get involved in reforming media industries and the institutions within which media were enmeshed. Media literacy was a method for addressing the issues of health and social justice that were caused, reinforced, perpetuated, or exacerbated by objectionable media practices. The magazine develops this concept of media literacy as reform, first, by problematizing media, and then, by offering readers information and models for engaging in reform efforts to address the issues raised. The most prominent ways the magazine portrayed media as a problem were to describe the growth of media environments as a violent disruption in people's lives and to depict values conveyed by media as displacing socialization by traditional institutions. At the time of this writing, media literacy is called upon to respond to the disruptions of ubiquitous mobile and social media, eroding public trust in information and democratic processes, as well as changing interpersonal and group communication. For *M&V*, mass media influence posed analogous threats to democracy, public welfare, and human rights. While alleging these massive cultural shifts on a grand scale to jolt readers into awareness of rapid changes asserted by media, *M&V* also depicted myriad tangible issues (e.g., discriminatory media industry hiring practices, unfair race/gender representation in entertainment and news, ad marketing to vulnerable audiences, etc.) with tangible solutions (regulatory policy activism, audience feedback to media outlets, boycotts, etc.) suggested by the efforts of media reformers, social activists, and concerned citizens whom readers were encouraged to emulate. Thus, the magazine constructs a narrative of transformation for its readers from victims of malign media influence to crusaders for media reform, social justice, and public health. Within this narrative, *M&V*, and in particular

its creator Elizabeth Thoman, struggles to negotiate the tensions around the media industry's role in media literacy reform efforts to remedy issues in which media themselves are implicated as major perpetrators of injustice and harm, often seen as neglecting the public interest for private enterprise while wielding great potential to affect positive change. However, as discussion of media literacy in *M&V* included more focus on pedagogy toward the end of the magazine run, notions of reform shifted from involvement in systemic social change through organized action to personal issues of individual cognitive processing of media, home media environment, parenting, and individualized learning. This shift of focus from social movements to personal issues in thinking of media literacy as reform prefigures the contemporary concern for media literacy education positioned to give individuals responsibility for personal participation and protection because of weak systems for ensuring public interest in media systems (Livingstone, 2003; Bulger & Davison, 2018). Although the efforts of media literacy advocates have recently helped pass legislation supporting implementation of media literacy education in K-12 schools in seventeen US states, these efforts do not connect explicitly with media reform or social justice reform efforts (see Media Literacy Now, 2017; 2014). For current media educators striving to foster civic engagement, this research recovers historical examples of how media literacy has been positioned as part of reform movements addressing problems in media and society, and how practices shifted from group participation in systems change to individual responsibilities and competencies.

The prominent tensions among media studies discourses, reviewed in chapter 2, play prominent roles in *M&V* alternately positioning media audiences as vulnerable, and as potentially powerful when transformed into media literate social reformers. Likewise, the narrative of transformation encounters the tensions among traditional, progressive, and critical education discourses, particularly as the magazine's target audience shifted from adult communications activists to adult educators with youth and parent stakeholders, as described in chapter 3.

This section on how *Media&Values* developed the notion of media literacy as reform is split into two chapters, "Problematizing Media" and "Finding Solutions," which reflect the magazine's "awareness/action" design.

## Chapter 4

# Problematizing Media

As digital media and information communication technologies become ever more ubiquitous, alongside celebrations of unlimited engaging information, personalized entertainment, community and interpersonal connectivity, problem solving through collective intelligence, user-generated content, individual power to reach mass audiences, and immersive virtual experiences, we hear alarmed concerns about the dangers of new media. Media literacy today is often positioned as a way to negotiate this love/hate relationship with the media in our lives, to connect us with the best that digital media can offer us (empowerment), and to keep us vigilant about addressing the issues created and exacerbated by our latest immersive preoccupations in media (protectionism). In this chapter, the reader may consider the similarities and differences by which contemporary media literacy education (MLE) and advocacy problematizes media compared to the historical examples in *Media&Values (M&V)*. Many current strands of MLE continue to echo historical concerns, while new technologies add new dimensions or greater urgency to old problems. My analysis pays particular attention to how problematizing media positions constituents in a variety of power relations involving media—as individuals, as members of groups, and as participants in social and cultural institutions—, which will inform current media educators in understanding the effects of their own media literacy discourses.

### **MEDIA MESS: PROBLEMATIZING MEDIA USES, INDUSTRIES, AND REPRESENTATIONS**

In order to position media literacy as means for reform, *Media&Values* had to establish media as problematic. The term *media awareness* itself suggests

that readers and their constituents may not recognize the role of media in their lives without help or specialized knowledge and skills. Today's media literacy advocates and critics agree that most contemporary media users lack sufficient awareness about media's role in their civic and social lives, from how social media platforms use personal data for profit and content delivery, to how political actors spread malign misinformation to breed conflict and mistrust among adversaries. While the problems presented by mass media in the 1970s through the 1990s take on different forms from today's digital media, the process of problematizing media in relation to media awareness and media literacy that emerged in *M&V* magazine has remained constantly relevant ever since. Linking media awareness with involvement in media and social reform efforts required the magazine to describe media industry practices, media effects, and media-imposed ideologies as problems readers could recognize and address. So, what was wrong with media in *Media&Values*?

### Media Overwhelm People

"The first step [toward media literacy] is learning to stop taking media's presence for granted and recognizing the flood of media that inundates our lives" (Silver, 1992, p. 3). The ideas of information overload and of intrusive, pervasive media environments emerge consistently in editors' columns, staff columns, and feature articles throughout the run of the magazine.<sup>1</sup> In her first feature editorial in the inaugural issue in 1977, "I Hate It, But I love It," reprinted in the fifteenth anniversary issue, founding editor Elizabeth Thoman asks rhetorically of television, "What is this thing that has intruded itself so totally on our society in less than a lifetime?" (p. 4). Her descriptions of communication technologies as having "mushroomed" and "revolutionized our world" as an "explosion that is profoundly rattling humankind" resound throughout the run of the magazine in both staff columns and contributors' articles (p. 5). A 1978 NSCS board statement with excerpts printed in issue 4 claims that "radio, magazines and newspapers have also become pervasive influences upon what we value, what we think, and what we believe about the people and world around us" (Staff, 1978, p. 8). In a style that became typical in the magazine, Thoman positions widespread public media awareness as an essential development without which "our services are like a bandaid for a world that is having a heart attack" (1977, p. 5).

While the media "invader" in such articles is most often television, computers, and other electronic media were often portrayed as dominating our lives, as feature contributor Frederic Williams writes, "Information overload is a concept that has gained new meaning in our times .... There

is no such escape [from computers by avoidance or keeping them at work]. They [computers] are already invading our homes as pocket calculators or electronic games, may be lurking in the controls of our microwave ovens, and soon will evidence themselves in the television sets that respond to our spoken commands" (1982, p. 2). In his article "Brave New Communications World?" Williams' description of the growth of computer devices as a "revolution in communication" (p. 1) echoes a trope common throughout the magazine run, which most often portrays changes in media environment not as a utopian or egalitarian revolution but as a violent disruption with terms like *bombardment*, *overload*, *invaders*, *pervasiveness*, *explosions* and *floods*. The accumulation of such word choices establishes the magazine's construction of the extensive power of media over people, reinforcing editors' explicit claims that "The telecommunications age has the power to transform us and everything we know" (Koritnik, 1982, p. 3). In discussing cellular phone innovations in 1984, feature contributor Colin Covert asks, "Will we turn the flood of information to our advantage or let it overwhelm us?" (p. 4) Media awareness offered by the magazine purports to help navigate the flood of media and turn the "revolution" to "our advantage": "Understanding today's complex media revolution is not easy. But the first step is awareness" (Thoman, 1986b, p. 2).

The discourses of media ecology, especially as articulated by Marshall McLuhan, support this conceptualization of overwhelming media environments. The use of vivid metaphors in *M&V* for the growth of media's role in society echoes McLuhan's rhetoric about media revolutions, media tools as extensions of man, and the medium being the message,<sup>2</sup> which develop ecologically around us as media-saturated environments without much conscious human awareness of changes, just as fish fail to notice the water in which they swim (McLuhan, 1964). However, McLuhan was often optimistic about the changes brought by electronic media, which concurs with one side of the magazine's theme of its love/hate relationship with media. On the other side, the vilification of media harkens back to classic critical media studies of the Frankfurt School that saw media industries as controlling the means of cultural production with tremendous influence over the willing dupes of entertained mass audience allowing their local cultures to be usurped (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1972; Hardt, 1992). In a more neutral pose of scientific objectivity, discourses of media effects often frame studies with survey statistics accentuating the proliferation of media in homes and the large proportion of hours individuals spend engaged in media use (Bryant & Zillman, 1994). Albeit often without specific reference to the surveys, *M&V* also frames its rhetoric about overwhelming media with statistics on the rapid growth in media use.



A feature article by media historian Michael Schudson for the 1986 issue “Making the Media Work for You” lends some historical perspective to the portrayal of media as a disruptive force as he writes:

[The home] is the battleground of greatest concern about the invasion of the media ... newspaper was an early intruder ... wiretapping remains and telemarketing and telephone surveys grow as invaders of domestic privacy ... radio in the 1920s and television in the 1950s.

(p. 3)

However, echoing Thoman’s debut editorial “I Hate It, But I Love It” a decade earlier, Schudson also acknowledges the love/hate relationship many have with media:

What is an invader to some, a psychological burglar that penetrates the very walls of the home, is nonetheless a source of company to others. The presence of the television or the radio in a room offers a background noise of human voices and sounds ... the mailbox, like the telephone, affords both connection and invasion ... If the media can be invaders, they can also be good company. If they can be corrupters, they can also be teachers. If they can exclude, they can also include. If they can attack privacy, they can also provide connections and enlarge horizons. If they are a vehicle of commercial or political propaganda, they can also be a forum for a public world of debate and discussion ... no place is “safe” from the influence of the media age. However it’s not so much that media and technology are “invading” our lives as that we may not have developed the economic, political, and cultural structures to absorb and process the potential that media and technology offer. The way we use media—or the way media uses us—is less an indicator of technological progress and more a measure of our culture, our politics and our vigilance.

(1986, p. 5)

For *M&V* magazine, such vigilance is media awareness while the political and cultural participation that shapes how we use and are used by media is media literacy. In her closing editorial soliciting readers’ support for the magazine and its role as leader of the burgeoning media literacy movement in the United States, in issue 50, 1990, Thoman writes:

Surrounded by an overwhelming amount of media input, the need for a media awareness movement in our own lives and in society at large could not be more clear. The nagging sense within each of us that we have become pawns in a game of media manipulation leads us to stop complaining and to begin training ourselves and others in awareness, analysis, reflection and action.

(Thoman, 1990c, p. 24)

The magazine offers media awareness and media literacy as means to reform the chaos, harm, and imbalances of power propagated by the rapidly changing media environment.

In reflecting on the problematization of overwhelming media environments from a contemporary perspective, media literacy advocates would be wise to consider the implications of how we problematize media. As Schudson claims in the passage above, when we describe media as overwhelming, we are implicating a failure of economic, political, and cultural structures to work productively, ethically or equitably with new media and communication technologies. Many contemporary media literacy leaders share David Buckingham's concern (2017) that we are setting media education up to fail if we expect media literacy alone to solve these larger structural issues. When we problematize media on a grand scale, we should consider the implications of how MLE is positioned as a response, which will be discussed further in chapter 6, Finding Solutions.

### Media Displace Traditional Socializing Institutions

“What’s needed, instead, is a major rethinking that recognizes the paradigm shift from values ‘in here’ provided in the past by family, community and religion, to values ‘out there’ in the [media-driven] consumer culture” (Silver, 1991, p. 2). The most common positioning of the concepts of media representations, media technologies, and media uses in the magazine is as *displacing traditional values*.<sup>3</sup> In the early years of the magazine, when the audience was mostly religious communications professionals, it was common for *Media&Values* writers to specify religious values and authority as displaced or challenged by media, exemplified in Thoman’s first editorial, “Common values seem to be no longer established by the Ten Commandments, but by hundreds of thousands of TV commercials” (Thoman, 1977, p. 4). *M&V* contributing writer and director of Broadcasting and Film at the National Council of Churches, William Fore, describes television as “an alternative religion, which is wooing people into a whole new way of thinking about and living in the world” (1981, p. 3). He claims:

Children and adults are living in two different cultures: one is the reality-system related to real-life people informed by face-to-face encounters, the book, and our cultural past; the other is the far more vivid and appealing pseudo-reality-system of commercial television with its instantaneous and transient sensation, gratification and consumption, and with no face-to-face relationships, no processing of data as when we read, and almost no connection with cultural tradition.

(Fore, 1981, p. 4)

While overt references to religious values and authority decline as the magazine broadens its target audience, media influences are portrayed throughout the run of the magazine as displacing the traditional institutional influences of family, religion, and school on ethical development and social practices. A 1978 NSCS board statement portrays media as a home invader: “No household needs masked bandits in the living room, robbing us of our values unawares” (Staff, 1978, p. 4). An article from a lecture by media effects researcher George Gerbner presented by assistant editor Shirley Koritnik in 1981, and reprinted twice in 1987 and 1992, states: “Television is the central cultural instrument whose historical predecessor is not print or even radio, but pre-print religion. Television is that ritual myth-builder—totally involving, compelling, and institutionalizing as the mainstream of the socializing process” (1981, p. 2). In an article on “New Views on Video Violence,” children’s media effects researchers Dorothy and Jerome Singer echo this view of television as cultural storyteller displacing family influence, “Over 200 years ago, children shared in hearing adult stories until children’s literature began ... Nowadays, grownup stories come to children from another source, the hours children spend with television” (1985, p. 8). In his feature article “Escape from Gilligan’s Island” in 1987, William Fore writes, “The story of our time is the story of how our culture’s propaganda—that myth-making, storytelling, values-creating function—has been appropriated by television ... [from] traditional institutions—the family, community, school and religious groups” (p. 2). Elaborating on this theme, Fore specifies the values that media asserts in conflict with traditional family, community and religious values:

The mass media worldview tells us that we are basically good, that happiness is the chief end of life, and that happiness consists in obtaining material goods. The media transform the value of sexuality into sex appeal, the value of self-respect into pride, and the value of will-to-live into will-to-power. Perhaps worst of all, the media constrict our experience and substitute the media world for the real world so that we become less and less able to make the fine value judgments that living in a complex world requires ... [TV] encourages increasing opportunities to shut ourselves off from the rest of the world ... it is a freedom without perspective, with no value center other than ourselves.<sup>4</sup>

(Fore, 1987, p. 4)

While Fore speaks from his positions as religious authority and communications professional, Singer and Singer (1985) and Gerbner (1981) speak as media effects researchers who use quantitative experiments and survey studies to show the displacement of traditional socialization by media influence. Authorities on mass media and culture from diverse backgrounds, such

as media historian Michael Schudson (1986), cultural studies media scholar Sut Jhally (Silver, 1992b), and feminist media activist Jean Kilbourne (1989), all repeat the notion that *media displace traditional values* in the pages of *Media & Values* using cultural critique with arguments illustrated by poignant contemporary and historical examples. Thus, the notion is supported by media studies discourses from both media effects and critical cultural studies, although in different ways. This discursive statement also finds articulation in the voices of parents, youth workers, minority advocates, pastors and teachers in staff columns, creating an aura of consensus about the idea. Educators would have found support for discussing values displacement in traditional, progressive, and critical pedagogical discourses as well, articulated again in different practices: traditional approaches favored character education with direct teaching of preferred values alongside the identification of bad values; progressive approaches commonly used values clarification methods where students reflected on their own value systems to compare with their analysis of values represented in media texts; and critical pedagogy employed a demystification approach with a blend of both traditional and progressive methods to teach the exploitative nature of corporate media directly, and to allow groups of learners to contrast media's values messages with values of their local cultures and their vision for promoting better community values.<sup>5</sup>

For issue 52/53, in her closing editorial, "Media Literacy: Agenda for the 90s," Elizabeth Thoman revisits her theme of love/hate relationship with media as she asserts the positive influence of media while extending the scope of media's displacing of traditional socializing institutions to all communications:

While we all recognize the many benefits to society resulting from today's instant global communications, we are also aware of the challenges it has brought to parental authority, to family relationships and especially to the established value structure that was installed for centuries by the home working in tandem with the school and the church or synagogue. But those days are gone. And the challenge for families, school and all community institutions today is to prepare young people for living in a world of powerful images, words and sounds.

(1990/1991, p. 32).

Thus, media literacy is positioned as a means for meeting the challenge to counter the values asserted by media in conflict with the values of the media user's family, community and religion. By constructing the socializing role of media as a problem of values displacement, the magazine seeks to motivate readers to demand change in the media system to align with their desired values.

In some ways, our modern digital media content aggregators, Internet browsers, and social media platforms have evolved to provide this change, that *M&V* called for, to align media delivery with our desired values; algorithms track our attention and respond with data-driven predictions to tailor personalized media content delivery in order to extend our engagement with what they predict we will value in our media experience. The problem of values displacement by media persists for cultural critics who echo the *M&V* discourse of vivid virtual worlds superseding face-to-face relationships in the physical community. The problem has grown to include more recent concerns about how digital echo chambers may erode our inclinations and abilities to communicate and empathize across cultural communities. Media literacy in 2018 continues to address the problem of values displacement alongside new problems with values isolation and radicalization in today's digital communities.

### Media Disrupt Social Relationships

“Media—especially television—has become the mainstream of our culture .... Their constant talk about what family, community and politics means even shapes what we think about these other institutions. Their power comes from their ability to permeate and define our present social relations” (Sut Jhally in Silver, 1992b, p. 11). The next most prominent problem that *Media&Values* portrays throughout its run is the disruption of social relationships by the pervasive use of media technologies. In his feature article, “Meeting Media in Every Corner of Our Lives,” Center for Media and Values board member and publications specialist for the Office of Communication of the Episcopal Church, Bruce Campbell claims, “Not an hour goes by in our lives that we do not speak about, refer to, or plan for the use of the media in our relationships” (1992, p. 14). Campbell goes on to summarize the range of media use impacts on social relationships established throughout the run of the magazine:<sup>6</sup>

Media can determine and create our relationships as well. Parents feel that the terms of their family life (dinner topics, vacation spots, nutritional and health decisions) are set by the media before they have a chance to raise the issues themselves. Couples and pals take for granted that part of their negotiation is choice and use of movies, TV shows, audio equipment, and the sports section. None of us feel we can keep up with our reading, whether news, weeklies or catalogues or self-help digests—and we'll even shun social engagements in order to try .... Our personal lives and important relationships are redirected, sometimes radically, by the media.

(p. 14)

The cover of the 1986 issue, “Making the Media Work for You,”<sup>77</sup> depicts a cross-section view of a two-story house with family members in each room plugged into and focused on various media devices while interacting with each other, which delivers the magazine’s premise about media use as a problem in relationships that must be monitored and consciously controlled (see Figure 4.1). Read alongside the recurring theme within the magazine of media disrupting social relationships, the cartoon can be seen as showing how

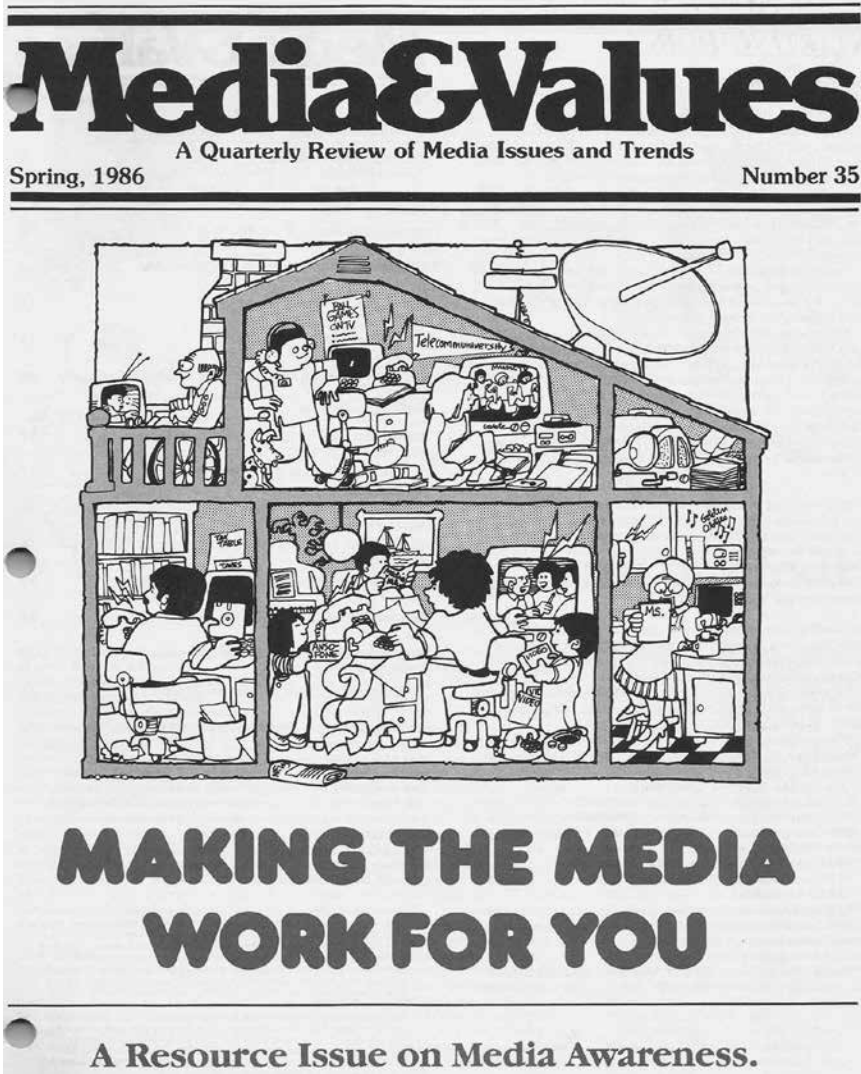


Figure 4.1 Cover of issue 35 illustrates how *media disrupt social relationships*.

all the family members in the house engaged in media use are not connecting with each other in any social way. However, the title, “Making the Media Work for You,” and the playful depictions of family members entertained, dancing, working and engrossed in diverse media activities all connote aspects of media use that can be seen as positive. By addressing the reader directly in the title and using the continuous tense verb “making,” the magazine positions itself as an actor in helping the reader to control their media use for their own benefits while understanding the risks for traditional social relationships. In this issue, Dave Gibson’s article “Television Exerts Powerful Draw,” frames this need to consciously direct media use by employing the now common concept in MLE that becoming aware of the roles of media in our lives transforms us from passive consumers to active cultural participants:

More and more people are evaluating their TV viewing in light of their other priorities. They are checking its impact on: their leisure, vital for both relaxation and personal development; their need for exercise, which already encounters many obstacles their need for some quiet time each day; their availability to friends and family members. And people are asking, “Am I merely a passive receiver of what television offers?”

(p. 5)

In the following article in the same issue, editor Rosalind Silver repeats this idea with explicit reference to the importance of media education in learning to regulate media use:

Taking control of your media life ... requires an active rather than a passive approach to media usage ... With a plethora of media choices to make daily, individual family selections are more and more difficult to monitor. Media consumers of all ages need to be taught to balance their media in the same way that they need to learn about a balanced food diet.<sup>8</sup>

(1986, p. 8)

Thus, *M&V* uses the problematization of media use as disrupting social relationships to suggest media education as a solution fostering active engagement in media choices with reflection on their impacts on social life.

Contemporary efforts aimed at digital citizenship continue this media literacy discourse positioning educators as prompting students to ask critical questions about how their social relationships may be disrupted by media use. This discourse continues to divide generations of digital media users as many people of older generations find online dating and mobile dating apps strange while they become norms for youth.

*Media & Values* also positions pervasive media use as creating rifts between generations due to differences in media choices, skills, and knowledge. In a

parenting column in issue 45, “Coming of Age: Media & the Mature Audience,” Ellen DeFranco writes of a generation gap created by media:

To older people the world we thought we knew seems to be continually disappearing and electronic media are a large part of the new vistas that continually emerge. In contrast to the relative simplicity of our own childhood, many of us view the media playthings surrounding our grandchildren with awe.

(1989, p. 21)

DeFranco goes on to express her own conflicted emotions around the growing place of communication technology in children’s lives, echoing editor Thoman’s theme of love/hate relationships with media:

Like many others my age, I have mixed feelings about the proliferation of media in my grandchildren’s lives. On the one hand, I burst with pride, admiration and even envy when I see how easily they master the equipment. At the same time I join many other grandparents (and parents as well) in questioning the impact of so much media on their growth and development.

(1989, p. 22)

Several writers express this same concern in *M&V* beginning with most of the articles in 1985, issue 30, “The Technological Child.” These articles often make reference to the positive implications of media use for social relationships, including connecting with others through home videos, cable access TV, talk radio, phones, and networked computers. For example, an article in the “Media and the Mature Audience” issue (45) offsets divisive generational media differences with suggestions to capture family stories in video and audio recordings: “In addition to written journals and photographs, audiocassette recorders and video cameras can preserve family stories and the treasured personas of loved ones. The immediacy of a grandparent or other relative’s voice and/or image is special indeed” (Burns, 1989, p. 19). The “Media Wrap” columns of short news blurbs often contained items lauding the pro-social connections afforded by media technology with headlines such as “Deafnet Reaches Hearing Impaired” and “Free Telephone Becomes Local Lifeline” (Staff, 1985b; 1985c, p. 12). However, such references are still dwarfed by the prominence of negative portrayals of media as disrupting, invading, and overwhelming traditional cultural values and social relationships.

Contemporary media literacy advocates should consider this historical trend whereby emphasizing the disruptive impacts of media on social relationships creates generational divisions among digital media users. How well do strands of media literacy practice that address personal and social media habits help negotiate generational differences as part of media literacy?



By problematizing pervasive media use as overwhelming people, displacing traditional socializing institutions, and disrupting social relationships, *M&V* positions itself as educating readers to develop media literacy as reform to address these issues. Similarly, the magazine problematizes media representations as having ill effects on public health and attitudes about race and gender in order to position media literacy development as integral to reform.

### Mass Media Messages Impact Public Health

Drawing on discourses of children's media reform activists, religious social reformers, media effects researchers, and public health officials, *Media&Values* asserts the notion that mass media representations of dubious behavior have negative health impacts, especially on young people, by way of both cumulative and direct media effects. The magazine constructs this problem intermittently, with more emphasis in the latter half of the publication run, usually in relation to particular issue themes, including the "Special Issue on Violence and Sexual Violence in the Media" (vol. 33, 1985),<sup>9</sup> "Fatal Attraction: The Selling of Addiction" (vol. 54/55, 1991), and "Media Violence, Part One: Making the Connections and Part Two: Finding Solutions" (vols. 62 & 63, 1993). Each of the four issues of *M&V* with themes focused on children<sup>10</sup> features articles referring to media effects on children's health with issues ranging from tooth decay via sugary cereal ads to media addiction displacing outdoor fitness (e.g., Cashman, 1990; Coan, 1981). Many articles refer to findings from media effects research without full citation nor details of the study design, thereby drawing on the authority of social scientists without inviting the controversy around media effects research claims debated in media studies discourses for decades (Livingstone, 1996).<sup>11</sup> Also common in these issues are articles and columns with anecdotal stories from teachers, youth workers, and parents describing personal experiences of observed media effects on the health of their children (e.g., Rosenfeld, 1993; Wolfe, 1989; Simpson, 1987). Thus, *M&V* constructs the problem of negative media effects on health using claims from both academic/scientific and experiential/practical authorities. Voices of media reformers concerned with this issue, especially Peggy Charren of the Action for Children's Television parent group (Charren, 1993; Silver, 1990/1991; Silver, 1985), are prominent in magazine issues dealing with negative health effects of media, as are the voices of government officials who recognize the phenomenon as a public health problem (e.g., Eron, 1993; Staff, 1985d).

The last issues of *Media&Values*, 62 and 63, are devoted entirely to the issue of media violence following the declaration of the United States government's Center for Disease Control (CDC) that youth violence had become an epidemic exacerbated by violence in media (Eron, 1993). These magazine

issues of 1993 also reflected on the recent riots in Los Angeles following the news of the 1992 verdict in the Rodney King trial acquitting LA police officers accused of brutality, which had been recorded on video and broadcast on national television news. Violence had become a national health issue. *M&V* used these national events to focus its attention on discussing the problem of negative effects of representations of violence in media on behavior and health, which, in turn, allowed the magazine to position media literacy as a means of addressing the social issue of violence by helping people mitigate media effects.

Television is the medium most often specified as impacting the health of media consumers, mostly based on the sheer amount of use, with many references to content analyses from Gerbner's cultivation studies and other research attesting to the frequency of violent acts represented in primetime television shows as well as kids programs correlated with media use and attitude surveys of viewers. Newspapers are also implicated in cumulative effects of media violence in *M&V* issues focusing on the news genre (vols. 9, 28, 50, 56). *M&V* also discussed the growth of cable television, videocassette recorder ownership, and video rental through the 1980s as creating new problems of increased access to violent movies and pornography. This is a major theme of the "Special Issue on Violence and Sexual Violence in the Media" (vol. 33, 1985), which constructs the problem of growing home access in relation to studies finding direct effects of sexually violent movies on male viewers' aggression toward women—described as a health issue following the claims of the National Institute of Mental Health 1982 paper, "Television and Behavior." Columns of parental advice constantly address the growing difficulties in monitoring and restricting children's viewing due to VCR's in the home and neighborhood (e.g., Myers-Walls, 1988; Foth, 1986). Violence in videogames is mentioned in *M&V*, although surprisingly rarely—only three articles raise concerns of videogame media effects (Pence, 1990/1991; Kubey, 1990/1991; Simpson, 1987)—despite considerable buzz in popular news media through the 1980s as home videogame ownership grew exponentially with industry revenues surpassing both Hollywood films and popular music in 1982 (Rogers & Larsen, 1984), and videogame violence prompted US Surgeon General C. Everett Koop to declare in 1983, "Video games may be hazardous to the health of young people" (Koop quoted in Mandel, 1983, p. 21). Another surprise is the absence of concern in *M&V* about health effects of popular music on young people, especially considering news of lawsuits against heavy metal bands accused of influencing listener suicide (Phillips, 1990) and the high profile crusade of the Parents Music Resource Center in the mid-1980s, which used media effects arguments to lobby congress and the recording industry to require "Explicit Lyrics" warnings on offending tapes, records, and CDs (Horn, 1985). In line with its themes of

overwhelming media environments, *M&V* occasionally framed the growth of entertainment options in the home media environment in terms of addiction, but not always from a media effects perspective.

Media effects discourses on the negative health impacts of digital media are prominent in today's media literacy campaigns driving legislation and strands of practice promoting online safety (see for example, Media Literacy Now, 2017). While the focus has shifted to mobile screen effects such as attentional disorder and social anxiety (Wilmer, Sherman & Chein, 2017), ideological cultivation remains a concern as current media literacy educators position practice to address problems of radicalization of young men by religious or ethnic extremist groups (Singh et al., 2016).

Media critics in *M&V* also take up the notion of problematic media influence on public health with arguments from an ideological standpoint common to critical media studies discourses rather than a media effects view. In "Youth and Drugs: Society's Mixed Messages" in issue 57 (1992), Todd Gitlin argues that the psychology of television consumption follows the pattern of drug addiction, "television watching ... is motivated by a search for pleasure, escape, and anesthesia ... dependence on television is dependence on the prepackaged forms through which pleasure, escape, and anesthesia can be comfortably and conveniently procured" (p. 9). This echoes a concern with media addiction that surfaces regularly through the latter half of the magazine run, particularly in issues focused on television, and in nearly every article mentioning videogames (albeit always without specific research references beyond media use statistics). In an article reprinted from *Esquire* magazine for issue 54/55 in 1992, "Crack and the Box: Television Helps Pave the Way to Addiction," award-winning journalist Pete Hamill uses the converse of Gitlin's logic to argue that the escalation in drug addiction in the United States since the 1950s may have been caused in part by the expectations of a culture increasingly addicted to television:

If prolonged television viewing makes the young passive (dozens of studies indicate that it does) then moving to drugs has a certain coherence .... And because the television addict and the drug addict are alienated from the hard and scary world, they also feel they make no difference in its complicated events. The drug plague also coincides with the unspoken assumption of most television shows; Life should be easy.

(Hamill, 1992, p. 5)

Gitlin and Hamill both discuss a culture dominated by an ideology of instant gratification and escape in entertainment imposed by television as a means to numb alienated citizens from becoming involved in reforming serious

social problems. Such articles posit the problem of passivity induced by entertainment media in relation to its chilling effect on civic engagement—a classic critical media studies trope—that in turn enables *M&V* to construct media literacy in response to the problem as a process of become active in media engagement as well as in social reform. Ironically, while the same critiques of entertainment media chilling civic engagement persist in media literacy discourse today, recent concerns have arisen about extremist recruitment through digital media to cultivate young warriors for ideological action; so digital media pose risks for both chilling and radicalizing civic engagement.

Problematizing media impacts on public health allows media literacy to be positioned as means for public health reform in *Media&Values*. Understanding negative media effects and media's ideological dominance as posing health problems, encourages media literate readers to join crusades to reform and regulate media to shift the dominant ideology to limit harmful exposure as well as to promote MLE to mitigate media effects.

### **Mass Media Representations Teach and Reinforce Sexism, Racism, and Fear<sup>12</sup>**

As with its construction of the problem of adverse media influence on public health, *Media&Values* draws on both media effects and critical media studies discourses to problematize mass media representations of women, ethnic minorities, and violence as inculcating or reinforcing sexism, racism, and fear, again, primarily in the latter half of the production run. Articles framing this issue as media inculcation use rationale from Gerbner's cultivation studies finding cumulative effects of disproportionate race and gender representations in television correlated with biases of heavy viewers.<sup>13</sup> References to Gerbner's "mean world syndrome" positing that entertainment media exacerbate public fear of crime and acquiescence to authority also contribute to the magazine's construction of the problem of negative media influences on audience attitudes (e.g., Williams, 1982; Staff, 1987b). Alongside these references are feature articles and columns drawing on critical discourse taking issue with Hollywood, Madison Avenue and news constructions of race and gender stereotypes, as well as their glorification of violence, which reinforce the dominant ideology of white patriarchy—the normalization of prejudice, the exclusion of positive minority representation from mainstream programming, the portrayals of women as victims and of minorities as criminals, and the public capitulation to police and military uses of violence to maintain order.

This approach to problematizing media representation persists in media education efforts of organizations such as the Representation Project and

the Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media, which connect raising awareness and media literacy practice with reform efforts like the movements Me Too (sexual harassment), Time's Up (gender discrimination in workplace), and Black Lives Matter (police brutality against African Americans). This section traces how early media literacy efforts mobilized media studies discourses to problematize media representations perpetuating discrimination.

In her 1980 review of the *M&V*-sponsored conference on "Using Media in Liberation Theology," editor Shirley Koritnik quotes speaker Miles O'Brien Riley's dramatic critical rhetoric about the stereotypes constructed by mass media:

Fantasy reflections of Hollywood hype, Madison Avenue consumerism, and happy-talk show-biz flash are mistaken for reality. Artificial, arbitrary images of others—welfare blacks, warfare browns, working women, powerless poor, struggling Third World rebels, cops and robbers, and a Bing Crosby church in a Bob Hope world—keep people chained to controlled stereotypes, distorted half-truths and dehumanizing shadows.

(Riley in Koritnik, 1980b, p. 10)

From the media effects discourse, the article reprinted three times in *M&V* that Koritnik edited from a lecture by George Gerbner has the influential researcher claim:

Our studies for over 14 years show that what television basically does is to keep those who are already in the mainstream, more embedded in it by helping them hold its tenets more rigidly ... Based on analyses of 4,000 shows and 15,000 characters, TV depicts a world where men outnumber women 3 to 1. Male casts make the world revolve around power, which makes TV so violent—five incidents per hour ... Repression is welcomed in the name of security—mean world syndrome.<sup>14</sup>

(Gerbner, 1981, p. 2)

Throughout the rest of its run over the next dozen years, *M&V* reiterates this media-imposed problem with these two basic views of media's construction of stereotypes, especially in movies and television, as inculcating attitudes about ethnicity and gender (from a media effects point of view) and reinforcing dominant ideologies of racism and sexism (from a critical theory perspective).<sup>15</sup>

In an article in issue 33, "A Special Issue on Violence and Sexual Violence in the Media" (1985), that originally appeared in the *LA Times*, Judy Flander, TV critic for the *Washington Times* offers some historical context for the rise in sexism in primetime:

On television as well as in real life, there has been a steep slide back to overt sexism since the defeat of the equal rights amendment and the erosion of women's rights legislation ... In the liberated 1980s, on every one of the networks' action shows, sex appears to be free. But women still pay for it—usually with their lives .... Those singled out for murder are “bad girls” (i.e. sexually active) as opposed to “good girls” (virgins) ... the majority of roles for women are as victims of sadistic killers ... aiding and abetting the myth that women are weak and worthless.

(p. 13)

While early editions of *M&V* discuss limiting stereotypes of religious women in media (e.g., Giroux, 1978), and *M&V* issues throughout the publication run on topics of television, news, global communication, sexual violence, and advertising all include references to problematic portrayals of women, representations of gender were a focus of most articles in two consecutive issues in 1989: “Men, Myth and Media” (vol. 47) and “Redesigning Women” (vol. 48). Harmful gender stereotypes are also a prominent theme in issue 36, “Wide World of Media Sports,” wherein Valerie Jacobs asserts that stereotyping of women athletes in limited TV coverage perpetuates sexist attitudes, “Women are either heterosexual wantons or homosexual perverts, or simultaneously both .... Minimal attention paid to women's sports, especially limited television coverage, helps to encourage such notions, researchers believe” (p. 16).<sup>16</sup> This reference to homosexuality as a perversion highlights a conspicuous absence of gay and lesbian representation in *Media & Values* despite the high profile gay rights activism covered in popular media through the 1970s and 1980s, as well as the explosion in coverage of homosexuality and AIDS following movie star Rock Hudson's struggle with the disease (Gross, 2001). The AIDS crisis features as the main topic of only one, half-page article in the entire production run (Skorlich, 1989), which profiles five broadcast TV shows about AIDS victims who contracted the disease through blood transfusion. An editorial correspondence in 1989 from Thoman to a subscriber who had requested a gay-themed issue claims, “We've thought of it several times already and, indeed have started a resource file of clippings and ideas for articles .... Although the issue is controversial, we have not avoided it nor would we avoid it for political reasons” (Thoman, 1989c). In our 2013 interview, Thoman gave a nearly identical response to my question when I asked about the conspicuous absence from *M&V* of gay representation issues in media; however, she also said of the issue, “It was just too hot to handle” (E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013).

From issue 33 to the last issue 63, *M&V* included “Women” and “Minorities” columnists in the Reflection/Action section in the second half of each magazine. A majority of those articles, along with many of the “Global” and “International Scene” columns, focus on the negative influence of stereotypes

constructed by media. “Minorities” columnist for *M&V*, Carlos Cortes, brought his research as a historian of ethnic images in American film to his articles from 1986-1990. Two *M&V* issues focus primarily on representation of race and ethnicity in mass media content and industry. In the opening feature article, “A Long Way to Go,” for issue 38, “Cracking the Color Code: Minorities in Media,” the University of California Riverside history professor argues:

Most minority media efforts, including protests, have focused on the area of media content. Minorities realize—supported by research—that the media influence not only how others view them, but even how they view themselves. So minorities and other ethnic groups have long attempted to convince industry decision-makers to seek better balance in news coverage of minorities and to reduce the widespread negativism in the fictional treatment of minorities by the entertainment media. Likewise, they have clamored for the media presentation of better minority role models—in news, in entertainment, even in advertising—both to set standards for minority people and to reduce the deleterious stereotypes too long prevalent in the media.

(Cortes, 1987, p. 4).

Thus, *M&V* asserts the problem of stereotypical racial and ethnic media representations as influencing all audiences’ views of these identities in their lives; the magazine clearly proposes that this is an historical social issue, perpetuated by media, affecting all people, in need of reform by all who understand the problem. In this article, Cortes makes one of the few references to gays as a minority with stereotypical identities inculcated by media, “The news and the entertainment media ‘teach’ the public about minorities, other ethnic groups and societal groups, such as women, gays, and the elderly” (p. 4). For ethnicity, this claim of media inculcation finds research-based support later in this issue in the article “Identity Crisis: Stereotypes Stifle Self Development” (1987), in which psychologist Joseph Giordano, director of the American Jewish Committee’s Center On Ethnicity, Behavior and Communications and co-chairman of the Italian American Media Institute, reports findings of his own media effects research (again, without describing the study design nor citing its publication details):

TV and film’s portrayal of ethnics does have a deleterious effect on perceptions of self and other ... minority children and adults will often internalize negative stereotypes about their own group ... stereotypes on television and in movies can contribute to prejudice ... especially when the person is not acquainted with any members of that particular group.

(p. 12)

Using such reasoning, feature articles and columns appear throughout the second half of the *M&V* publication run demonstrating critique of how TV shows, films, and advertisements with representations perpetuate racist and sexist attitudes and ideology.

In addition to negative media representations and stereotypical portrayals of gender and ethnicity, *M&V* often poses the problem of discrimination reinforced and inculcated by media as resulting from omissions—absences of positive portrayals of women and minorities in mainstream media. In the second issue focusing on ethnicity and race representation in media (vol. 43, 1988), founding *M&V* editor Thoman introduces an explicit stance of liberal pluralism to frame the magazine's editorial choices, "Stereotypes remain, but a positive pluralism is clearly the trend [in media]." She concludes the column with accolades for a national policy of liberal pluralism:

One cannot complete an issue on ethnic diversity without recommending as a model our neighbor to the north: Canada. Their national policy of promoting "visible minorities" makes every city and social institution, including the media, a rich and varied ethnic experience.

(Thoman, 1988b, p. 2)

Implicitly, by contrast, the lack of such a policy in the United States and its media allows the social ills of racism to persist. In problematizing media representations of race and gender in this way, *Media & Values* explicitly aligns itself with liberal efforts toward affirmative action to ensure positive and fair media representation of minorities and women, which, in turn, the magazine encourages readers to join through media reform activism.

Section 4.9 of the core principles of the current National Association for Media Literacy Education, established in 2006, declares that media literacy education is non-partisan, positioning MLE in a neutral political stance. With the explicit use of political language that characterized whole ethnic groups and economic classes by political candidates in the 2016 presidential election campaigns, such as Bernie Sanders' rhetoric about how the status quo benefits the 1 percent of wealthy Americans to promote his economic reform proposals, and Donald Trump's characterization of some Mexican immigrants as "murderers and rapists" to support his immigration reform platform, it is difficult to see how MLE can support learners in deconstructing this rhetoric without engaging in political evaluations connecting to classism and racism. If contemporary MLE is to reconnect (or strengthen connections between) critical media analysis, participatory media cultures, and action for social reform, then more work is necessary on how to invite and encourage political



action within the field and how to negotiate political discourses among teachers and learners in educational settings.

### **Media Industries Perpetuate Discrimination**

*Media & Values* portrays the problem of racist and sexist attitudes perpetuated by media representations not merely as a reflection and reinforcement of real world prejudices and discrimination; the magazine also problematizes hiring and business practices of the white male dominated mainstream mass media industry as culpable for perpetuating sexism and racism. The Me Too and Time's Up movements of 2017–2018 have recently revitalized this problematization of media industry's institutionalized discrimination, prompting grass roots action across various industries in the wake of high profile sexual harassment and assault charges, allegations and non-disclosure agreements involving powerful media executives, including Fox News founder Roger Ailes and Oscar-winning Miramax films founder Harvey Weinstein. However, we rarely see contemporary MLE connect to such media and social reform efforts as *M&V* promoted. In themed issues on gender and ethnicity, a dual reasoning emerges to explain why media industries perpetuate discrimination: 1) the identity of media makers and executives affects their practices, which is problematic given the white male dominated industry; and 2) a market-driven mass media industry overruns minority interests by focusing on mainstream audiences of white middle and upper classes. By way of this logic in several critical analyses of the political economy of media, *M&V* constitutes media literacy as means for readers to understand mass media industry practices as a source of the social ills of sexism and racism that they may address through media reform.

In the *M&V* issues focused on themes of gender and ethnicity in media (vols. 38, 43, 48 & 49), several articles suggest that the identity of the media maker influences media content, thereby constructing the lack of women and minorities in executive and creative positions as a problem leading to stereotypical content. In the lead feature article of the “Redesigning Women,” editor Rosalind Silver discusses the work of several women media makers to answer her own question, “How much do realistic female characters depend on the creativity of industry women? ... Women's involvement in a script or a production can make a big difference” (1989, p. 3). *M&V* also constructed this problem in terms of claims about the positive impact that new hires of minorities and women make for creating fair representations in media content, as Silver did in the “Ethnic Diversity: Challenging the Media” issue of *M&V* (vol. 43), describing “a positive trend in network television—an ethnic mix [of] non-stereotyped characters ... as a result of knowledgeable creators and consultants with firsthand experience” (1988, p. 13). In that same issue, the leader of an activist group promoting ethnic pluralism explains his group's rationale for pressuring media companies to hire minorities

in creative roles, “New writers of diverse heritage provide mass media with expanded story ideas” (Giordano, 1988, p. 3). By repeatedly tying representation of women and minorities in media content to their representation in media industry, *M&V* problematizes the power and hiring practices of predominantly white male media executives. Likewise, the magazine constructs the problem of discriminatory hiring practices as proceeding from the gender and ethnic identity of executives and creative professionals currently in power, which *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter Ben Fon-Torres reflects in his 1989 *M&V* article reporting the experiences of Asian journalists’ who believe that the “[Absence of Asian male anchormen] is an executive decision based on a perception of an Asian image ... [White, male] TV executives don’t really want minority males to be successful” (p. 15). The problem of media executives’ identities driving discriminatory hiring practices also extends to age and issues of ageism, “Younger writers, directors and producers are more comfortable working with people their own age ... [and] doubt that seniors are up on what’s happening.” (Staff, 1989b, p. 15). By problematizing representation in media industry as connected to representation in media content, the magazine creates the opportunity to suggest tangible solutions for readers to engage in activist efforts to reform media industry to include more under-represented identities in positions of power. However, in *M&V*, the problem of media’s role in perpetuating discrimination is not just an issue of representation on and behind the screen and page.

*Media & Values* also reiterates the idea that a market-driven media industry inevitably perpetuates discrimination because of its desire to attract the largest consumer audience demographic. To appeal to this target audience, mass media makers and advertisers tend to reflect its views and appearances, which Thoman describes as prohibiting efforts to discuss gender issues in media, “The development of thoughtful women’s magazines is precluded by advertisers who refuse to buy space in periodicals that publish controversy or ‘hard news’” (Thoman, 1989d, p. 24). In editor Rosalind Silver’s interview, African American community activist Paul Martin DuBois describes the result of this market-driven media system as “a kind of media apartheid in this country ... large portions of the American population have always been excluded from the media. In most cases they have been excluded both from the means of telling their own stories and having their own issues raised, and even from access to the messages of the majority culture” (Silver, 1992c, p. 9). In her introduction to the article, Silver describes media outlets presenting minority and diverse viewpoints as “presently under siege” because “when the managers who select and control information—limit diversity of channels, then diversity of voices is also blocked” (1992c, p. 7). The article reiterates the point Silver makes in an earlier issue, “What sells—or what’s supposed to sell—is often what finally matters ... the people who write the checks may have trouble believing that minorities—or women—make worthy centerpieces for film and

television” (1989, p. 4). “Social Justice” columnist for *M&V*, attorney Donna Demac, problematizes the “deregulatory mania of the FCC” in the 1980s as an impediment to progress toward fair representation in media, “Campaigns for universal and affordable communications access, civil rights in media representation on screen and in production hiring would not have succeeded if there had been no regulatory framework” (1986, p. 21).<sup>17</sup> This notion of the commercial mass media system itself contributing to the perpetuation of race and gender discrimination in society is part of the larger issue of market-driven media failing the public interests, as constituted in *Media&Values*.

### **Commercial Media Promote Materialism and Fail to Serve Public Interests**

The most common specific value that the magazine accused media of inculcating in conflict with traditional family values was materialism:<sup>18</sup>

The collective effect [of ads] is that they all teach us to buy. And to feel somehow dissatisfied and inadequate unless we have the newest, the latest, the best ... we learned quickly to yearn for “what we have not got” and to take our identities from what we own and purchase rather than from who we are or how we interact with others.

(Thoman, 1992b, p. 8)

This quote from Thoman’s longest feature article, “Rise of the Image Culture: Re-imagining the American Dream,” sets the tone in one of three issues revolving around the theme of traditional values displaced by media-driven materialism: vol. 57 in 1992, “Impact of Images: Life and Culture in the Media Age”; vol. 51 in 1990, “Media And The Earth: Challenging the Consumer Culture”; and vol. 37 in 1986, “Selling the Dream: Advertising And the Consumer Economy.” Another staff feature article in vol. 57, by education director for *Media&Values*, Jay Davis, offers a typical example of how contributors describe the materialist values promoted by advertisements, “Living well is synonymous with wealth, according to the pictures and advertisements we see of homes and yards and cars .... Ads say .... Happiness, satisfaction and sex appeal, just to name a few, are imminent and available with the next consumer purchase” (1992, p. 4). Ads, Davis and others point out, promote “the myth that businesses and corporations are concerned for the public welfare” (p. 5). For *M&V* contributors, such false and superficial constructions of reality in ads work to displace deeper traditional values, “These myths have become a substitute for the search for meaning which other generations sought in more expansive and significant ways” (p. 6). In the *M&V* issue 61 on “Global Communication” (1992), an excerpt from Tom Englehardt’s

feature “Bottom Line Dreams” from *Progressive* magazine envisions the growth of global commercial media resulting in a world where everything we see in media is for sale and media becomes the real:

Reality, as offered up by the global triageur, takes the form of the ad, whose language is that of exclusion, reduction and control. The ad limits reality to its own specifications ... ad and product can cycle through a multiplicity of “real” forms linked by ownership: film, cassette, book, theme park, television, video, and so on. For the first time, this makes the mission of the ad—to colonize every imaginable space in our lives—seem achievable.

(Englehardt, 1992, p. 9)

This quote highlights how the *M&V* theme of overwhelming media environments easily merged with the concept that ad-driven commercial media displace values, and even our sense of reality, with images of products for sale.

In the pages of *M&V*, the problem of commercial media’s power to inculcate materialism results in part from the erosion of public interest media policy. In “Media Call to Action” sections, early issues of the magazine warned readers that impending deregulations, like those in proposed bills to rewrite the Communications Act of 1934, threatened to weaken or remove public interest requirements for broadcasters, which would limit public participation in license renewal processes and lead to commercials and entertainment programs replacing public service announcements and local news (Staff, 1977; 1979; 1979b). One such article reports that Thoman’s publishing office, the National Sisters Communication Service, joined churches and public media organizations decrying the proposed legislation by the House Communications Committee as a “sellout to media industry giants” (Staff, 1979, p. 8). *M&V* holds market interests partly responsible for commercial driven media’s exploitation of vulnerable audiences, critiqued in many articles on advertising to children who cannot distinguish the purpose of ads nor fantasy from reality (e.g., Simpson, 1987; Collins, 1990/1991), as well as in relation to women and minorities audiences, particularly with alcohol and tobacco marketing (e.g., Moog, 1991; Kern, 1991).<sup>19</sup> In addition to constructing this problem as media perpetuating discrimination and the commercial exploitation of vulnerable audiences, *M&V* problematizes deregulation as allowing corporate mergers to place the control of news and information in the hands of executives at a few media conglomerates. While many contributors use this view from critical political economy media studies discourse to problematize corporate media ownership, a few feature articles in news-themed issues lend historical perspective, as former dean of the Graduate School of Journalism at University of California, Berkeley, Ben Bagdikian, discusses in

“The Empire Strikes: What happens when fewer and fewer owners take over more and more media channels”:

In the past, each medium used to act like a watchdog over the behavior of its competing media ... Each was vigilant against the other industries' lobbying for unfair government concessions or against questionable business practices. But now the watchdogs have been cross-bred into an amiable hybrid, with seldom an embarrassing bark.

(1989, p. 5)

In a common *M&V* trope, Bagdikian describes how the trend of deregulation allowing conglomeration results in market forces encouraging media owners to distort the news for their own gain, “It is normal for all large businesses to make serious efforts to influence the news, to avoid embarrassing publicity, and to maximize sympathetic public opinion and government policies. Now they own most of the news media that they wish to influence” (p. 6). Thus, *M&V* problematizes the growth of market-driven commercial media as distorting the news essential to democratic participation while limiting public access and minority voices in mass media, and exploiting vulnerable audiences—all in addition to inculcating materialism at the expense of traditional values. *M&V* extends the discussion of these issues around US commercial media to consider their problematic influence around the world.

Current educators and scholars interested in connecting media literacy with social action should (re)examine how the prominent non-partisan stance of political neutrality in MLE (NAMLE, 2007) may limit how media literacy practice can problematize media's role in perpetuating discrimination and materialism. Although media studies theories on global media influences have evolved since the run of *Media&Values*, newer theories like cultural hybridity rarely, if ever, appear as part of media literacy in the United States as cultural imperialism once appeared in *M&V*. Why not? The story of how media studies theories of powerful audiences combined with education discourses to shift focus away from political action in *M&V* unfolds in chapters 5, 9 and 10 to provide perspective for the current field.

## US Media Engages in Cultural Imperialism

Given its initial core audience of thought leaders in religious communities, many of which engage members in service and missionary work in developing nations around the world, it is not surprising that early issues of *Media&Values* problematized the cultural messages and economic practices of US mass media as threatening local cultural practices around the world with a focus on Third World nations. In *M&V* editor Shirley Koritnik's 1982

interview with Don Roper, the Secretary of Group Media Development of World Association for Christian Communication discusses his views on the cultural dominance of North Atlantic media and communications technology and its impact on indigenous cultures in the Third World. He describes the nations of the southern hemisphere as “enslaved” by the north, and elites in the Third World as enslaving their own people with communications technology (Koritnik, 1982b). This problem of cultural imperialism by US mass media becomes the central theme for issue 32, “Cultures Under Siege,” in 1985 at the midpoint of the production run, and in issue 61, “Global Communication: For the Powerful or the People,” in 1993, the final year of *M&V*. The focus on this theme in 1985 came through *M&V*'s connection to Intermedia, a division of the US National Council of Churches, whose assistant general secretary for communication, Bill Fore, also served on the MARC board of directors for *M&V* at the time.<sup>20</sup> To explore the central question of “whether U.S. media exports are a new kind of colonialism” (Thoman, 1985b, p. 3), issue 32 revolved around a summary of Intermedia's research with the Caribbean Conference of Churches about media influence, education, and government policy culled from interviews with more than fifty influential people from government, industry, media education and cultural interests in five Caribbean islands: Barbados, Trinidad, St. Vincent. St. Lucia and Jamaica. In this six page article, the longest in any volume of the magazine, the voices of Caribbean thought leaders echo the domestic problems caused by media that *M&V* constructs for US citizens, but in terms of cultural imperialism abroad:

[Political] imperialism may have decreased, but it is still a fact of life. Anything that is local is not good, that's the idea. The materialism we see (on television) causes us to spend indiscriminately ... the islands are being saturated with a flood of video cassette tapes of U.S. movies and TV .... Solid ingrained sensitivities about what's proper and improper are being subverted ... the U.S. lifestyles, values and attitudes that pour off TV sets into Caribbean homes infuse viewers with a form of propaganda that is all the more effective for being subtle.

(Silver, 1985b, pp. 6–7)

Thus, *M&V* problematizes the “flood” of US commercial media as spilling over into other countries, spreading values of materialism, and, just as *M&V* constructs media problems in the United States, affecting the health of people abroad:

West Indians are all too apt to become passive recipients, even negative performers, in a communications system programmed elsewhere .... People are being taught that it is more blessed to give blows than to receive counsel, that

the inevitable way out of an argument is through violence or physical and verbal abuse .... Fast food is imported to meet the supposed needs of tourists who were anxious to taste local cuisine.

(pp. 7–8)

In addition to influencing behavior with ideas supported by media effects discourses, the cultural imperialism of US media also occurs as an imposed ideology, which, echoing critical theory in media studies, displaces local cultural values and institutions with mass media values against the people's best interests:

I've seen collective efforts for sustaining, reinforcing and preserving our culture despised and rejected .... Village, community, and national heroes fade before the images of Hollywood stars ... the media has destroyed such instruments for community involvement as the village choirs association. It has killed the service-of-song and tea meetings (musical gatherings in which the whole community joined).

(Silver, 1985b, pp. 8–9)

By constructing the problem of US cultural imperialism in terms of displacing traditional socializing institutions, disrupting social relationships, overwhelming people, and influencing negative health behaviors, *M&V* ties the ways it problematizes media in the United States to issues abroad. This strategy seeks to reinforce readers' motivation to promote media awareness and media literacy as means for taking domestic action for reform that might address these issues for them and their constituents in the United States, and for people worldwide.

The 1993 *M&V* issue on themes of US cultural imperialism via media, "Global Communication: For the Powerful or the People," problematizes a "technology gap" between nations with advanced communications systems and nations lacking communications technology and infrastructure, which inhibits the latter's development. Using a critical political economy perspective, *M&V* contributors critique market-driven US media industries and transnational media corporations as perpetuating this gap through a lack of regulatory policy, both internationally and on the part of powerful nations:

Severe imbalances in the distribution of global information resources and expertise often resulted not in a global village of equals, but a global oligarchy of rulers (the nations and institutions of the North) and subjects (the nations and institutions of the South) .... Growth and consolidation of these conglomerates has only accelerated .... This corporate dominance favored the objectives of commercial profit over the objectives of social and cultural development .... The American philosophy of deregulation has become increasingly popular

worldwide ... [but] ratings and profits should not be the only shapers of social discourse .... Minority interests will be overridden in the rush to serve majority tastes .... Local talents are strangled and any hope of a mutual exchange of ideas is buried in a relentless one-way flood of U.S. information and entertainment goods .... The effect of most of these consumerist trends has been a diminution of global dialogue, of access for marginalized voices, of opportunities for the less powerful and more marginal to articulate their own stories via the emerging global media system.

(Hoover, 1993, pp. 4–5)

In issue 61, contributors, like *M&V* board member Stuart Hoover, add this concept of mass media “access for marginalized voices” to the usual problems *M&V* constructs around US commercial media and its expansion as cultural imperialism. The emergence of this theme coincided with an attempt by the Macbride Movement, begun in 1975 and led in 1993 by the World Association of Christian Churches, to garner international support for adding to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights article 19, which since the 1950s had proclaimed communication rights to freedoms of opinion, expression, and press as part of basic human rights. The revision sought to add a fourth communication right of access to “media distribution channels that give the widest and most diverse segments of the population the ability to reach others” as a human right (Frederick, 1993, p. 19). This idea had been on the *M&V* radar before, as editor Elizabeth Thoman had written about her hopes for the development of this right in connection with a trip to the World Administrative Radio Conference in 1979, where she described problems of “the politics of ‘equal access’ and demands for a new world information order” arising during this conference to allocate worldwide broadcast spectrum domains to nations for the next twenty years (Thoman, 1979, p. 11). Twelve articles in eight volumes of *M&V* between 1977 and 1985 refer to an “information gap” among the poor in the United States and in developing nations, which keeps less fortunate people from accessing diverse news and using new media, like cable television and computers, to become informed and engaged democratic citizens.<sup>21</sup> The construction in *M&V* of the problem of access to mass media for both developing nations and global citizens in terms of both consuming and producing information prefigures the issue of the digital divide that developed through the 1990s and still faces citizens and educators today, which the US government now recognizes as tied to MLE (Genachowski, 2011). *M&V*'s development of the problem of access to mass media making, though emphasized late in the publication run in a global context, may have played an important role in the articulation and inclusion of “access” in what would come to be the common definition of media literacy in the United States established at the 1992 Aspen Institute conference on National Leadership in Media Literacy Education<sup>22</sup>—a conference initiated



by *M&V* founder Elizabeth Thoman with a keynote address on the history and principles of media literacy by *M&V* educational director Jay Davis.

These connections between social problems involving media during the run of the magazine and more recent social issues with their media literacy responses in the years since, highlight the relevance of how *Media&Values* positioned media literacy as reform to understanding issues facing today's field of media literacy, despite the great differences in historical contexts of politics, popular culture, and media technologies. Perhaps more useful still are the contrasts to our present media literacy practices provided by the historical examples of how *M&V* problematized media's role in society in specific ways. Taking its cues from media scholars and activists alongside common sense views from parents, pastors, and educators, *M&V* positions the skills and knowledge of media literacy as recognizing specific problems around media production and media use in social institutions. How do approaches to MLE today engage, or fail to engage, in problematizing media industry, representations and uses in connection to social issues and institutions? In strands that problematize media, what are the effects on people involved when we position them as vulnerable or at risk? For strands that celebrate media engagement, at what cost do we fail to problematize our media experiences? Who constructs the problems for which media literacy is a response? Before discussing these questions further, it is helpful to look at how *Media&Values* posited solutions, through media literacy development, as for addressing the problems of media in society the magazine had framed.

## NOTES

1. The notion that *media overwhelm people with information overload and pervasive media environments* recurs explicitly in at least 58 articles in 29 issues of *M&V* in every year of its run.

2. Occasionally, these references were explicit, citing McLuhan as a source of these ideas about media environments, albeit without pointing to specific works. Studies by media effects researchers often have specific references although most include only results and conclusions without many details of study design. Articles by a few prominent media effects researchers, such as George Gerbner and Jerome Singer & Dorothy Singer, appear in *M&V*. While critical studies concepts are commonly articulated, references to particular scholars in the critical media studies and feminist traditions that focus on the production of cultural dupes by media's control of means of cultural production do not occur in *M&V*; however, work from several prominent scholars in these discourses appear, including Todd Gitlin, Sut Jhally, and Jean Kilbourne.

3. The concept that *media values displace traditional values* appears in at least 67 articles in 26 issues of *M&V* in 14 of 16 years of production.

4. These same ideas from William Fore are reprinted in 1992, *M&V* issue 57, p. 6, in an excerpt from his book, *Mythmakers: Gospel, Culture, and the Media*.

5. For more on how *M&V* articulated its approach to values pedagogy in relation to education discourses, see chapters 9 and 10.

6. The concept that *media disrupt social relationships* appears in at least 30 articles in 20 issues of *M&V* in 12 of 16 years in articles (see Appendix B, Table 13.4).

7. Issue 35 focused on the theme of home media use and its problematic impact on relationships among media users, particularly families. Notably, for the fifteenth anniversary double issue 59/60, *M&V* editors chose to reprint six articles that reinforce the theme of media use disrupting social relationships, none of which were from issue 35.

8. The metaphor of a “balanced media diet” appears many times in *M&V* in articles that position MLE as a means to help learners self-monitor their media use—at least 19 explicit references in 15 different issues in 10 of the 16 years of publication.

9. Published in cooperation with the National Council of Churches, a multidemonial Christian organization active in media reform.

10. “Growing Up in a Media World” (#10, 1979), “The Technological Child” (#30, 1985), “The Birds the Bees and Broadcasting: What the Media Teaches Our Kids About Sex” (#46, 1989), “Children and Television: Growing Up in the Media World” (52/53, 1990/91).

11. This editorial choice to avoid academic conventions was common in popular magazines on intellectual issues, such as *Harper’s* or *Atlantic Monthly*, as well as in mainstream news magazines like *Newsweek* or *New York Times Magazine*. See chapter 3 section on “Editorial voice speaking across discourse communities” for discussion of the editorial choice to omit academic citations and study design details.

12. Although in my analysis I use the term “representation” in the sense familiar in contemporary media studies discourse, the term was seldom used as such by *M&V* contributors. *M&V* writers often discussed “stereotypes,” “portrayals” and “depictions” (as nouns and in verb form) in terms of “positive” and “negative” examples, and frequently related the concepts of “bias” and “discrimination” or contrasted such ideas with “reality.” However, the overarching concept of representation, which I use analytically, was still developing during the 1980s in American media studies, primarily from British cultural studies, and seldom appeared in the magazine as such. In Findings Section 2 (chapters 6–8), Media Literacy as Understanding Representation and Reality, I discuss in depth my use of the term representation, the magazine’s use of the concept, and the historical media studies discourses around the concept.

13. While Gerbner’s cultivation research is cited at least ten times, more than any other particular studies in *M&V*, his cultivation theory of cumulative media effects is evident in many more articles.

14. This notion that media representations of violence inducing the public’s capitulation to repression in the name of security recurs most prominently in *M&V* issues on media coverage of nuclear arms issues (“Media in the Nuclear Age,” vol. 28, 1984), and on the role of news media in the Gulf War, (“The Media: In War and Peace,” vol. 56, 1991). However, the discussion of problems wrought by media representations of gender and ethnicity are much more common throughout the publication run.

15. For a full explication of *M&V*'s coverage of the implications of media constructions of stereotypes, see chapter 6.

16. Again, the researchers who "believe" this, and their studies, are not specified in this article, as is the norm for most articles in *M&V* in the first half of its publication run, and even in many articles after the magazine's scholarly turn of the mid-1980s. Given the legitimate academic and professional statuses of a majority of contributing authors, most contributors would have been familiar and comfortable with the common scholarly practice of describing study designs and including citation details (at least of author and venue of publication). Therefore, I inferred from my analysis that this was a style the magazine maintained and dictated to contributors, perhaps so as not to burden the argument or the reader with references and details that many in the audience may not have understood nor had the inclination to pursue. In my interview with Thoman on September 21, 2013, she confirmed that this was a strategy the magazine employed to speak with scholarly authority to a readership outside of the discourses of university researchers, to community thought leaders and potential media literacy practitioners outside the academy. Interestingly, the resources section at the end of the magazine often included listings for the academic journals and books containing the studies to which articles in the issue referred without citation or study design details.

17. Demac specifically refers to the public interest broadcast requirement in the Communications Act of 1934 and the regulatory function of the FCC as beneficial for making strides against ethnic and gender discrimination in media.

18. The discursive statement, *media promote consumerism and materialist values*, recurs in at least 56 *M&V* articles through 20 different issues in 12 of 16 years of production.

19. For more discussion of how *M&V* problematizes exploitation of vulnerable audiences by advertising and entertainment media, and how media literacy is positioned as an intervention, see chapter 6.

20. For more on the institutional history of *M&V*, including the influence of the Media Action Research Center (MARC) board of directors from 1983–1988, see chapter 3.

21. Articles on the information gap disappear after 1985, the same year that the United States withdrew from UNESCO after having criticized the MacBride report of 1980, which called for a "New World Information and Communication Order," as threatening freedom of the press in its call for a strong national press in each developing nation to gain independence from North Western (United States and United Kingdom mostly) influence (Osolnik, 2005). *M&V* does not mention this controversy and does not revisit the proposed communications rights to address the "information gap" as human rights until 1993.

22. The notion of access included in the definition of media literacy from the Aspen Institute conference also involved dimensions of the abilities to read the media and to navigate information integrated from semiotics and information literacy discourses (Aufderheide & Firestone, 1992).

## Chapter 5

# Finding Solutions

This chapter traces how *Media&Values* (*M&V*) developed media literacy as reform in suggesting solutions to media-related issues in which readers could take part. Feature articles in *M&V* sought to raise awareness of media issues by problematizing media experience, reiterating the notions that media overwhelm people, displace traditional socializing institutions, and disrupt social relationships. The conceptual development of media literacy evolved in the magazine in part as practices to address and counter these broad issues, which included making change at personal, group and institutional levels. Other media issues raised in *M&V* presented more tangible problems, including media's impact on public health, reinforcement of racism and sexism by media representations, perpetuation of discrimination in media industries, failure to serve public interests, and the promotion of materialism and cultural imperialism. Feature companion articles, staff columns, and some recurring sections regularly suggested tangible solutions for taking action to address these media-related problems. Just as *M&V* articulated the problems to be addressed by practices of media awareness and media literacy through a mix of academic perspectives from media effects and critical discourses, and of voices from reform activists and industry professionals, the solutions suggested in the magazine drew on a variety of media studies, media reform, and educational discourses. In the early 1990s, when *M&V* started developing teaching methods and curriculum materials, the focus on regulatory reform addressing cultural institutions faded, as the magazine prioritized promoting media literacy education. This turn in magazine history may offer insight into the schisms in the field today and the distinct absence of media reform efforts from many strands of media literacy and from most K-12 practice.

## MEDIA MENDING: ADDRESSING HEALTH & SOCIAL JUSTICE ISSUES WITH ML ACTION

In the pages of *Media&Values*, problematizing media industries, representations and uses with analyses of media's role in public health and social justice issues is a step toward taking action to affect social change in and through media, which is evident from the earliest days of *M&V*:

On the occasion of the 12th annual Catholic World Communications Day, the NSCS board challenges families to assign value to media, make your mark by sending commentary to newspapers and TV stations, look at media and talk about it as a means to rich interpersonal relationships, and join groups for community action through media and media reform.

(NSCS Board Statement in Staff, 1978, p. 8)

For every problem articulated in the feature articles of the magazine, there are staff columns, activist profiles and "Resources" listings with advice, models and contact information for getting involved in reform efforts to address the issue. As solutions to the problems with media in society, *M&V* encourages readers to develop their media awareness and media literacy as a means to give useful feedback to media industries, to assail injustice in media and with media, to serve those in need through media development, to regulate harmful media, to promote public interest media requirements, and to promote media literacy education.

### Giving Feedback for Better Representations

"Longstanding tradition, fear and habit govern the color of the faces you see on the screen. But pressure and negotiation encourage casting directors to break this vicious cycle" (Mitchell, 1987, p. 10). This quote from 1987 could have easily fit into the 2015–2016 #OscarsSoWhite media reform campaign on the micro-blogging social media site Twitter. However, despite the greater relative power of today's digital media users to contribute direct feedback to media platforms, industries and content sponsors, contemporary media literacy programs that include any training or modeling in offering such feedback are few and far between. Throughout the production run of *Media&Values*, the magazine encourages readers to offer feedback to mass media makers in news and entertainment in order to improve the diversity and complexity of media representations of issues and identities. A 1978 "Media Call to Action" section set the tone for a consistent refrain in *M&V*, "Keep a book and pencil attached to the family TV set with the general understanding that anyone turning it on must write a comment about the program watched ... and sent

to the sponsors or networks.” (Staff, 1978b, p. 5). The same section in the next issue laid out the basic rationale for the strategy, “TV industry is very concerned right now about its image in the eyes of the American public ... TV has come under heavy criticism in the last year by many groups and there are many changes on TV this fall as a result” (Staff, 1978c, p. 4). *M&V* tapped a decades-old movement for promoting informed feedback to media industry sustained by groups like the National Telemedia Council (NTC) who had collected and analyzed audience feedback about broadcast programs since the radio days of the 1940s, publishing an annual report of findings (Ambrosch & Rowe, 2006).<sup>1</sup> *M&V* offers guidance for both individual feedback and participation in grassroots group efforts, like the NTC’s *Look-Listen Opinion Project*, featured in a “Re:Action” box in 1987 issue 40/41 (Staff, 1987c, p. 28), and the Church of Women United’s *Project Postcard*, featured in “Resources” section of issue 35 in 1986 under the subtitle, “Action Guides Create Coping Consumers” (Staff, 1986, p. 16).

Although evidence of efficacy was seldom offered,<sup>2</sup> *M&V* contributors reinforced the notion that asking the media industry for change would lead to changes in media content, as claimed by Valerie Jacobs, “Women’s sports coverage will be accelerated if we question the current assumptions governing coverage of female athletes and ask for change” (1986, p. 16). In the context of discussing effects of media violence on children, Rutgers University researcher Robert Kubey suggests that the success of “complaints about media content depend upon constant pressure from advocacy groups and concerned citizens ... concerned parents and educators ... [writing] to their representatives ... to offending media companies and their commercial sponsors.” (1990/91, p. 10).

The magazine provided activist profiles in articles that demonstrate a range of ways to address the media industry, as demonstrated by a Filipina TV news correspondent describing her efforts toward better minority representation:

Working with unions for affirmative action and script review, picketing shows with stereotyped portrayals, putting together an awards ceremony to honor good ones, keeping volunteers and staff together—all are part of the package that keeps ethnic groups inching ahead, or at least not falling behind.

(Staff, 1987d, p. 11).

These profiles feature activists drawing on their experiences working against and within the media industry to attest to the efficacy of reform efforts, as affirmative action officer for the Screen Actors Guild, Robert Mitchell, explains, “Recurring criticism of industry casting decisions by media watch groups, has forced the media industry to reexamine the ways it traditionally

has dealt with minority performers” (1987, p. 10). Mitchell goes on to claim, “Changes in minority group casting will follow broader opportunities in society. I believe it also helps to initiate them by presenting models for people to see” (p. 10). Most articles suggesting the solution to issues of representation in audience feedback to media industry emphasize a balance of positive and negative feedback, as ethnic diversity activist Giordano suggests, “Go beyond complaining and work more closely with media executives and the creative community. Applaud ... high quality, culturally authentic programs” (1987, p.13). *M&V* is careful to distinguish these efforts by pressure groups from governmental censorship, “When ethnic groups ask for a balanced presentation ... they are not trying to censor media” (p. 13). Thus, activist profiles provide readers with a potential connection to activist organizations (with contact info provided in “Resources” section at the back of the magazine), but also model the sort of feedback to industry that might be effective for social change.

In several feature articles, the magazine develops an interesting trope of addressing media industry with suggestions for improving ethical practices among journalists and TV writers to produce better representations of issues and identities. These voices addressing industry professionals sometimes come from media critics or reform activists (e.g., Giordano, 1987; Steenland, 1989), and sometimes by media makers or journalists themselves (e.g., Wakefield in Rifkin, 1989; Goldstein in Rifkin, 1990). Such articles appear to speak directly to media industry about media making practices, but the primary target audience is the reader who might make such suggestions to media makers, not the industry professionals themselves. Thus, the magazine models specific discourse for affecting social change that readers may take up to address media institutions. These techniques of modeling effective reform discourse are replicable in today’s field of media literacy education, particularly as online petitions and #hashtag activism have become commonplace, but rarely are techniques taught for analyzing and evaluating such communication.

After the turn from producing *M&V* as an educational resource for readers to designing the magazine as a curriculum resource for media educators, the final *M&V* issue in 1993 concludes with a removable reflection/action resource page entitled, “Taking a Stand: A Postcard Campaign for Nonviolent Media/ How to Organize a Local Postcard Campaign” (Osborn, 1993), which positions readers as leaders in organizing their communities to give feedback to local news media and TV stations by both pointing out problems with violent representations, and praising positive work. Thus, the magazine concludes its arc of engaging readers in reform efforts through audience feedback to media industry by integrating this strategy as part of media literacy education curricula.

## Assailing Injustice and Serving Those in Need

*Media&Values* suggested and modeled a range of solutions for addressing the problems of media perpetuating discrimination and inequities in society: supporting affirmative action groups and the American Civil Liberties Union; spreading the word about media technologies and services for the elderly and people with disabilities; urging representatives in Congress to underwrite worldwide communications rights; and creating or using media to give voice to underrepresented populations and protect vulnerable audiences.

A remnant of the media reform strand of media literacy education persists today, and critical pedagogy-minded youth media programs maintain this ethic of addressing inequities, but other strands rarely engage in such social justice action despite the new affordances of digital media for participation in reform efforts. However, these are the sorts of actions imagined for new media users by digital media literacy innovators like Henry Jenkins (2006), who positions new media literacies to address ethics and participation gaps, and Paul Mihailidis (2018), who conceptualizes civic media literacies as involving dimensions of caring, critical consciousness, persistence, and agency for civic intentionality.

Staff contributors from 1984 to 1993 for recurring columns on “Social Justice,” “Minorities,” “Women,” and “Global Scene,” often reflected on issues of fair representation and pay in media industry, behind the camera and news desks, and discussed joining efforts to promote opportunities for more women and minorities in media production and executive roles. For example, in a “Minorities” column, staff correspondent Sharon Maeda praises efforts of the *Seattle Times* newspaper to diversify its newsroom using affirmative action hiring, race attitude surveys, and content analyses of ethnic news coverage to shape editorial practice, which she claims could create “a new national information order if other dailies and radio/TV news organizations were to follow suit” (1990, p. 20). “Social Justice” columnist and New York University law professor Donna Demac calls readers to action in the face of FCC deregulation of ethnic and gender hiring requirements, “whoever so believes in Equity...vigilant action by individuals, churches and major civil rights and civil liberties organizations...will require continual monitoring [of media industry], including vigilance on employee makeup and ownership of local stations” (1987, p. 18). The “Resources” section at the back of each magazine through this period includes a column for “Organizations” with contact information so that readers might join or support groups whose activism had been profiled in feature articles or discussed by columnists.

In the first eight years of *Media&Values*, before its content centered on a single theme per issue, the magazine often included mini-feature articles or news brief items with details about new communications technologies or



services for people with disabilities and elderly people. Short blurbs about new closed captioning devices, newspaper reading services, or electronic bulletin boards alerted *M&V* readers to new ways they could help underserved members of their communities benefit from media and communications developments. This focus on media action solutions for members of communities often excluded by mainstream mass media industries proceeded from a strong foundation in social justice service among *M&V* staff. In my 2013 interview with *M&V*'s founding editor, Thoman recalled the influence of "liberation theology" workshops by Marjorie Tuite, which she attended in the 1970s into the 1980s, sensitizing participants to the needs of disadvantaged groups (E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013). The workshops challenged participants to think of ways to include disadvantaged groups in their own work by developing awareness of issues from the point of view of oppressed people, analyzing the political and cultural situation around the issue, reflecting on how problems may be addressed in one's own work, and taking action alongside disadvantaged groups for social reform. This process of awareness-analysis-reflection-action developed from the work of Paulo Freire, described in his foundational text for critical pedagogy, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), was taken up by South American Catholic religious communities who called the approach "liberation theology" (Gutierrez, 1973; Segundo, 1976), and brought to social justice efforts in the United States by religious workshops like Tuite's, and publications of the Center for Concern, a Washington D.C. based Catholic social justice advocacy group (Holland & Henriot, 1980). In our 2013 interview, Thoman recalled Tuite challenging her in the early years of the magazine to think of how to apply her talent for explaining media issues and trends to benefit the poor and oppressed in the United States and abroad (E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013). In 1980, the National Sisters Communication Service led by Thoman and Koritnik held a Special Conference to Use Media in Liberation Theology as part of the larger Religious Communications Congress in Nashville, Tennessee, from which a summary report was published in *M&V* issue 13 (Koritnik, 1980b). By 1985, Thoman had organized the magazine design to reflect the process of liberation theology (see chapter 9 on Media Literacy as Pedagogy, for discussion). This foundation and ongoing practice of liberation theology informed *M&V*'s construction of problems and solutions to mass media issues affecting historically disadvantaged groups, as well as its coverage of positive efforts to represent women and minorities in news and entertainment,<sup>3</sup> and the use of independent media for voice of the underrepresented.

Although coverage is sporadic, *M&V* included occasional activist profiles of media production work, including media education involving production, with disadvantaged groups for social justice in the United States and abroad.

For example, a 1978 article features an award-winning photo essay portraying African American adults and children doing construction to build a house as part of a federal program, Self-Help Housing, supporting poor people in Louisiana to own homes through their own labor. The accompanying article explains that in addition to winning an award and great exposure for the work from the Photographic Society of America, the photographer, Sister Marie Lambert, also incorporated terms for the construction trade into her language arts and photography learning programs for Self-Help Housing participants, which editors described as “a great example of media and ministry. ‘Social justice’ becomes concrete in these words and pictures” (Staff, 1978d, p. 7). The cover story from the prior issue of *M&V* profiles the work Sister Janice McLaughlin whose work as a missionary in Rhodesia reportedly helped people there produce news “exposing government terrorism,” for which she was arrested and deported (Lang, 1978, p. 4). Articles about the media work of Catholic nuns, brothers, and priests, for social justice with disadvantaged groups, were most common before MARC bought the magazine in 1983, expanding the readership to a more broadly ecumenical audience. However, occasional articles on independent media and production education work for social justice showed up through the years. For example, in the “Getting Involved” section of issue 34 on “Rock and Its Role,” a profile of teens working with a radio personality at Cornerstone Media in Santa Rosa, CA, describes their production of *Codebreakers*, a radio show that discussed meanings of rock lyrics, including sexist and violent representations, for and with teen listeners (Staff, 1986b). Likewise, the “Getting Involved” article entitled, “Producers Help Minorities Find Their Own Voice” in issue 38 on “Minorities in the Media,” describes the work of Chicago-based Ethnic Communications Outlet with poor Latino and black youth in producing documentary shorts for cable access broadcast “to teach their own lessons of self-esteem and understanding” (Staff, 1987e, p. 24). Despite the *M&V* focus on modeling media analysis as a primary component of media literacy, these examples show that *M&V* also recognized independent media production and youth media as means for social justice reform.

## Regulating Harmful Media

From the first issue of the magazine, *M&V* linked media literacy with reform efforts to regulate media, as reflected in the delegates’ plea at Detroit’s Call to Action Conference for the development of media education:

Media education ... help[s] in evaluating the impact of media and organizing positive and effective actions in media awareness for children, adults and families ... in order to counteract dehumanizing values of consumerism and

materialism ... excessive violence and irresponsible sex [in media] ... through government regulation, local station accountability, and sponsor influence.

(Staff, 1977b, p. 7)

Early *M&V* issues lauded grassroots efforts to regulate harmful media through boycotts, as in the 1978 Call to Action page profiling the work of Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) with a list of six ways readers could join their effort to curb depictions of sexual violence on popular music album covers: complain to record store managers; write to record companies labels; write to the Recording Industry Association of America; educate students to check record collections for sexist representations; join WAVAW; and use the WAVAW slideshow on the topic to educate (Staff, 1978e, p. 9). A 1981 *M&V* article profiling activism to regulate advertising to children describes how Action for Children's Television along with the Center for Science in the Public Interest petitioned the Federal Trade Commission in 1977 to ban all ads targeting young children and all sugary food product ads for kids, which the FTC endorsed in 1978 (Staff, 1981c). While calling for better parental intervention in children's media use, the article reinforces the importance of supporting efforts for regulation using a common *M&V* rationale, "the degree of parental control that can be realistically exercised [is limited] when advertisers spend millions on slick persuasion techniques against no training for moms and dads on how to resist" (p. 9). The article ends with ideas for promoting parental education about media effects, parental restrictions of children viewing, and resources for media education in school nutrition programs. In early calls to action such as these, the magazine depicts media education as integral to media regulation efforts, as evidenced by the call to educate about harmful representations and effects appearing alongside calls for participation in regulatory pressure on media industry and policy makers. The magazine also listed resources to help readers understand media regulation, including a history of FCC regulations, and even produced its own "action-packet on new governmental regulations and legislation" since "keeping up with the FCC can be a full time job" (Staff, 1978f, p. 11). However, *M&V* was also very careful to distinguish media regulation from freedom of speech and the rights protected by the First Amendment.

To guide readers in responding to proposed revisions to the Communications Act of 1934 by legislators seeking deregulation in 1979, *M&V* listed bullet points from the Statement of Principles Essential to Communications Laws and Related Regulations by the National Association for Better Broadcasting, including the claim that laws "must affirm the right to protect from harmful program elements, especially for children," but, the claim adds, "within principles of First Amendment" (Staff, 1979, p. 8). *M&V* published

many arguments positing that media regulation did not impinge on freedom of speech. For example, an anti-pornography activist argues that harmful media violates civil rights, “If pornography leads to violence, then pornography endangers the civil rights of ALL women and thus cannot be protected by the First Amendment” (Staff, 1985e). In his report on the National Council of Churches hearings on Violence and Sexual Violence in the Media, *M&V* board member Bill Fore likens media regulation to environmental protections, “Broadcasting does require some guidelines that will help prevent the adulteration of the ideas it puts into our minds, just as environmental regulations help to avoid the pollution that could harm our bodies” (Fore, 1985, p. 7). However, while calling for citizens to charge the FCC with holding broadcasters to public responsibility by initiating more detailed ratings systems, holding annual hearings, calling for media effects research, requiring children’s programming, banning violence in commercials, providing lockbox technology for cable, and mandating separate adult sections of video stores,<sup>4</sup> Fore is careful to distance such “guidelines” from the concept of censorship, “Censorship and prior restraint are clearly not the answer. But such consumer actions as stockholder challenges ... petitions to deny licenses ... [and] boycotts are all methods of registering effective protest without endangering free speech and the First Amendment” (p. 10). For the 1991 issue, “Fatal Attraction: The Selling of Addiction,” an *M&V* interview of Cornell University professor Steven Shiffrin asks the legal expert about First Amendment protections in relation to tobacco and alcohol ads. Shiffrin offers evidence from court cases to argue that banning advertising would be constitutional since commercial speech is treated differently than other public speech:

A law that promotes a substantial state interest [like public health] ... is not contrary to First Amendment protections .... The main questions to consider are whether there is a significant health problem, whether restriction of advertising would help to reduce that health problem, and whether there are less restrictive steps that could serve as well.

(Gerot, 1991, p. 12)

By including these arguments, *M&V* educates its readers, and would-be media reformers, to overcome the typical freedom of speech defense from the media industry, as editor Rosalind Silver discounts in the context of discussing the 1993 congressional hearings on media violence, “The political and artistic freedom guaranteed by the First Amendment is indeed a resource to treasure. But it was never intended to completely eliminate all forms of social control over expression” (p. 3). After making reference to the notion that free speech doesn’t protect shouting “Fire” in a theater, Silver goes on to claim, “It seems irresponsible for the creative community to [be] ... saying

‘I’m an artist so I have no responsibility for how my images affect society’” (p. 3). While many feature articles describe media regulations to limit media violence, advertising to children, and representations of addictive products as health issues superseding First Amendment arguments, the voices of the magazine editors, Thoman and Silver, in the second half of the magazine run emphasize solutions that do not involve regulatory policy.

In the final few years when *M&V* began to discuss methods of teaching media literacy and to produce the magazine as curriculum material, the close connection to media reform, particularly regulatory reform, faded when contributors discussed and offered resources for actually doing media literacy education. While magazine themes involving children’s media issues, like “Selling of Addiction” (54/55) and “Media Violence” (62 & 63), contained several feature articles detailing arguments and activism for regulatory media policy, articles on teaching and learning media literacy, like “20 Ways to Create a Caring Culture,” included few connections to address media institutions (Dover, 1993).<sup>5</sup> Even though the magazine’s consistent focus on regulatory reform as part of developing its readers’ media literacy diverged from its articulation of media literacy pedagogy, the idea of media literacy as a means to policy reform remained to the end, as demonstrated in the article introducing the final issue on “Media Violence: Searching for Solutions,” where editor Rosalind Silver writes, “Media literacy provides the framework not just for analyzing what we see but also for understanding the role media has in our culture and taking personal and public action to challenge that role when it intrudes on the common good” (Silver, 1993, p. 3).

The recovery of this historical connection between media literacy and regulatory policy reform provides contemporary media literacy educators with an example to consider in relation to current practice; what current policy reform efforts are relevant to media literacy today, and what would be the costs and benefits of connecting them with media literacy education?

## Promoting Public Interest Media

“NSCS is working with the National Association for Better Broadcasting to produce brochures to help citizens stay informed and act to ensure that further revisions do not reverse the traditional notion that the airwaves belong to the people” (Staff, 1979, p. 9). In addition to garnering support among readers for contacting local representatives in Congress to oppose broadcast deregulations that threatened what the magazine referred to as the “unassailable public domain nature of the airwaves” (p. 9), *Media&Values* promoted support for public and alternative news media, independent film and TV production, involvement in public access cable and local radio, public interest requirements for cable TV, educational TV programming for children, diverse media

use for democratic deliberation and participation, and establishment of worldwide communication rights to mass media production. *M&V* suggested these solutions as positive reform efforts to address a range of media issues from values displacement to civic engagement. Current debates over net neutrality, and over the possible regulations on the uses of personal data by social media platforms, are parallels in today's media policy struggles, which contemporary media literacy education seldom engages.

In the first half of the production run, *M&V* reinforced the importance of citizen involvement in supporting media regulations that would guarantee that broadcast companies produce educational programs for children, local news and public service announcements, and fair access for political candidates running for public office. A 1981 article, "'Equal Time' May Soon Be Up," is a typical example as it warns, "If Congress accepts FCC recommendation, the 1959 Fairness Doctrine" requiring broadcasters to offer the opportunity for "discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance ... may be repealed" (Staff, 1981d, p. 10). The article urges readers to write representatives in Congress "now to ask to retain the Fairness Doctrine and 'equal time' clause" (p. 10). The magazine typically accompanied these calls to action on the national level with tips on what to write in a letter or say in a phone call to Congress, arguments to make, and resources for learning more about the history of the issue. Activist profiles demonstrated how concerned citizens get involved in local change to guarantee public interest media, as in a 1980 interview with Brother Richard Emenecker, Superintendent of the Bureau of Cable Communications for the City of Pittsburgh (Staff, 1980b). Emenecker professes, "The need for informed responsible persons in the community to help shape this new technology [cable TV] is critically important. The community is in the driver's seat and must take firm action before the franchise is awarded" (p. 4). He elaborates on "firm action" with the example of his city, which outlines specific requirements for public access channels for neighborhoods, government and education, as well as TV studios. He recommends that individuals learn about cable systems in their areas and evaluate how well they serve the community, suggesting a Citizen's Advisory Board as a powerful voice in influencing terms of agreements or revisions at franchise contract renewal times. Such specific recommendations for citizen action in local media policies to promote public interests articulate the clear link in *M&V*'s conceptualization of media literacy as a means for social reform by way of addressing and participating in media and government institutions. The informal style of interviewees telling their own stories of becoming involved in media reform serves as a model for readers to imagine their own civic engagement through media literacy development. For example, Emenecker describes how his interest in media as a high school teacher led to his involvement in cable TV politics and the highest public policy position held

by a priest, brother or sister in the communications field (Staff, 1980b, p.10). Likewise, an interview with Peggy Charren describes how she and other concerned parents organized the Action for Children's Television group to successfully lobby Congress to pass the Children's Television Act of 1990 (Silver, 1990/1991). From the mid-1980s on, the success of Charren and ACT were a singular exception in *M&V* coverage to the trend of deregulation by the FCC under the Reagan and Bush administrations. By 1988, contributors had become disillusioned with public interest policy, "Deregulation and greater corporate ownership have all but ended public access to broadcasting, but listener/reader/viewer letters and calls can still help. So can support for various grassroots and alternative media outlets" (Maeda, 1988, p. 12). *M&V*'s early focus on mentoring readers to influence media regulation gave way to a focus on civic engagement by supporting diverse alternative media to access representations of issues, views and values neglected by the market-driven mainstream mass media.

This tension, between regulatory reform efforts and media consumer skills for accessing alternative content, prefigures our current dilemmas involving algorithm-driven media content delivery. As social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter feel face congressional and consumer pressure to regulate malign misinformation, media critics worry about how information disseminated through algorithms may exacerbate social divisions when social media platforms construct different representations of reality for different groups of users based on automated responses to each user's preferences.

In the 1988 issue on elections and media, independent radio executive and developmental communications firm leader Sharon Maeda argues that mainstream news media features the worst election coverage omitting all important issues, while community radio and niche market magazines cover candidates best because of an absence of rigid formats and corporate ownership/sponsorship. "In the short run the best way of obtaining information lies in supporting the smaller, grassroots media through memberships, subscriptions, contributions, and volunteer work, and by sponsoring grants and fellowships for investigative journalism" (p. 12). Maeda's argument reinforced the message of many *M&V* articles over the prior decade that connected media awareness/literacy with the need for seeking diverse sources for news and information in order to understand social issues and take action. The 1984 *M&V* issue on "Media and the Nuclear Age" celebrates the efforts of grassroots anti-nukes protestors in creating bumper stickers, ad logos, publicity stunts, and use of cable access to raise awareness of public sentiment for disarmament neglected in mainstream news dominated by government sources and corporate defense interests (Staff, 1984b). As an alternative solution to racial discrimination in mainstream media, Carlos Cortes describes the

struggles of minorities on the “road to media self-determination” in the 1987 issue on “Cracking the Color Code” in his article, “A Long Way to Go”:

Some minority people have opted to operate outside of the mainstream and form their own media. In this way, they have sought to select their own themes, express their own views, and influence their own public images. They have established their own newspapers and magazines, set up their own radio and television stations, created their own film production companies, and formed their own advertising agencies, often specializing in helping companies reach a minority market.

(Cortes, 1987, p. 4)

In the same issue, Laurien Alexandre lends historical perspective in the article, “For 200 Years: Alternative Press Voices Dissident Views,” wherein she describes the role of alternative press in representing minority groups and radical ideas that promoted social reform in America. Alexandre offers many examples of minority newspapers from nineteenth and early twentieth century that challenged mainstream views with radical reform ideas, represented minority identities, and brought fringe ideas and minority identities to the mainstream:

Dissident press survived and persisted for centuries. It enriched, defined and defended the lives of America’s minority populations and fostered a true interplay of ideas ... Blacks, suffragists, populists, socialists, immigrants and others who professed aberrant beliefs were heard, not in the closed marketplace of the conventional press but in the marketplace of their own creation. It is these marketplaces—the thousands of publications created and sustained by those who do not represent the homogeneous middle—that collectively present the marketplace of ideas.

(Alexandre, 1987, p. 16)

The article shows how this historical legacy was still active in the contemporary (1987) marketplace of ideas, where, as *M&V* reinforced, alternative news played a crucial role:

Today, with the controversy over bilingualism a major political issue [in alternative press], it’s worth noting that bilingual Native American/English and Spanish/English newspapers appeared in what is now the United States in the very first years of the 19th century.

(p. 15)

Alexandre also speaks to media educators by pointing out omissions of such alternative press in media history textbooks while encouraging avoidance



of generalizations about historical press roles in social change. However, despite the consistent call for readers to seek alternative media and diverse news sources, *M&V* does not promote supporting alternative media as a substitute for changing the mainstream media, as Maeda concludes in her article, “Democracy Requires Access to Media Alternatives”: “Ultimately, grassroots support of alternative media is hardly enough. Over the long haul, election of a president willing to swim against the deregulatory tide and give control of the public airwaves back to the people would be a crucial step toward true media reform” (1988, p. 12).

In the first half of the magazine run, *M&V* often referred to a “New Information and Communication Order” (NIACO) as a solution to the problems of access to mass media for voices of local communities and cultures around the world subjected to the dominance of market-driven global media corporations unconcerned with public development needs in communications. In her report from the World Administrative Radio Conference, Elizabeth Thoman expresses her hope for developing nations to share in the radio and satellite spectrum, “One message came through loud and clear from WARC ‘79: Like the oceans and the skies, the airwaves are an international resource, and they must be shared” (Thoman, 1979, p. 11). While international communications policies to support growth of internal media infrastructure in developing nations was the main focus of NIACO discussions, *M&V* also followed the United Nations in connecting youth and community media education to redressing the “information gap” for the celebrations for the U.N.’s World Communication Year in 1983. Along with coordinating celebrations focused on providing support for “the more even development of internal communications structures in all parts of the globe,” the International Telecommunications Union in Geneva sponsored a worldwide photo essay competition for school children to depict how media communications impact their lives, which *M&V* recommended to US classroom teachers, in addition to recommendations for peace and justice workers to become more informed on NIACO, and religious communities to hold discussions about international media industry (Staff, 1983b, p. 12). After the United Kingdom and United States withdrew from UNESCO in 1985 amid criticism of the NIACO as threatening press freedom (Osolnik, 2005), *M&V* ceased discussing NIACO as a solution to US cultural imperialism. However, for the 1993 issue on “Global Communication: For the Powerful or the People,” *M&V* published several articles promoting communications rights as human rights, which would include the right to access mass media as a means to express political and cultural voices of all people (National Council of Churches, 1993; Frederick, 1993; Thoman, 1993d). Although such an expansion of human rights (if they had succeeded in garnering support at the UN) could have had serious implications for media policies around the world, the shift from discussing the issue as a problem

of communications infrastructure to one of individual communications rights parallels a shift in *M&V* from discussing media literacy as a means for reform via addressing institutions to a means for social reform by addressing personal issues for individual change.

### Positioning Media Literacy Education as Reform

Through its first decade, *Media&Values* served primarily as a resource for developing and enriching the media literacy of thought leaders in religious communities to pass along to community leaders, adult and youth educators, as well as various groups interested in social justice and public health activism. While the magazine's conceptualization of media literacy involved problematizing media and suggesting action toward solutions for social reform of and with media, media literacy education was often listed as part of action toward reform. However, in the last six years of the magazine, when the target audience shifted to include more educators directly, while retaining its design for developing media literacy of thought leaders as a means for reform, the magazine began to position media literacy education itself as a primary means of social reform.

This positioning has endured prominently in the media literacy movement in the years since *M&V*. The rhetoric of media literacy education as reform, in and of itself, is a driving force in how media literacy has been invoked as a solution to so many media-related societal issues in the three decades since *M&V*. At the time of this writing, media literacy scholars and critics are concerned about this broad conceptualization of media literacy education as a key part of any given reform, with many claiming that the discourse of media literacy solutionism sets unrealistic expectations for the field and practice (Buckingham, 2017; Bulger & Davison, 2018; boyd, 2017; 2018; Mihailidis, 2018; MacDougal, 2014).

By the mid-1980s, *Media&Values* fully articulated its concept of media literacy as means for reform, as expressed in the coda to the tenth anniversary double issue, "*Media&Values*' Second Decade Marks Move to Wider Arena": "The magazine's thematic approach now uses this continuum to move beyond outlining a media issue to suggesting actions that can bring about change ... working to transform the magazine's consciousness-raising role into a movement" (Staff, 1987b, p. 32). The article shows how the magazine positions media literacy as a social reform movement in quotes from its founder and chief editor:

As Thoman points out, 'Anyone who has been through any kind of consciousness-raising experience knows the transformative power of such a process. Certainly the civil rights movement, the peace movement, the feminist

movement, as well as nutrition and fitness awareness, are all aspects of growing individual and planetary consciousness in our time.’

(Thoman in Staff, 1987b, p. 32)

Given the specific problems with media constructed and addressed by the magazine, as discussed above, Thoman’s list of reform movements that she compares to the proposed media literacy movement hardly seems arbitrary. The magazine constructs media literacy as a process of becoming aware of and acting to reform media’s role in issues addressed by civil rights, peace, feminist, and public health movements. Thoman sees this explicit connection to social change as the key distinction between *Media&Values* approach to media literacy and past efforts, as she makes clear in her manifesto about the magazine’s purpose and design, “Blueprint for Response-Ability,” reprinted in six consecutive issues:<sup>6</sup>

As the editor of *Media&Values*, I am often asked if anything can really be done about issues like sexual violence in the media, or bias in the news or the impact of advertising on promoting a consumer lifestyle. In truth, it seems that the various media education movements of the past two decades have been inadequate to the task .... At *Media&Values*, we think it’s time for a new approach: applying the principles of reflection / action (developed in recent years by the social justice movement) to the systemic media issues facing us today.

(Thoman, 1986, p. 12)

Thoman distinguishes *M&V*’s applied approach to social analysis for reform from academic pursuits of knowledge about media and society, “This method differs from academic social investigation by focusing on pastoral action or planning for change rather than simply understanding the scope of a problem in a detached and abstract manner” (p. 13). A religious audience would have understood “pastoral action,” in lay terms, as “education for social change.”<sup>7</sup> Thus, Thoman positions media literacy education as education for social change rather than for enrichment or participation. Furthermore, Thoman goes on to distinguish the *M&V* method as an ambitious and inclusive approach to social issues in which media is implicated with a wider range of applications than prior media activism:

Unlike other media action efforts, which have focused on specific issues like telephone access or children’s television, a media reflection/action movement can be applied to any issue, from the availability of sexually violent videos to teenagers to the impact of junk food advertising on family health. What is needed in the face of such concerns is the insight to process the problem clearly from initial awareness to appropriate action. The intervening steps of analysis and reflection provide a context for understanding the complexity of

the problem and, at the same time, prevent an emotional escalation that too often leads to ineffective action on one hand or paralyzed inaction on the other.

(Thoman, 1986, p. 14)

For Thoman, linking media literacy to action is key. However, the type of action emphasized in association with media literacy education changes as the magazine speaks to educators directly in its final six years.

When *Media & Values* began to discuss and model curricula for media literacy education, the notion of action for social change associated with media literacy in the magazine became more a matter of changing personal and familial relationships with media rather than addressing institutions. For example, in a 1992 interview with civic engagement activists, co-founders of the Institute for the Arts of Democracy, Francis Moore Lappe and Paul Marin Dubois, begin by relinquishing the notions of exerting regulatory media policy, and of exerting public interest media requirements, in favor of expanding public access and alternative media:

We've confused the right to speak with the right to spend. We must change this notion that a voice in the media belongs only to those with money to spend, when it actually belongs to everybody. Instead of protecting that standard, we need to rethink the situation and develop ways to involve all levels of society—whether that means making editorial pages more accessible, helping community access channels develop grassroots programming or making creative use of new media.

(Silver, 1992c, p. 8)

This statement was consistent with the trend away from an emphasis on policy reform activism in *M&V*, as described above, but the interviewees go on to posit the magazine's media literacy efforts as a different sort of reform altogether:

We also need to work to alter the power and the influence of media images. This is something that your center is doing. I would define media literacy as knowing how to evaluate messages and thinking critically about the messages that are presented. How do you democratize the influence of these messages? If you can't protect people from them any longer, the old censorship model must give way to an exciting alternative—changing the way they're interpreted. Individuals, families and groups who understand how messages work can control their effects themselves.

(Silver, 1992c, p. 9)

Here, media literacy is conceptualized as making change at the level of audience meaning-making rather than political action.<sup>8</sup> This shift is evident in several articles by magazine editors toward the end of the publication run,

especially when viewed in contrast to prior editor-discourse about media education. For example, the “Media Call to Action” following the *M&V* summary of the 1977 US Catholic Bishops’ “Delegates Statement on Communications Media and Catechesis” links audience media education with civic action, “Receivers [of mass media messages] are advised to understand their duty to inform media of their views and understand TV licensing regulation” (Staff, 1978b, p. 5). In 1982, editor Shirley Koritnik uses a review of *M&V* editorial advisory board member Stuart Hoover’s book, “The Electronic Giant,” to connect media education with reforming media policy and industry:

[We emphasize] the need for renewed attention to media education ... [so that] old and young can become informed and aware consumers of media ... who will work to forestall deregulation, create local children’s programming, and pay attention to questions of public access and involvement in policy-making in cable [TV]

(Koritnik, 1982, p. 4).

These strong connections early in the publication run, between media literacy education and political action addressing institutional change, contrast sharply with how editors positioned media literacy at the end of the run:

Boycotts, corporate challenges and advertising bans ultimately depend for their effectiveness on breaking the power of media images—the main goal of the media literacy movement. Even before advertising bans pass Congress or boycotts have time to work, everyone who picks up a magazine or turns on a television set can apply the process of what media literacy theorists call ‘deconstruction’ to the alcohol and tobacco ads they see.

(Silver, 1991, p. 3).

While superseding the importance of institutional reform, Silver posits the individual and group development of analysis skills for media literacy as enacting social reform in and of themselves. She makes a sweeping claim for media literacy to mitigate media effects in pitching the *Media Literacy Workshop Kit* that accompanied the issue as “another excellent way to recognize and confront the manipulative images that make tobacco and alcohol advertising so effective. Taking a second look at these ads can help them lose their effectiveness forever” (p. 3).<sup>9</sup> The editors’ voices in the magazine toward the end of the run even contrasted with media activist voices in the same *M&V* issue with regard to framing media literacy education in relation to institutional change, as demonstrated in Jean Kilbourne’s article on “The 7 Myths Alcohol Advertisers Want You to Believe” appearing in the same issue as Silver’s comments above:

A major comprehensive effort is needed to prevent alcohol-related problems. Such an effort must include education, mass media campaigns, increased availability of treatment programs, and more effective deterrence policies. What can be done? We can investigate the extent to which the media are influenced by their dependence on alcohol advertising. We can consider the possibility of further restricting or banning all alcohol advertising, as some other countries have done. We can insist on equal time for information commercials in the broadcast media. We can raise the taxes on alcohol and use the extra revenue to fund programs to prevent and treat the illness and educate the public. We can become more aware of the real messages in the ads and work to teach their implications and consequences to those we love and care for.

(Kilbourne, 1991, p. 12)

Before concluding with these suggestions for action, Kilbourne's article demonstrates the deconstruction techniques of media analysis of ads to which Silver refers above. However, for Kilbourne, media education is a component, comprised of more than analysis—of a larger reform effort involving media policy, research and health communication to address alcohol issues—not the solution on which institutional reform depends. In parallel contrast to Kilbourne and earlier *M&V* conceptualizations of media literacy as reform, Elizabeth Thoman's positioning of media literacy as a solution to address issues of violence in the US in 1993 focuses on the personal, rather than the institutional, as political change. In "Beyond Blame: Media Literacy as Violence Prevention," Thoman begins stating, "It is clear to me that media literacy must be a necessary component of any effective effort at violence prevention, for both individuals and society as a whole." (Thoman, 1993e, p. 24). It is worth looking at each of the five ways that Thoman proposes, "Media literacy can contribute to lessening the impact and incidence of violence in our lives." The first focuses on individual and parental restriction of media use, "1. Reduce exposure to media violence, particularly of the young, by educating parents and caretakers ... to get the message out that too much media violence can truly harm children." The second echoes Silver's claim about analysis practice as mitigating media influence: "2. Change the impact of violent images that are seen—by deconstructing the techniques ... for children to learn early on the difference between reality and fantasy." The third emphasizes individual, parental and community responsibility to access and assert representations of nonviolent values to compete with mainstream messages of media violence: "3. Locate and explore alternatives to storytelling that highlights violence as the preferred solution to human conflict...provide positive role models." The fourth begins with a broader focus on understanding contextual factors of the violence issue, but emphasizes personal culpability in reproducing oppressive ideologies:

4. Uncover and challenge the cultural, economic and political supports for media violence—militarism, greed, competition, dominance, structural poverty—as well as the personal ways we may each be contributing to the creation or perpetuation of a mediated culture of violence. We must not forget that the root of our cherished freedom of speech was not to protect creativity but to challenge the political and economic status quo. Media literacy empowers its participants to ask hard questions of themselves, of others and of society, by applying the principles of critical thinking to experiences that look like ‘mindless entertainment.’

(Thoman, 1993e, p. 24).

This is the closest Thoman comes in this article to associating media literacy with addressing institutional change. The assertion about freedom of speech reinforces the ways the magazine discounts media industry attempts to reframe proposals for regulation and ratings as censorship impinging on First Amendment rights instead of debate about how to address public health and social justice issues. However, media literacy empowering people “to ask hard questions” by “applying critical thinking” is much different from media literacy as a means for demanding policy and industry reform. Finally, the fifth and final proposal attempts to cast media literacy in a neutral role of raising the level of public discourse: “5. Break the cycle of blame and promote informed and rational public debate about these issues in schools, community and civic gatherings, religious groups and the media itself ... An informed public is less vulnerable to extremist views or actions” (Thoman, 1993e, p.24). Here, it is media literacy’s role in creating “an informed public” by promoting understanding of the issue that leads to violence prevention, not its role in engaging the public as activists in addressing powerful institutions.

Thus, *M&V* shifts from portraying media literacy as reform focused on public activism for institutional change to a personal focus on media literacy skills that will “trickle up” into social reform as more and more people change themselves through their newfound defenses, enlightenment and engagement in the democratic process. Many contemporary media literacy scholars and critics point out that the focus on individual skills and responsibility may be inadequate for an era of social media, with its apparent exacerbation of civic unrest and divisiveness among social groups along multiple axes of identity and interest; this is what boyd (2017) contends has “backfired” in media literacy education. I will analyze the conditions precipitating this shift in the following section as part of my discussion of how the magazine’s construction of media literacy as a means for reform positions people in particular identity positions with implications for power relations between them and the media texts, technologies, industry, and institutions in their lives.

## FROM VICTIMS TO CRUSADERS: POSITIONING MEDIA LITERATE CITIZENS AS REFORMERS

By positioning media literacy as means for social reform, *Media&Values* constitutes particular identity positions for media users, media makers, media literacy learners and teachers, and, in each of these roles, for the readers of the magazine. In *M&V*, without media awareness, people are victims of media influence and dupes who indulge in entertainment reinforcing attitudes and values that work against their beliefs and best interests. With media literacy, people understand the complexity of media's role in social issues, recognize tangible problems to address with tangible solutions, and develop communications knowledge and skills for affecting institutional and personal change. The development of skills and knowledge for media literacy transforms the individual from a victim to a crusader, from a dupe to an activist. In *M&V*, the media literate citizen engages fully in the democratic process and crusades for social reforms to ensure freedom, equality, and opportunity for all fellow citizens to participate in culture. The media literate citizen distinguishes her values from media values, understands the limits of market-driven media, and works to the limit exploitation of vulnerable audiences. Echoing the discourses of semiotics and visual literacy researchers in media studies, the magazine consistently asserts that people do not naturally distinguish reality from media construction, especially children (see chapter 6, on Media Literacy as Understanding Representation and Reality). Likewise, in *M&V*, media consumers and users do not realize media's influence and effects on them, as supported by media effects discourse, nor media's cultural dominance in the form of imposed ideologies at odds with users' values and interests, as in critical theory. The magazine constantly reiterates the idea that without help in noticing the displacement of values and social relationships by media values, users will indulge in the culture of shallow materialism and empty pleasures promoted by mainstream commercial media. Without training in understanding, self-regulating, and mitigating media effects, media users will continue to grow more aggressive, more desensitized to violence, more sexist, more racist, and more dependent upon media. Without skills in analyzing oppressive ideology reinforced by media, media users will reproduce discrimination and inequities based on race, gender and class. Without skills for analyzing the political economy of media, citizens will not know what aspects of the economic and corporate systems contribute to their oppression, and will thereby be unable to work for institutional reform. Without media literacy, we face a pretty bleak state of affairs indeed. Without media literacy, readers are victims and dupes. But, we are not alone. Even the editors of the magazine face these challenges of developing their own media literacy.



The makers of *Media&Values* are careful to include themselves as subject to media influence and in need of media literacy development and vigilance:

Like most people, I'm hardly impervious to media images. My discovery of Bogart/Bacall and Bette Davis movies probably had a lot to do with my starting smoking as a '60s college student. I quit before my father's death from lung cancer in 1982, but even after that, until I began working on this issue I still took cigarette ads for granted. I never will again.

(Silver, 1991, p. 3)

The editorial voice of the magazine navigates the tensions between pleasures of entertainment and duty to family values, social justice and public health, as in Thoman's love/hate theme.

In a democratic society, the challenge to change such an [exploitative commercial media] system requires changing the way we all watch and use TV. To move from passive to interactive and aware consumers will be a "small step" for each person, but a giant leap for humankind. Ultimately, this awareness has far-reaching implications. But such revolutionary consciousness doesn't come easily. And it is particularly hard to achieve when dealing with television because we take our "friend in the living room" so much for granted.

(Thoman, 1992c, p. 40)

The folksy, anti-intellectual tone of the editorial voice situates the magazine editors in solidarity with novices among the readership who have a lot to learn from the expertise and experiences of the scholars, critics, activists, and educators contributing articles, columns, and resource listings. While reading the magazine offers help in developing media literacy as a way of recognizing and analyzing media's role in social issues (problematizing media), the suggestions and examples of reform activism offered in the magazine pave the way for readers to transform themselves from victims of media influence and ideological domination to crusaders for social justice, public health and the values they cherish. However, the paths to this transformation from victims to crusaders are not straightforward. The magazine offers models for working both for and against media industry in pursuit of social reform. *M&V* also positions parents and educators as needing support in developing their own media literacy to fulfill their responsibility to integrate media literacy into their children's education. And finally, while maintaining models for political activism in media and social reform, the magazine develops in its latter years the notion of a path to social reform through personal media literacy development as a form of activism in and of itself.

## Working With and Against Media Industry

*Media & Values* navigated tensions between working with and against media industry throughout its production run. Although the magazine holds mass media makers culpable for contributing to a range of social ills, *M&V* also includes praise for pro-social work by the media industry. Magazine contributors often speak to and of media makers as colleagues. Thus, *M&V* positions media makers and industry as both allies and adversaries of its readers and would-be reformers. *M&V* portrays mass media makers as wielding great power over the attitudes, beliefs and behaviors of audiences, constructed as victims or dupes without media literacy. As an adversary of reformers, the media industry exploits audience vices with concern for profit above all. However, by using the notion of ideology as a complex system of oppression reproduced by people in identity positions imposed by cultural institutions, *M&V* constructs media makers within the industry as also needing raised consciousness about their roles in social issues and responsibilities to social reform. *M&V* explicitly includes media producers in its vision of media literacy education as it conceives a movement to “enable media consumers as well as producers to raise questions about and claim greater responsibility for the social impact of mass media and new technology in their lives” (Staff, 1987b, p. 32). An emphasis on critical analyses of political economy also allows *M&V* to indict the deregulated, market-driven system as a culprit for neglecting costs to public health, social justice and other public interests, rather than media makers and executives, who become pawns or cogs of the corporate machine. In her vision for media literacy, Thoman emphasizes the need to focus on positive contributions of mass media to society and the complexity of the media system:

Two pitfalls we need to avoid ... [1] focusing only on the negative impact of media ... [2] see[ing] media issues only as isolated problems or single issues with simple solutions.... It is important, in our post-modern society, to view media as a system—with economic, political, cultural and social ramifications. Indeed, without such a view, it is all too easy to be paralyzed by problems that are bigger than we can personally solve and to become victims rather than agents of change.

(Thoman, 1986, p. 12)

Here, Thoman portrays the transformation of audiences from victims to agents of change as both involving an understanding of the complexity of media systems in order to strategize effective reform efforts, and an appreciation of mass media’s positive contributions (and potential) for reform. This approach seeks to allow for readers to identify either as reformers who

address government and media institutions on behalf of concerned citizens, or as reformers from within media industry who address social issues through the media they make—or both. The efficacy of this approach for enlisting media industry in media literacy efforts is debatable. Since the magazine points out how commercial mass media may be implicated in so many social ills that media audiences without media literacy generally ignore, it is doubtful that media industry executives and producers would see the magazine as a potential ally in social reform. This inference is supported by many editorial correspondences wherein Thoman addresses assumptions of readers, reviewers, funders and contributors about the magazine’s relationship with mass media industries:

We’re the only ones pushing media literacy to this more critical edge ... It’s been very difficult to convince foundations that the issue is significant or to convince influential funders that media literacy is not just a form of “media bashing.”

(Letter to Randell Rothenberg, TV writer for *New York Times*; Thoman, 1991e)

The interpretation of media literacy as “media bashing” may have inhibited major media industry involvement in *Media&Values*, as implied in a letter welcoming new *M&V* board member Gary Rowe from Turner Educational Services (of Turner Broadcasting, producers of CNN and TBS cable TV networks) in Atlanta.

Your coming on the board, I think, is an important turning point because it brings in a whole new dimension of media industry involvement. We’ve needed it and wanted it but just couldn’t find the right person to be the first!

(Thoman, 1991c)

Perhaps, it is telling that Rowe’s involvement in *M&V* did not lead to hoped-for, large financial contributions from Turner Broadcasting, and that despite tireless networking in the industry from their home base in Los Angeles for sixteen years, the magazine garnered relatively little financial support from major media industry sources throughout its run. Thoman recognized this reluctance in media industry and addressed what she saw as misconceptions about media literacy in dozens of editorial correspondences between 1989 and 1992 in the following paragraph about what a media literacy movement led by *M&V* does not do:<sup>10</sup>

We’ve catapulted into leadership of a new media awareness “movement” that takes a pro-active position on media in society. Our aim is not to spout ideological answers, castigate parents or denounce the media industry. Rather it is to

raise questions, promote dialogue and stimulate a reflection/action process with and by viewers of all ages.

(Thoman, 1989e)

Here, Thoman aims to position *M&V* as somehow ideologically neutral in promoting action for media and social reform, and certainly not against the media industry while promoting media reform. The impetus for this struggle to negotiate the tensions between working with and against media industry emerged through the institutional history of *M&V* and the shifts in its target audience. The historical example of how *M&V* negotiated these tensions over time prefigure contemporary tensions involving media literacy education efforts partnering with social media corporations, such as the News Literacy Project's work with Facebook in 2017 to counter the fake news crisis, and the National Association for Media Literacy Education hosting a Digital Citizenship summit at Twitter headquarters for the US National Media Literacy Week in 2016.

From its beginnings, *M&V* spoke to readers as media makers and communicators, and saw itself in a collegiate relation with media industry. This approach fit with the initial target audience of mostly religious communications office professionals for Catholic congregations, who were media producers themselves. In 1978, Thoman writes of her experience working as a consultant with Hollywood TV writers to ensure accurate portrayals of religious characters and themes on a sitcom, *In the Beginning* by Norman Lear's Tandem Productions company, about a Catholic sister fighting Church bureaucracy (Thoman, 1978). Balancing praise and critique, Thoman lauds the show for successfully taking on social issues, but criticizes portrayals of nuns and priests who come off as buffoons because writers lacked experience with religious life and did not base characters on real people. In a decidedly diplomatic tone, Thoman cites the most significant lesson learned from her experience with the show (which was cancelled after six episodes) as the realization that "ultimately, no one has control over the show"—an appraisal that acquits any individual media makers of responsibility for shortcomings. Thoman's desire to avoid assigning blame and creating adversarial relationships with media industry extends to the magazine's choice to omit the historical role of the Catholic Church in influencing Hollywood throughout the twentieth century; there is not a single mention of the Catholic League of Decency nor the Production Code Administration in *M&V* magazine. While the regulatory history of religious groups in adversarial relations with Hollywood were left out, early issues of the magazine firmly establishing the readership as participants in decision-making about media issues from within powerful industry viewpoints by including cover-feature articles on debates over the Catholic community investments in satellite communications

technology and use of television for evangelizing (e.g., *M&V* vols. 4, 7, 15, 21).

With the sale of *Media&Values* to the Media Action Research Center (MARC) in 1983, the magazine audience shifted to include a broadly ecumenical readership of religious thought leaders who identified more as media reformers and educators than as media producers. At this point, Thoman felt it necessary to articulate to new board members the distinction between *M&V*'s liberal democratic approach to social reform and the high profile ideological approaches of the Christian conservative religious right. For example, in a 1985 letter to Kenneth Bradwell, Minister for Education and Faith Development for the Reformed Church of America, Thoman invites board membership and funding support with reference to praise for the magazine:

National communications leaders like George Gerbner, dean of the Annenberg School of Communications, considers *Media&Values* "an indispensable resource," and *Channels of Communications* editor Les Brown believes that *Media&Values* is singularly valuable as a voice to "offset the fundamentalist media approach of the religious right."

(Thoman, 1985c)

Clearly, *M&V* was not out to demonize media industry, but it did have to adjust its design to its new audience who included more folks involved in media reform. Since MARC had sponsored Television Awareness Training (T-A-T), a nation-wide religious media educator certification program from the mid-1970s through the early 1980s, it followed that the new *M&V* board from MARC would push the magazine to become more of an educational resource that its readers could use to promote media literacy development among their constituents. This shift to an audience including more media reformers and educators accustomed to opposing the cultural influence of mass media may have influenced the *M&V* articulation of media literacy as a means for institutional reform in the mid-1980s. Still, the magazine continued to include occasional praise for positive efforts in mass media (see note 3). However, the magazine would have to adjust again in 1989 when its purpose shifted from offering readers a media literacy development experience through the magazine design, to becoming a curriculum resource for parent and youth educators. *M&V*'s negotiation of the tension between working with and against media industry became inflected by how the magazine positioned parents and educators in relation to media literacy as a means for reform.

### Supporting Parents and Educators in Developing ML

Until *Media&Values* committed to hiring a full time educational director in 1989, the magazine spoke of parents as needing media education and of

teachers as needing to be led to focus on media as an important influence and object of study in their pupils' lives. *M&V* spoke of parents and teachers to thought leaders in religious communities. Feature article topics problematizing media, such as media effects on aggressive behavior or diet, displacement of traditional values, and failures of the media system to work in the public interest, often included calls for media education for and by parents and teachers as part of reform solutions. However, there was very little discussion or advice about how to do media education with parents or teachers or youth, which stood in sharp contrast to the prominent how-to focus geared toward newsletter publication and public relations strategies of congregational communications personnel in the "Media Basics" section of early magazine issues from 1977–1982. With MARC's leadership came a push to make *Media&Values* a resource that thought leaders could not only learn from to develop their media literacy, but also pass on to educators and parents so that they could learn how to help their pupils and children develop media awareness.<sup>11</sup> By 1985, *M&V* began to engage a pastor, a youth group leader, and a parenting consultant, each with media education experience, as regular staff contributors for columns labeled "Pastoring," "Youth," and "Parents" in a "Reflection/Action" section in the second half of the magazine. These short reflections (1–2 columns) spoke directly to educators and teachers about personal experience with and practical application of the big ideas from feature articles, which often problematized media. Anecdotes of personal experience made general ideas, about the problems wrought by media influence/ideology, tangible in teaching and learning contexts of the home, the religious congregation and the classroom. The columns reinforced the idea that these media problems affected real people in the lives of educators and parents, and offered suggestions for action in response. Thus, *M&V* began to position parents and educators as responsible for reform through media literacy development with their pupils and children. However, space for discussing how to actually do such media education was limited. Educational director Jay Davis calls out this shortcoming in his 1992 feature article, "But What Do I Say? Five Important Ideas to Teach Your Kids About TV": "Everyone who gives advice about children and TV these days is saying, 'Discuss television with your children!' ... I don't need any more authorized spokespersons telling me I ought to do it. What I need are some specific suggestions, some examples" (1992b, p. 10). In the context of anecdotes from life experience, Davis offers specific examples of what to say based on media literacy principles, which the magazine began explicitly articulating with curricula innovations in the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* beginning in 1990. Davis' suggestions for co-viewing, discussing media message techniques and purposes, comparing representation and reality, and monitoring media use to set boundaries, all focus on personal issues in understanding media through analysis, but do not connect to media reform efforts to address institutions, in contrast to the many

calls for parents to engage the family in activism, like writing postcards with feedback to media industry, in the first decade of *M&V*. Most of the tangible advice to parents and educators for doing media education before the shift to producing curricula and discussing pedagogy in the late 1980s had involved suggestions for discussing family and community values in contrast to values represented in media; most of the advice and models of practice in the final years focused on media analysis for individual enlightenment and skill development in addition to a sustained emphasis on values clarification (see chapter 9 for in-depth discussion of *M&V*'s pedagogy throughout the publication run). Thus, *M&V* positioned parents and educators as responsible for affecting personal change among their children and pupils in their relationships to media uses and texts, but less frequently encouraged engagement in institutional change. In *M&V*, parents and educators became the instruments for promoting the mitigation of media effects and the discernment of media ideology as distinct from family and community values, which, the magazine theorized, would result in substantial social reform through grassroots cultural change. Parents and educators, whose relationships with children and pupils suffered under the influence and domination of media messages and ideology, could use media literacy, and *Media&Values*, to transform their relationships and environments in the home and classroom.

The contemporary media literacy movement lacks an emphasis on adult media literacy. Most adult programs are for teachers, or parents, with a focus on how they can support children and adolescent media literacy development. While *M&V* shifted to include the latter focus in its latter years, it always maintained its effort to foster adult media literacy development through engaging articles. Perhaps the current field should consider how recovering an effort to engage adults as media literacy learners may help recover other lost connections, like integrating media literacy and social reform, as adult education discourses be less resistant to political engagement.

### **Shifting Focus from Social Movements to Personal Issues**

After years of developing the notions of media awareness and media literacy as means for reform action that address social and media institutions, how does *Media&Values* turn away from positioning media educators and learners as reforming institutions and toward an emphasis on addressing personal issues? This shift happened amid changes in the staff and structure of the magazine, in the target audience, and in shortcomings of media reform efforts discouraged by persistent deregulation of US media policy in the face of ever-greater challenges to traditional socializing institutions.

The magazine's shift in target audience and purpose with its publishing independence from MARC following the incorporation of the Center for

Media & Values in 1989 coincided with this shift in emphasis toward media literacy as addressing personal issues to affect social reform. *M&V* sought to reach educators directly with resources that could be used in classrooms and youth group settings. The magazine's role in mentoring community thought leaders toward reform action had shifted to serving educators directly with resources for their pupils. Unlike in its conceptualization of media literacy for thought leaders, *M&V* in its last years did not emphasize media literacy for educators and parents as means to addressing institutions for social reform, focusing instead on development of knowledge about media and skills for analysis. I asked Elizabeth Thoman about the staff's intentions with this shift, but she maintains that the change was not a conscious decision. Archival documents seem to back up her claim; there is no evidence in *M&V* Board of Directors meetings minutes, in planning documents, nor in editorial correspondences, of discussion about distancing media literacy from activism for institutional reform in media, social justice or public health. However, when discussing the shift in target audience in our 2013 interview, Thoman recalls some of the intentions that may have been behind distancing from media reform:

When I tried to help people learn to teach this [media literacy], the thing they were most afraid of was reform.<sup>12</sup> Because of the politics of it. They knew that parents maybe didn't want their kids out, you know, challenging authority. That people didn't necessarily want to write postcard campaigns. There's a hesitancy, on the part of vulnerable people, to challenge the status quo ... Because I was getting more into classrooms where teachers couldn't take positions of reform, or challenging, or organizing kids to do boycott, or anything—You just don't do that. It's too, too political.

(E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013)

Thus, in Thoman's recollection, discourses positioning parental identities as wanting obedient children and educator identities as avoiding politics in the classroom each played roles in the shift away from connecting media literacy to institutional reform. Particular pedagogical discourses in education, taken up by *M&V* in its final years, also supported this shift. Educational director, Jay Davis, designed curricula with an inquiry focus and wrote *M&V* articles about teaching media literacy with student-centered approaches—both hallmarks of progressive pedagogy discourses—which support a shift toward dealing with personal interests and issues of students as an emphasis rather than problems outlined by media experts or the teacher (see chapter 10 for discussion of Jay Davis' contribution to *M&V* positioning media literacy as pedagogy). Despite the change in strategy for reaching educators and parents with support for doing media literacy education without an emphasis



on positioning them as crusaders for media policy and industry reform, *M&V* still asserted the role of media literacy educators as agents of significant social change. In the opening article of the final *M&V* issue, “Challenging the Myths of Media Violence,” editor Rosalind Silver reinforces the notion of grassroots media literacy education as leading to social reform without addressing top-down institutional change:

While we wait for judicial wheels to grind slowly, media literacy education in schools and churches and community centers can shape public opinion to influence the media marketplace without the need for Congressional or other government regulation.

(Silver, 1993, p. 3)

After years of condemning the market-driven media system for its inherent inability to serve public interests and reinforcing the need for media reform because of the great power media hold over public opinion, Silver asserts the notion that media literacy education can compete in the marketplace of ideas with the media system that refuses reform from above to make social change.

Disillusionment with media reform efforts in the face of deregulation of US media policy became more pronounced in *M&V* in the late 1980s through 1993, which made casting educators and parents as media reformers even more unlikely while increasing their responsibility to deal with the issues imposed by media. A tone of resignation prevailed regarding a market-driven media environment against public health interests and traditional values as a given, as evident in Elizabeth Thoman’s “Springboard to Action” editor’s coda to issue 46 on “What the Media Teaches Our Kids about Sex”: “So as long as we have ‘marketplace forces’ dominating the media industry (thanks to deregulation), we’re going to have sex, and lots of it, in our entertainment media” (Thoman, 1989f, p. 24). If education about media issues no longer emphasized reform of mass media production practices, then raising consciousness of the potential harmful effects and questionable values in mass media placed newly enlightened educators and parents in positions of responsibility for managing those issues with the media consumers in their classrooms and homes. “It is important for viewers to examine whether they are teaching their children to evaluate media messages critically. In the end, what the media communicates to our kids about sex is less influential than what we communicate to them” (p. 24). Even children’s television advocates who achieved success in 1990 with the Children’s Television Act, professed resignation about the prospects of media policy reform. For example, Parker Page, social psychologist and founding president of Children’s Television Resource and Education Center in San Francisco, links action figures with

videogames as selling a culture of violence to children, “Thanks to this link—and deregulation removing restrictions on violence and advertising—toy companies have become a powerful force in children’s programming” (1990/1991, p. 22). While deregulation is a culprit in the issue, instead of suggesting media reform activism and regulatory pressure, Page concludes that parents should ask themselves, “Why are my kids still watching so much TV violence when all this research has shown it’s not good for them?” (Page, 1990/1991, p. 23). While distancing media literacy from media reform may have facilitated educator and parental identities reluctant or inhibited with respect to public political activism (as Thoman suggests above), the shift also created focus on the media audience as culpable for managing the media in their lives to create social reform starting with personal change. Communications Professor from the University of California San Diego, Dan Hallin includes deregulation as a key factor in the decline of quality news and general interest in public life:

In the 1970s and ‘80s, the barrier between news and entertainment has been increasingly eroded .... The FCC was dismantling most of the regulatory framework [requiring TV networks] to provide some minimum of serious public affairs programming. Proponents of deregulation assumed that the free market would bring forth an age of diversity in television programming .... But the drive for ratings has produced many troubling practices, from the furious pace of modern news to a tendency for journalists to scramble like politicians onto the bandwagon of the latest wave of popular sentiment .... Regulatory pressure is gone now, and the temptation for local stations to drop the network news is increased...With most of the public getting its news from television already and newspaper readership declining, the danger of creating a public that knows and cares little about public life is very real.

(Hallin, 1990, p. 3)

Hallin is resigned that “regulatory pressure is gone,” and, like many *M&V* contributors, he harbors no hope and offers no suggestions for media reform or civic engagement through regulatory policy or through activist pressure on industry to ensure public interest media production. Hallin’s article appears in the “News for the 90s” issue of *M&V*, where contributors who mention media literacy education discuss it in terms of recognizing quality news, analyzing bias, discerning limitations of coverage, developing habits of seeking alternative media, and engaging student journalism as means to create interest in public life. Thus, social reform became a matter of personal engagement in developing media analysis, evaluation, access and production skills—to be led by educators and parents. Instead of changing the system directly, *M&V* envisioned educators and parents transforming victims

of media influence and dupes of media ideology by teaching a discipline of the self—in terms of managing one’s media exposure, responding vigilantly to distinguish media values from personal values, and mitigating harmful effects with critical thinking. Before moving on to discuss the particular ways *Media&Values* constitutes media literacy as self-discipline in terms of understanding representation/ reality (chapters 6–8) and pedagogy (chapters 9–10), let us consider how *M&V*’s conceptualization of media literacy as means for reform may inform the field today.

### Concluding Thoughts: Perspective on ML as Reform Today

The historical example of the broad range of media-imposed problems and media literacy-related reform solutions constructed in *Media&Values* leads to two questions current media literacy education scholars and practitioners should consider: In what ways is media literacy positioned as reform today? What discursive contexts encourage or inhibit the constitution of ML as reform today? Against the backdrop of the historical discourses that made possible *M&V*’s construction of media literacy as means for reform, we gain perspective on the discourses constituting links, tensions, and disconnects between media literacy and reform in current practice.

A small community of US media literacy education practitioners has carried on the *Media&Values* tradition of teaching toward taking on unfair practices of big media companies from the perspective disadvantaged communities for social justice. For example, the New Mexico *Media Literacy Project*, which celebrated its twentieth anniversary in 2013, has supported the efforts of Latino youth to petition broadband companies to extend services to poor people of their communities (Media Literacy Project, 2012). Into the second decade of the twentieth century, there has been plenty of work in the media and public health strand of practice in developing media literacy to mitigate harmful media effects, as exemplified in efforts like Drug Free Pennsylvania, in which leading media literacy researchers train health teachers to engage students in critical thinking about media representations and digital communications about tobacco, alcohol and drugs (Drug Free Pennsylvania, 2013). However, these efforts mostly focus on individual skills and seldom promote the activism to change media policy and industry directly that *M&V* supported, especially early on, as a civic responsibility. The idea of media literacy as knowledge and skills all citizens need in the US developed in large part from media reform activism in *M&V*, but also in T-A-T and in federally supported media literacy initiatives of the 1970s (Brown, 1991; Tigga, 2009). How has the relationship between social reform and media literacy grown more distant in the years since *M&V*? Further research and discussion among leaders in the current field could fruitfully

explore this topic to identify discourses shaping the trend by starting with the historical example of *M&V*, which shows how the trend in the magazine was precipitated by disillusionment with deregulation, desire to work with media industry, and an attempt to facilitate the perceived identities of educators and parents as politically reluctant or inhibited.

Against the backdrop of *M&V* problematizing of mass media industry practices and representations, current practitioners would benefit from discussing how issues involving media today are framed and by whom. In some instances, media corporations are doing the problematizing, and are trying to reform the widespread practices of media users for corporate interests. For example, in issues of intellectual property and copyright, media corporations have cast “sharing” of digital files as “piracy” with multi-million dollar ad campaigns (Holson, 2003; Green, 2012). With these campaigns, corporate media have cast an entire generation of cultural practice as criminal. Media literacy education has responded, articulating the fair use norms of our community of practice (Center for Social Media, 2013), winning the right for media educators to circumvent Digital Rights Management, and ultimately engaging youth in considering issues of copyrights and fair use (Hobbs, 2011c). However, even this approach to educating about fair use, though useful in exercising critical thinking and personal rights, seldom positions learners to address the media institutions that can litigate and legislate user rights out of existence. Seeing the early connections in media literacy history to social reform through grassroots activism confronting institutions makes the absence of that connection today all the more conspicuous—especially when we see that civic action on the Internet has affected public policy. For example, on January 18, 2012, many high profile, user-oriented websites, like *Wikipedia* and *BoingBoing*, went dark to protest piracy regulations in the Stop Online Piracy Act and Protect Internet Protocol Act with an electronic form appearing at their web addresses prompting users to petition legislators to strike down the proposed bills, which resulted in both bills stalling in Congress (Hsu & Chang, 2012). Should we connect media literacy practice today with activism for institutional and media reform? The history of media literacy in *Media&Values* raises the question and provides precedents and contrasting contexts for debate.

The historical example of *M&V*'s complicated efforts to engage the media industry in media reform presents an important cautionary tale for contemporary advocates and educators to reflect upon. Similar contemporary efforts, such as the News Literacy Project partnering with social media giant Facebook to address issues around the dissemination of fake and misleading news (News Literacy Project, 2017), may face similar complications arising from the problematizing discourses of media literacy alienating corporate participants, and from corporate interests compromising critical practice.

*Media & Values* problematized social issues in terms of media influence and ideology using discourses of critical media studies, media effects, Catholic social justice and grassroots media activism. While *M&V* often tries to take up a “neutral” position of values clarification deferring to the reader’s values system for evaluation of media messages, the magazine’s construction of media literacy as reform requires the articulation of particular ethical and political positions, such as *M&V*’s anti-materialism point of view, pro-public interest regulation stance, pro-ethnic-pluralism positions, and so on. The very act of constructing media awareness by problematizing media phenomena requires specific political and ethical positioning. This calls attention to the problem in education of teachers and curricula taking up particular political positions with students who are situated in particular socio-political contexts, to which *M&V* responded in its final years by distancing its media literacy curricula from involving reform of media industry and policy. Critical pedagogy discourse asserts that there can be no neutral position for teacher or student, and the affectation of neutrality will likely result in pedagogy toward reinforcing the status quo (Giroux, 2001). Therefore, critical pedagogy practitioners often take up particular positions, collectively recognized by the group, against perceived oppressive institutional power for themselves and their students to transform, resist or overcome. *M&V* had less radical aims when trying to reach parents and educators. Though designed on principles of critical pedagogy with notions of media literacy informed by critical theory, *M&V* more often emphasized participation in democratic processes through media literacy as means for social reform beginning with individual skills. Educators following tenets of progressive pedagogy favor a constructivist approach with individualized inquiry processes allowing students to follow their interests and negotiate new meanings from their existing knowledge, honored as useful rather than exploited (Bruner, 1985). Can and does this lead to reform; or does this more often lead to reproducing the status quo?<sup>13</sup> To pursue this question, more research needs to be done in this area, particularly in media literacy education. Regardless of the answer, *M&V* offers a historical example of how one magazine navigated these tensions between critical and progressive education discourses in articulating media literacy as reform. There is no resolution in the magazine as it shifts back and forth between “neutral” and politicized voices for developing media awareness/literacy. This may be the lesson in itself for the current field—instead of debating or searching for compromise between progressive and critical approaches to reform, media literacy educators might choose to alternate approaches in their own practice, thus affording their students a balanced range of experiences of media literacy as reform. A balanced approach of progressive and critical pedagogies would allow students from diverse identity positions to experience media literacy practice that both strengthens their skills within

their own primary discourses and encourages them to acquire skills of particular discourses of interest to the learning community, like the social justice and health reform discourses discussed in this chapter. I will return to this idea in the concluding chapter after discussing my findings about *M&V*'s constructions of media literacy as understanding representation/reality and as pedagogy.

The prominence of media studies discourses of media effects, media ecology, and critical theory in *M&V*'s articulation of media literacy as reform may have limited the development of progressive media education pedagogy for reform as well. With ideas from American cultural studies of media audiences mostly absent, the magazine was missing the notion of powerful audiences with abilities to negotiate meanings and navigate identities from media across discourse communities, which would have facilitated progressive pedagogical discourses of working toward social reform from the student's own interests and voice through democratic participation via development of skills in deliberation and communication. The magazine does draw on progressive notions of citizenship from Chicago school journalism discourses in its issues focused on news, promoting civic engagement through seeking diverse sources for news with reform efforts supporting alternative media to offer representation to voices suppressed by mainstream media. And on the other side of the coin, the final three years of the magazine sees *M&V* education director Jay Davis develop several curricular tools in "Activity Page" handouts that take up student-centered approaches to media literacy development (for examples, see chapter 9). However, the cultural studies ideas of an active audience only surface in a handful of articles, perhaps owing to a predominance of topics dominated by media effects, critical theory, and political economy discourses from media studies. Media literacy education practitioners today should take note of how media studies and educational discourses frame our ability to discuss media literacy in particular ways, including as a means for reform.

## NOTES

1. The National Telemedia Council (NTC) has its roots in the Wisconsin chapter of the American Association of University Women who published *Better Broadcast News* in the 1940s and founded the American Council for Better Broadcasts (ACBB) in 1953 who began the Look Listen Project, which polled viewers and listeners to gather responses to articulate a sense of "quality programming" on radio and television. ACBB changed its name to NTC in the 1978 and changed its newsletter title to *Telemedium* in 1983, which became *The Journal of Media Literacy* in 1994. Little is widely known of the history of ACBB and NTC in relation to media literacy development in the United States, but longtime executive director Marieli Rowe

was interviewed as a US media literacy “pioneer” for the Center for Media Literacy *Voices* project, and several other recognized leaders in the field served on the NTC board in the 1990s, including Kathleen Tyner and David Considine. Marieli Rowe is planning to make her archives of ACBB and NTC artifacts available to researchers in the near future (M. Rowe, personal communication, September 19, 2013).

2. Case study research published during the 1980s shows the efficacy of consumer groups lobbying Hollywood for content change and of minority advocacy for better representation in media industry jobs, which mainstream media covered, especially the *LA Times* (Montgomery, 1990). With its home base in Los Angeles, *M&V* was very aware of the influence and potential of such activism to affect change.

3. Among the many feature articles articulating problems of mass media perpetuating injustice in each magazine issue, *M&V* usually included an article praising positive representations of disadvantaged populations in news and entertainment. For example, articles about positive representation of elderly people in *The Golden Girls* in the issue on media and aging, about the positive images of minority families in *Cosby Show* in the issue on family media use, and about complex portrayals of working poor women on *Roseanne* in the issue on media and money, each offer token examples of how the mass media industry can promote diverse representation of disadvantaged populations in TV sitcoms. Likewise, news-themed issues of *M&V* include a profile of a minority anchor or correspondent, or feature an article on a news organization diversifying its newsroom. However, these articles praising social justice progress in mass media representations and industry are the exception to the rule of articles problematizing representations of women and minorities followed by staff columns, activist profiles and resource items suggesting action toward solutions.

4. This list covers the most common regulatory media reforms promoted and profiled in *Media&Values*, all argued as distinct from censorship.

5. Only two of the twenty media literacy activities for home, school and local community education involved addressing institutions for reform—a campaign for a “violence tax” on media companies, and a proposal for a US Cabinet position to address the media violence problem in the United States

6. For more detail on the magazine design, see chapter 3. For discussion of the “social analysis” approach to magazine design as pedagogy, see chapter 9.

7. Tellingly, when the Center for Media Literacy (CML) published this article on their website fifteen years later, under Thoman’s editorial leadership, the edited version substituted “education” for “pastoral.” The latter change reflects the shift in audience to include public school and non-religious educators. The website also added “cultural studies” as a parenthetical following “academic social investigation.” Such revisions to *M&V* content reproduced on the CML are common and not noted as changes from the original texts. Changes seem to work toward making reproduced articles relevant to current media literacy educators, but may confuse historical researchers without access to original print documents.

8. Although this description of the magazine and Center for Media &Values as doing media literacy education for personal change rather than institutional change comes from activists outside of the organization, *M&V* editor Rosalind Silver published the characterization without comment, correction or addendum.

9. For more discussion of claims about media literacy as mitigating media effects, see chapter 6.

10. This paragraph appears in dozens of letters from 1989 to 1992, which can be found in the *Elizabeth Thoman Media Literacy Archive*. These editorial correspondences from Thoman are to a variety of readers, journalists, industry executives, prospective funders, and board members.

11. Beyond the magazine design and editorial choices discussed in staff columns about magazine changes in the mid-1980s, there is evidence of this push from MARC toward positioning parts of *M&V* as a more practical educational resource for use by teachers and parents in minutes of board meetings from 1984 to 1986. For example, in 1984, minutes from the editorial subcommittee included the comment “Thought pieces and practical application must be balanced in order to motivate involvement and action.” (Media and Values Board of Directors, 1984). In 1985 MARC, board members suggested:

The themes, as reported by the editorial committee, were too ethereal ... the magazine seemed to deal with issues that people really didn't care about. People need more concrete information, relevant to Sunday school teachers, etc. ... speak to the people in the pew ... if we want to get to the church school teacher with something that can be filed away and then used, then there is a large audience out there.” (Media and Values Editorial Board Meeting, 1985).

12. Here, Thoman refers to teaching early versions of her *Crash Course in Media Literacy* workshop in the mid to late 1980s, which she gave for teachers groups at many conferences and professional development engagements—first among parochial school teachers, and later for public school audiences at the National Conference for Teachers of English. The workshop often used articles from *M&V* for discussion (Thoman, 1987d).

13. For thorough theoretical discussion of this issue in media education, see David Buckingham's edited book, *Teaching Popular Culture: Beyond Radical Pedagogy* (1998).





## *Findings Section 2*

# **MEDIA LITERACY AS UNDERSTANDING**

## *Representation and Reality*

Throughout its production run, *Media&Values (M&V)* magazine develops concepts for understanding relationships between media representation and reality as central to media literacy. *M&V* most frequently discusses understanding representation and reality in terms of stereotypes, values messages, and news bias. The magazine identifies how entertainment and news media portray social identities through stereotypes of gender, ethnicity, race, class, age, region, and nationality, which some researchers and critics discuss as distorting reality while others describe stereotypes as reflecting, reinforcing, or shaping discriminatory attitudes, self-concepts, and social divisions among social groups in the real world. Likewise, *M&V* discusses values messages in media as reflecting, distorting, shaping, or reinforcing the realities of people's experiences and beliefs around what is good or bad, acceptable or unacceptable, desirable or undesirable, admirable or detestable, and so on. While *M&V* discussed media stereotypes in relation to real world social identities, the magazine analyzed values messages in media to enable readers to compare and contrast media messages with the reality of their personal experiences to clarify their own values. Many articles use concepts of *myth* and *ideology* to call attention to historical and political dimensions of stereotypes and values messages, and to distinguish such media images and messages from a naturalized sense of reality. *M&V* sometimes included news media in discussions of stereotypes and values, but more often, the magazine critiqued news in terms of inevitable bias in the portrayal of real events. The magazine dispels notions of news as a "window" or "mirror" in which to see reality by discussing the limits on news reporting set by budget, time, space, medium, story selection, ownership, audiences, government, ideology, background knowledge, context, sources, and so on. Some contributors critique news media as misrepresenting or distorting real events and assume that good reporting can reflect reality,

but most articles emphasize that biased views are inevitable because journalists make news within the various aforementioned constraints, upon which *M&V* elaborates. While discussion of stereotypes and values messages draws upon discourses of media socialization, analysis of news bias draws upon discourses of US journalism as a “fourth estate” balancing government and corporate power on behalf of the public—often in terms of the failure to perform this function revealed by critical media studies of the political economy of news production. This section unfolds in three chapters detailing how *Media&Values* positioned media literacy as understanding representation and reality in relation to stereotypes (chapter 6, presently), values (chapter 7), and news bias (chapter 8). In addition to investigating how the discourses of media studies, education, and popular culture enabled these developments in conceptualizing media literacy, each chapter will consider the implications for power relations among media users, makers, texts, technology, teachers, and learners.

Before sharing my findings illustrating how understanding representation and reality emerged as central to media literacy, please note that the magazine seldom used the concept of representation, as such, in the way commonly understood in media studies and media literacy education today. British cultural studies of media in the 1970s brought the concept of representation into common use in media studies by the 1980s, and the Center for Media and Values used the term in its planning documents with references to British media educator Len Masterman by 1990. However, the magazine rarely used the term *representation*. My use of the term in my analysis reflects my position as a researcher speaking to contemporary scholars and educators who recognize the analysis of stereotypes, values messages and news bias in various media as relating to the overarching concept of representation in media literacy education.

At the end of this section (chapter 8), I discuss the possibility, as suggested by founding editor Elizabeth Thoman in our 2013 interview, that the historical development of media literacy as understanding representation and reality emerged out of a zeitgeist around identity politics in social issues related to the US Civil Rights and Women’s Movements of the 1960s and 1970s. We may be experiencing another zeitgeist around identity politics today with the resurgence of public demonstrations over the past decade—growing exponentially in the past year (2016–2017)—related to class (the Occupy Movement), race (Black Lives Matter Movement, Alt Right Movement), gender and sexuality (LGBT Rights Movement, Me Too & Time’s Up Movements), and nationality (Immigration Reform, Anti-Immigration Reform). Historical perspective on how media literacy practices emerged in the context of a cultural zeitgeist around identity politics is essential for current educators innovating new approaches in response to a similar cultural moment in a vastly different media environment.

## Chapter 6

# Deconstructing Stereotypes

As news and entertainment media become more and more specialized in the twenty-first century through niche programming and personalized delivery by social media algorithms, there may be new demands on the ways that we deal with stereotypical representations of race, gender, sexuality, and other social identities. People may have less inclination to recognize or challenge stereotypes in their niche media choices because content is tailored to their point of view. Conversely, people may not see how their social identities are represented in the niche media of other discourses beyond their own. The growth of personalized education, with content tailored, often by computer software, to student interest, and learning style, may mirror this trend. Certainly, more media users create, organize and share more content themselves than ever before, and this content creation will continue to increase alongside the growth of personalized media consumption. These factors complicate the skills necessary to recognize and address stereotypical representations of social identities, which remain a prominent focus in many current strands of media literacy education. Amid these complications, current concerns over stereotypes in entertainment and news media, as well as user-generated media content, persist, and grow in relation contemporary issues such as immigration reform, racial profiling, religious intolerance, and gender/sexuality rights. Have media literacy practices for dealing with stereotypes evolved to address the new media landscape? With ever growing concern and struggle over the representation of social identities, why has critical analysis of media stereotypes faded from some current strands of practice in media literacy education? In order to discuss such issues pertinent to the current field, it is constructive to reflect on how media literacy became a way to deal with stereotypes and to address issues of representation and reality of social identities.

*Media & Values (M&V)* was published through a period in which the public sphere, popular culture and academic discourses in the United States exhibited

increasing interest in issues of representation in media. Articles referring to stereotypes in the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* both doubled between 1975 and 1980 (155 to 310 in the *LA Times*), doubling again by 1990 (632), averaging more than one per day by 1984 and over two daily by 1993.<sup>1</sup> More than half of these articles addressed stereotypical media representations—in relation to various social identities, including race, gender, sexuality, disability, religion, or nationality. Reviews of film, television, and books critiqued character portrayals for reinforcing stereotypes while reports of demonstrations or official statements by feminist, ethnic, and gay pride groups, as well as by peace activists and religious groups, cited objections to media representations of group identities. Reports of academic research and scholarly work of cultural critique in relation to media stereotypes appeared with increasing regularity through the period as well. This reflected trends borne out in academic journals, where the dominant paradigm of social scientific media research emphasized media's powerful influence on society with studies framed by agenda setting and cultivation theories, the latter of which often discussed the effects of media representations of race, gender, and sexuality on people's attitudes and beliefs—while critical and critical cultural studies scholars discussed how media representations of race, gender and sexuality contribute to hegemony, and introduced new theories of cultural imperialism and globalization in media studies. Kathryn Montgomery's case studies of advocacy groups pressuring media industry in the 1970s and 1980s showed that citizens could affect change in media representation of social groups and values (Montgomery, 1990). Media industries also responded to the growing interest in addressing race and gender stereotypes. For example, CBS television contracted Grant Tinker of MTM Enterprises (*Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Phyllis*) and Norman Lear of Tandem/TAT Productions (*All in the Family*, *The Jeffersons*) to raise the esteem of television programs in the 1970s, which, according to both scholarly and journalistic accounts, they achieved by “transforming the situation comedy, making it more complex and more responsive to the social and political changes resulting from the civil rights and black power movements and the burgeoning feminist movement” (Lentz, 2000, p. 46). In these contexts of popular culture and news media, as well as scholarly literature, focusing public discussion on issues of representation, *Media&Values* positioned media literacy as understanding representation and reality in terms of addressing stereotypes.

## DEALING WITH STEREOTYPES: ADDRESSING MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF SOCIAL IDENTITIES

In seventeen years of quarterly publication, *Media&Values* magazine published ninety-five articles referring to stereotypes in news and entertainment media with the topic appearing in forty-six feature articles and in more than

two-thirds of issues. *M&V* included feature articles on stereotypes along several axes of social identities within special theme issues, including two early issues with cover stories on religious stereotypes (“The Sad Saga of Sister Aggie,” vol. 5; “Between the Lines: Stereotyping of Sisters in the Media,” vol. 6; both in 1978), three issues about war with articles on media stereotypes of nationality and enmity (“Media in the Nuclear Age,” vol. 28, 1984; “Militarism: The Media Connection,” vol. 37, 1987; “Media: In War and Peace,” vol. 56, 1991), two issues on race and ethnicity in media (“Cracking the Color Code: Minorities in Media,” vol. 38, 1987; “Ethnic Diversity: Challenging the Media,” vol. 43, 1988), two issues as a “Series on Gender and the Media” (“Men, Myth and Media,” vol. 48; “Redesigning Women,” vol. 49; both 1989), and one issue on elderly people in media (“Coming of Age: Media and the Mature Audience,” vol. 45, 1989). Articles on media stereotypes also featured in issue 57, “Impact of Images: Life and Culture in the Media Age,” which became the centerpiece for the curriculum resources *Living in the Media Culture: A Primer for Media Literacy Education* and *Catholic Connections to Media Literacy*—the two Media Literacy Workshop Kits recommended by the Center for Media and Values as introductions to media literacy education (MLE). Recurring staff columns on “Women,” “Minorities,” “Global Scene” and “Social Justice” in *M&V* from 1984 to 1991 often discussed stereotypes in relation to the central theme of a particular issue. These feature articles and columns addressed media stereotypes in a variety of ways: *in terms of effects* on individuals, vulnerable audiences, the social system, and government policies; *in order to restore historicity* to distorted perceptions of social identities; *in contexts of explaining sources* of media stereotyping; *in sharing media makers’ points of view* on using and avoiding stereotypes; and in the form of tips, tools or advice for media audiences *to recognize and counter* media stereotypes as a part of media literacy practice.

### **Media Stereotypes Shape and Reinforce Self-Esteem of Individuals and Their Attitudes toward Others**

Discussion of the influence of media stereotypes on individuals often proceeds in *Media&Values* from discourses of media effects research. In his recurring column, “Minorities,” film historian Carlos Cortes makes reference to results of studies on the effects of race stereotypes in film and television on attitudes of individuals:

A pioneering study of the 1930s found that the derogatory depiction of blacks in the classic silent film, *The Birth of a Nation*, increased the prejudice of young children toward black Americans. A later study looked at the effects of the film, *Gentleman’s Agreement*, which criticized anti-Semitism, on college students. The result was improved attitudes toward Jews, even though most of the

students stated that the film had not changed their attitudes! ... A more recent study found that white children felt that TV comedies like *The Jeffersons* accurately portrayed black family life. Yet many of these same children admitted that the blacks they knew were different from these TV shows. They concluded that the blacks they knew were the exceptions. TV was the reality.

(Cortes, 1986, p. 19)

While this example refers to studies concerned with how film and television shapes the attitudes of white audiences, particularly children, toward minorities, many articles discussed the effects of stereotypical portrayals on members of the stereotyped group. For example, a feature article by Linda and Robert Lichter, co-directors of the Center for Media and Public Affairs in Washington D.C., discusses the results of survey research with 1,200 ethnically diverse high school students asked “about their attitudes towards race and ethnicity in real life and on television” (1988, p. 5). The researchers claim “a surprising number of teenagers see the fantasy factory as a mirror of reality,” and the “linkage between real life and TV’s version of life is relevant to their perceptions of race and ethnicity” (p. 5). They report survey results that “about one-third of those with an opinion say that the ethnic characters they see on television affect their attitudes toward ethnic groups in real life” (p. 6). When asked to rate the “favorability” and “typicality” of twenty popular ethnic TV characters, students responded in the following ways:

The students view virtually all these characters not only in positive terms but as typical members of their ethnic group .... There was a general tendency to rate characters from one’s own group favorably, but responses to the characters themselves often seemed to override any loyalties to ethnic groups .... Generally, each group of students rated as most typical characters of their own ethnic background, suggesting that television may affect ethnic self-perception more than images of other groups ... Thus, TV may influence ethnic stereotyping mainly by encouraging viewers to identify the positive traits of television characters with the ethnic groups they represent...[and] negative stereotypes may particularly affect the members of those groups portrayed by giving them a negative self-image ... to limit their own aspirations.

(Lichter & Lichter, 1988, p. 6)

Rather than focusing on how media *shape* attitudes, these researchers emphasize, “This role of television as a reinforcer and crystallizer of existing attitudes is significant, even if few people actually form their opinions of cultures or races based on what they see on TV” (p. 7). The role of media stereotypes as reinforcing existing attitudes of individuals, from both within and outside the stereotyped groups, is the most common effect discussed in *M&V*. As both of the above examples illustrate, *M&V* showed particular concern

for children and youth as vulnerable to the influence of media stereotypes on their views of reality, which the magazine extends to other audiences as well.

Today's media literacy educators who continue to engage learners in deconstructing stereotypes within these media effects discourses mobilized in *M&V* must update practices to account for the change from one-way mass media constructions of social identities, to digital media's participatory cultures and personal preference-driven media content delivery. Today, most media users contribute to the construction of stereotypical representations through the images we create and share, and we see content reinforcing stereotypes we are likely to accept generated by our own user data. While some digital media users, especially youth, remain vulnerable to believing media stereotypes as faithful representations of real people, media literacy practice faces the added complexity of deconstructing our own media participation as media makers in a convergence culture where user-generated content rivals industry-produced content, and content delivery is increasingly managed on an automated feedback loop derived from our own preferences and prior digital media activity.

### **Youth and Other Audiences are Particularly Vulnerable to Media Stereotypes**

Concern for audiences particularly vulnerable to influences of stereotypes persists throughout *Media & Values*. Contributors discuss audiences as particularly vulnerable due to developmental ability to process information, limited real world experience, limited education, and historical disadvantage. Authors of columns on "Youth," "Children" and "Family Life" often emphasize views and research findings of developmental psychologists that young children cannot distinguish media representation from reality, and youth acquire the ability in developmental stages. In a feature article of advice for parents, "But What Do I Say? Five Important Ideas to Teach Your Kids About TV" (1990/1991), *M&V* education director Jay Davis echoes the message from *M&V* columnists:

Children, particularly girls and boys under seven, are especially vulnerable to the illusion that the events portrayed on television—like my detergent commercial—are real. According to developmental theory, it's not until about second grade that children develop the intellectual ability to tell the difference between what's real and what's imaginary. So the parents of young children need to be particularly aware of the 'unreal' nature of television.

(p. 17)

Davis' second "important idea" for parents to teach kids, is simply "TV's World is not Real," which he follows with advice on pointing out stereotypes and bias under the heading of his third point, "TV Teaches Us that Some People Are More Important than Others" with the claim "TV presents a generally



male and white perspective on the world—everyone else is less important and much more likely to get killed” (p. 18). In addition to developmental ability in discerning fantasy from reality, *M&V* contributors emphasize limited real world experience as a factor in making children susceptible to stereotypes, as staff writer Judith Myers-Walls discusses in her “Young Child” column:

Because of [children’s] limited experience, they are inclined to latch onto stereotypes as they begin to think about the world. Overgeneralizations often appeal to them. If they are presented with stereotyped images, they will buy into them without question ... Programs may not have a strong influence on how children behave on a day-to-day basis, [but] they can have a subtle impact on desensitization to injustice and the creation of subconscious attitudes ... Children’s programs deal in absolutes, showing characters as either good or bad, smart or stupid, happy or sad. This creates a mindset in children that feeds into racism and sexism.

(Myers-Walls, 1987, p. 21)

In his “Minorities” column in the same issue, Carlos Cortes extends the rationale of limited experience to adults of various ethnic groups claiming, “This mass media curriculum has a particularly powerful educational impact on people who have little or no direct contact with members of the groups being treated.” (Cortes, 1986, p. 19). Also referring to the “educational” function of TV, Lichter & Lichter (1988) emphasize limited education as a factor in the influence of media stereotypes on real world views:

Surveys also show that many people actually admit to using TV to guide them in their own social and personal situations. This dependence on television as an educational tool for living is particularly strong for those with little education... This is particularly the case with young people.

(p. 7)

Along with children, *M&V* positions teenagers as particularly susceptible to learning about the real world from media stereotypes, as reflected in feature contributor Jean Kilbourne’s assertion, “What do people, especially teenagers, learn from the advertising messages? On the most obvious level they learn the stereotypes” (1989, p. 9), and in “Women” columnist Sally Steenland’s claim, “Television’s adolescent female characters are important role models for teenage viewers and are able to influence attitudes and behaviors” (1989, p. 5). Finally, *M&V* expresses consistent concern with the impact of media stereotypes on adult members of historically disadvantaged groups in the United States, particularly African-Americans, Hispanics, and women, whom the magazine portrays as vulnerable in terms of how media stereotypes limit self-image and negatively impact self-esteem of group members (e.g., Lichter

& Lichter, 1988; Kilbourne, 1989), and in terms of how media stereotypes reinforce the racist and sexist attitudes of members from other social groups perpetuating historical inequality in society (e.g., Cortes, 1987; Woll, 1988). Reflecting on the role of television in the experience of prisoners, activist John Parfrey explicitly expresses the magazine's concern for disadvantaged groups of adults in addition to children in relation to media stereotypes:

In trying to understand the messages television communicates—regarding sex, violence, and other hot issues of the day—we usually think of how it affects children and the measures we should take to protect them. However noble this outlook may be, it presumes that adults are sufficiently equipped to handle depictions of emotional breakdown, rape, war, murder, and (perhaps the most harmful) stereotypical portrayals of women, blacks and other disempowered groups ... If there are programs and subject matter that are inappropriate models of behavior for children, when do they become appropriate for adults, and especially for those adults who are supposedly being rehabilitated into society?

(1987, p. 19)

Thus, the magazine asserts deleterious effects of media stereotypes on individual notions of self and other with particular concern for children, teens, and disadvantaged groups of adults. However, the magazine also asserts that stereotypes contribute to a range of systemic social issues.

For the digital era, media literacy proponents, who continue to use this discourse of protecting vulnerable media users, face the challenge of addressing user-generated and user-distributed media stereotypes. How do you protect people from themselves, each other, and the mass media? Do key concepts need to evolve, or do the same core principles that developed in *M&V* still work to mitigate effects in new media environments? Researchers need to address the latter question as innovative educators may use the historical perspective of how *M&V* positioned deconstructing mass media for evolving new techniques for digital networked media.

### **Media Stereotypes Contribute to Systemic Real World Effects**

In *Media & Values*, discussion emerges from critical studies discourses around the roles of media stereotypes in reinforcing ideology and institutional power. Articles make a range of claims about media stereotypes in relation to government policies for public welfare and foreign affairs, the masking of class inequities, the perpetuation of social divisions between ethnic groups and genders, the justification of violence by military and law enforcement, and exploitation of disadvantaged groups by military recruitment efforts. For example, Ronald Pollack writes about “Granny Bashing” (1989) as a media phenomenon involving the old media myth of all elderly people as

poverty-stricken replaced with new myths of affluent seniors who do not pay their share to reduce the federal deficit and burden the young as dependents:

Just as it once was fashionable to depict older Americans as universally poor and powerless, it has now become fashionable to depict them as universally affluent and politically unstoppable ... the new stereotype is as distorted as the old one, and it is more dangerous.

(Pollack, 1989, p. 2)

Pollack claims that this agenda suits politicians who oppose social spending and corporations seeking to deflect deficit reduction debates from defense contracts and corporate tax giveaways; these corporations contribute to a PR group that “educates” the public to these myths. While Pollack supports his argument with analysis of political economy of media constructing elderly stereotypes for the gains of corporate and political elites, Paul Johnson critiques sports media from a critical cultural standpoint with commentary on how ideological messages mask realities of class differences around work and financial success:

Programming and ads aimed at the upper income third tend to support the idea that hard work brings financial rewards—a dubious message at best. Obviously many poor people work hard but have little to show for it. On the other hand, those with much income often have prior advantages which they forget, and advertising designed to perpetuate that self-image reinforces that illusion in society.

(1986, p. 9)

Johnson goes on to describe a Reebok ad for basketball shoes as “implying that sports represent a likely road to success for underprivileged youngsters” (p. 10), a distortion of the extreme rarity of this reality serving to keep poor youth believing in the American dream while spending beyond their means for overpriced equipment that will likely lead to failure to transcend class status despite the hard work invested. In her “Women” column entitled “Primetime Girls Just Want to Have Fun” (1989), Sally Steenland, deputy director of National Commission on Working Women, uses statistics from content analyses and audience surveys to contrast predominant TV representations of non-working, college bound middle class adolescent girls and their professional moms with the audience reality of mostly working class girls not bound for college, who are left without models of women engaged in school and career planning. Steenland’s column illustrates how *M&V* contributors also drew on media effects research to discuss how media stereotypes perpetuate social divisions and inequities. Jack Shaheen links stereotypes of Arabs

in US entertainment media with shortcomings of US efforts to broker peace in the Middle East, “For years moviegoers have been offered stereotypical images of the Arab. The stereotype provides myths and misperceptions which then influence public opinion and limit the formulation of a successful policy in the Middle East” (1988, p. 15). Three years later in an article on Gulf War television coverage, *M&V* editor Rosalind Silver makes a similar claim about stereotypes affecting foreign policy, “Negative images fabricating a distorted view of an enemy make belligerence possible,” which she extends to include other forms of violence and unrest, “But this process isn’t limited to war. Race riots, urban conflicts, even political campaigns, provide day-to-day examples of public relations distortion and stereotyping that polarize society in the guise of information or entertainment” (1991b, p. 3). Silver’s interview with Sam Keen, author of *Enemy: Reflections of the Hostile Imagination*, includes the writer’s claims about how stereotypes and coverage style resulted in a distraction from domestic issues desired by the president:

Television has changed things. Its rapid-fire images help to create a Superbowl atmosphere that puts viewers into a high alpha, dreamlike state that blocks out almost all thought. In the Gulf War this promoted the Nintendo-game atmosphere that made the ultimate dehumanization possible—turning the enemy into a number, a blip on the radar screen. Instead of a bloody conflict we have a triumph of American technology .... The imagery before and during the Gulf War seemed like conscious manipulation by a president who welcomed an enemy as a distraction from a depressed economy and domestic troubles .... While a war is going on it’s like the Wizard of Oz working the illusion.

(Silver, 1991c, p. 18)

These theoretical claims about stereotypes facilitating aggression, violence, and war seldom offer empirical evidence, relying on rhetorical argument and discourses of common sense about how stereotypes “dehumanize” others “distorting” reality with “illusions.” However, exceptions that do offer evidence lend credence to these rhetorical arguments. For example, in his “Minorities” column for issue 39 on “Militarism: The Media Connection,” film professor Carlos Cortes lends historical perspective to government exploitation of media and disadvantaged groups for war efforts:

To foster all-American fighting togetherness, Hollywood has taken great pains to make movies with a multiethnic military—but not always a multiracial one .... During World War II, Hollywood’s affirmative action policy called for all screen military units to feature at least one Ginsberg, one Koslowski, one Eliopoulos, one Quartararo and one Hernandez, as well as an American Indian. But there were no Japanese-Americans and no blacks.

(Cortes, 1987b, p. 19)

Cortes goes on to describe how although military recruitment in media ads target minorities, the realities for minority soldiers are grim—“high minority casualty figures in Vietnam (compared to white Americans) warn that responding to that jingly come-on could well lead to less than happy results” (p. 20)—while minorities are under-represented in film as they continue to suffer from stereotypical representations of enemies who share their ethnicity. Although articles on each of these topics appear only a few times, together they develop a discourse around the notion of media stereotypes supporting dominant power structures and institutional policies in society. As illustrated by the examples from Cortes on military recruitment of minorities and from Pollack on “Granny Bashing,” a common theme in addressing media stereotypes is an attempt to restore a sense of history for understanding how representations emerge and change in form and function over time.

### Restoring Historicity to Stereotypical Media Representations

Several *M&V* columnists and feature writers lend historical perspective to stereotypes of social identities by contrasting past with present representations and sometimes discussing different functions of media stereotypes over time. Although restoring historicity to naturalized representations is a primary goal of the semiotics approach to media studies of Roland Barthes (1968), few contributors make explicit reference to Barthes or semiotics and most do not engage in elaborate textual analysis of particular films, TV shows, or news images to impart historical perspective. Instead, *M&V* contributors take up a critical media history approach, referring to examples of particular stereotypes from multiple sources in media of different periods and discussing how the images relate to social identities, structures, and institutions in historical context. “Minorities” columnist Carlos Cortes often included historical references to contextualize stereotypical ethnic representations related to magazine issue themes, as in “A Fate Worse than Stereotypes” for issue 33 on “Sexual Violence in Media”:

How has a century-long diet of selected ethnic groups committing media sexual violence helped shape public beliefs and attitudes about those groups? ... the repeated, predictable, disproportionate media portrayal of ethnic sexual violence has inevitably contributed to stereotypical, distorted public views of ethnic life and people ... Since their early days, moviemakers have used sexually threatening “colored” ethnics to provoke and frighten “white” audiences.

(Cortes, 1985, p. 15)

After describing the sorts of recurring characters constituting these stereotypes to illustrate how “screen stereotyping of sexually violent ethnics has

worked emotionally for decades” (p. 15), Cortes notes a brief historical trend toward challenging this disturbing status quo:

For one brief, shining moment, as a corollary to the civil rights movement of the 1960s, it appeared as if Hollywood might drop ethnic minorities as its sexual strawmen. Films challenged sexual guilt by reason of race (*To Kill a Mockingbird*), while interracial marriage even became acceptable (*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?*), at least sort of. But the honeymoon was too good to last. Today, the cheap thrills and chills of interracial sexual violence, threatened or actual, have returned to the movie and TV screen. But now sex and violence is more graphic and even more gratuitous.

(p. 15)

This example illustrates a typical style of Cortes and other contributors who refer to a few historical examples of film plots or characters to support the idea of a trend that had historical significance in relation to social issues. Such examples included neither close readings of media texts nor elaborate explanations of complex social issues, relying on the authority of the writer as an expert in the field as well as on ideas established in the other feature articles within the particular magazine issue and the reader's assumed prior knowledge about popular culture; in the example above, Cortes relies on readers' familiarity with several classic films, and on the feature articles' establishment of the social issue of sexual violence in current film and television. Thus, articles in *M&V* that sought to offer historical perspective on media stereotypes did so using a traditional pedagogy of transmitting expert knowledge.

Feature articles also seldom included close readings of stereotypes in contemporary films and television, and spoke of past trends mostly in terms of aggregate stereotypes. Rather than demonstrating how to pursue inquiry and analysis, as in progressive and critical pedagogies, these articles read culture and media texts for the reader, summing the results as knowledge for the readers to acquire as part of their media awareness/literacy. *M&V* editor Rosalind Silver follows this pattern for the “Redesigning Women” issue (49) in her feature article “The Many Faces of Media Women: Can real characters emerge from past stereotypes?” wherein she draws on readings from popular culture experts and quotes from screenwriters to assert claims contrasting historical media stereotypes of women with reality:

Strangely enough, the '50s mothers who seemed so feminine and motherly back then were also seldom in the kitchen or worrying about children, reports Nina Liebman, an instructor in film and television at Loyola-Marymount University in Los Angeles and the author of a study of portrayals of the family in late '50s and early '60s entertainment. Plots of important 50s movies like *Splendor in*

*the Grass, Rebel without a Cause* also tended to depend for resolution upon children's relationship with their *fathers*. Mothers, if present, were often evil or ineffectual. *Father Knows Best* and the *Donna Reed Show* (produced by its female star) featured stronger portraits of women than other shows of the era, however. On these shows, Liebman says, feminist concerns occasionally surfaced, only to be overwhelmed by prevailing traditionalist ideology.

(1989, p. 5)

Without elaborating film or show details to illustrate “evil” mothers or “stronger portraits,” and without using historical sources to establish notions of “feminist concerns” or “traditionalist ideology,” the article relies on the reader's acceptance of Silver's report of expert knowledge without exemplifying how to read culture and media texts. Such articles followed a pattern of making claims about stereotypes and historical realities without demonstrating how to read culture and media texts to arrive at these conclusions. Therefore, the magazine positioned the reader as dependent upon expert readings of history rather than supporting the development of skills for acquiring historical perspective firsthand; with regards to historical stereotypes, media literacy in *M&V* involved acquiring knowledge from experts rather than skills of inquiry. Articles imparting expert knowledge consistently asserted the notion that media stereotypes mask historical realities of social identities along multiple axes, often linking class with age, gender, and race representation. While *M&V* avoided calling out contemporary culprits for reproducing stereotypes, magazine contributors did include a wide range of reasons to explain why media stereotypes persist.

Digital networked communities researcher, danah boyd, has critiqued this enduring critical media studies discourse in media literacy as backfiring (2017, 2018), alleging that critical thinking about media adds to the growing divisiveness among siloes of social network communities online. boyd contends that promoting critical thinking about the motives of media makers and about the structural effects of misrepresentations will only further alienate people who believe those representations are legitimate. While media literacy advocates may dismiss the claim that media literacy has backfired, on the grounds that US MLE has yet to be implemented with enough breadth or depth to make such social impact, boyd's contention that the critical media literacy tactic of restoring historicity will fail remains a serious challenge for the field. boyd points to the challenge of epistemological differences among groups; people in networked communities use different processes and resources for recognizing reality. Can we expect diverse media users to recognize the same versions of fact or history as legitimate? Increasingly, an appeal to expert or trustworthy authority, or even a common process for analyzing and evaluating representation, seems likely to fall short of the goal

of unmasking stereotypes to reveal reality. As the task of deconstructing stereotypes becomes more complicated in digital media, perhaps tolerating complexity, as a goal of addressing media representation of social identities, will become a priority for contemporary media literacy. Understanding the complexity of media representation and responding strategically was another dimension of *M&V* positioned media literacy to address media stereotypes.

### **Media Stereotypes Result From a Complex Range of Factors**

Contributors to *Media&Values* explain the reasons for the appearance and persistence of media stereotypes in a variety of ways, pointing to the following sources: the limited social identities and social experiences of media makers excluding minority perspectives; unconscious actions of media makers and executives socialized with discriminatory views assumed to be universal; exploitation by industry and government leaders to further ideologies of powerful institutions; the reality of sexism, racism, and other discrimination in society reflected in media; the market success of stereotypical representations; children's developmental needs for simplified characters and plots; and psychological needs of audiences to resolve fears and insecurities. Though no single explanation dominates the discussions of stereotypes in *M&V*, together the variety creates an impression of complexity around the issue.

In his "Minorities" columns, Cortes emphasized the complexity of reasons for media stereotypes, avoiding blaming media makers or particular institutions. In the *M&V* issue on sexual violence (vol. 33, 1985), Cortes' column refers to both "the conscious and unconscious media manipulation of interracial sexual violence" (p. 15), but explicitly downplays the notion of conscious stereotyping by Hollywood media makers:

I am not accusing Hollywood of any plot against ethnic groups. Nor am I arguing that media-makers set out to "get" minority groups through depictions of interracial sexual violence. It is probably more a matter of entertainment industry sloth and socialization, blended with an absence of concern about the media's social impact. Media makers know what grabs audiences, especially white audiences. Screen stereotyping of sexually violent ethnics has worked emotionally for decades .... The only losers are the American people, who need greater interethnic understanding, not heightened fear of ethnic differences.

(Cortes, 1985, p. 15)

Such claims position potential reform as a matter of education for media makers (about their "socialization" and "social impact") and for audiences (to change the market for "sexually violent ethnics"). While many articles suggest media reform by increasing minority representation in the industry



(as discussed in chapter 5), the emphasis on the complexity of the issue casts doubt on the efficacy of industry reform alone. Silver's feature on stereotypes of women in film and TV includes a quote from a Hollywood screenwriter claiming, "We need more of a rainbow on the screen to reflect the world we live in. It just takes some conscious effort on the part of creators to re-think casting decisions" (1989, p. 4), but Silver reasserts the notion of complexity to cast doubt on hopes for such a simple solution, "Women's greater prominence behind and in front of the camera may mean a world beyond stereotypes—or it may just give women the freedom to create and be stereotyped that men have always had," (p. 5). In a 1987 feature article, affirmative action officer for the Screen Actors Guild, Rodney Mitchell, describes how the casting process and industry culture perpetuate the unfair and limited representation of minorities in film and TV, "Minority performers are caught up in a vicious cycle. Too many agents won't go against tradition for fear of jeopardizing opportunities for other actors and actresses they represent" (p. 10). To this indictment of industry culture, Mitchell adds factors of producers' worldviews and market perception as impediments to change, "Casting directors are reluctant to challenge the producers' 'view of the world' and endanger future casting contracts. And producers believe they are providing viewers with characters they want to see" (p. 11). Some *M&V* contributors emphasize that media representations often reflect the reality of dominant identities in society, as exemplified in Akudonobi's "International" column:

The importance of males in society is reflected in the central roles they play in the plots of Nigerian television programs ... there is always an underlying tendency to justify the status quo of male dominance .... As male roles begin to vary more in reality, their transformation will also appear on television.

(1989, p. 19)

However, when positioning the media "as a reflector of society's values," contributors such as media reform activist Joseph Giordano (1987) often emphasize the selectivity of media makers:

The media have a tremendous impact on the shaping of our personal and group identities ... [they can] convey rich textures of a pluralistic society or they can ... alter our perceptions of other ethnic groups and reinforce our defensiveness and ambivalence about our own cultural backgrounds.

(p. 12)

Speaking to the strategies of media reform activists for promoting diversity in media representations, Giordano reiterates that "media cannot be blamed for creating bigotry," but can be reminded that "their insensitive reporting and

encouragement of inflammatory comments establishes a societal norm that gives license to such attitudes and behavior” (p. 13). While urging reform efforts to work with media industry, Giordano also calls for understanding the limits of the medium, “Some stereotyping is unavoidable in a simplified media like television and ethnic groups should understand that” (p. 13). Other contributors point to how stereotypes serve psychological needs for the audience, as research affiliate of the Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age and Harvard Medical School lecturer on psychiatry, Petra Hesse, does in her feature article “Stereotypes Mask Feelings of Fear” (1987):

Psychoanalysts have suggested that we tend to deny our own antisocial and aggressive impulses and project them onto an enemy outside ourselves or our national group. Stereotypes and enemy images grow out of our own cognitive limitations. Some stereotyping, of course, is inevitable. In our complex world, it is impossible to obtain complete information about another person or nation. As a result, we form opinions, make decisions and act on limited information that is bound to be an inadequate representation of the other person or national group ... Child psychologists have discovered how difficult it is for children to accept conflicting, ambivalent feelings they have about themselves as well as other people and national groups ... Even as adults, we may sometimes share this inability to tolerate ambivalent feelings: hence, the creation of simplifying stereotypes.

(p. 6)

Though Hesse discusses how stereotypes serve psychological needs of all people, she, like many other *M&V* contributors, places special emphasis on the cognitive limitations of children. A few articles call out leaders or powerful interests for exploiting media audiences through the promotion of stereotypes, as in Pollack’s article (1989) about images of affluent elderly people constructed by a PR firm funded by defense contractors seeking to shift political discourse away from military spending to social welfare issues, and in Sam Keen’s claim (in Silver, 1991c) that President Bush used Gulf War stereotypes of the enemy as a manipulation to distract the public from domestic issues (both articles discussed above). However, alongside the many other reasons posited as contributing to the persistence of media stereotypes, overall *M&V* emphasizes the complexity of factors that produce media stereotypes, which in turn calls for complex solutions (as discussed in the previous chapter). The examples above include historical examples of understanding one’s own cognitive limits alongside the constraints of media makers as means for deconstructing media stereotypes. This interdisciplinary approach, including fostering empathy by understanding self and other, directly answers contemporary calls for media literacy to involve cross disciplinary collaboration (Bulger & Davison, 2018) and to develop cross cultural

understanding of diverse ways of knowing through empathy (boyd, 2018). However, emphasizing complexity may limit the capacity for taking action to affect change. By emphasizing the complex sources of the issue while including few close readings of contemporary media texts, *M&V* avoided accusing particular media companies and media makers of propagating media stereotypes. Conversely, the magazine lauded the efforts of media makers who created well-rounded characters of diverse social identities, and included many articles with media makers' points of view on using and avoiding stereotypes.

### **Understanding How Media Makers Use, Avoid and Transcend Stereotypes**

Throughout its production run, *Media&Values* featured views on media issues from media makers' perspectives. In the early years, the magazine audience was primarily congregational communications professionals and religious community leaders who created newsletters, managed organizational communication, created community access television and public radio, and taught constituents about media (see chapter 3 for discussion). Since readers often saw themselves as media makers, some within powerful institutional contexts in the Catholic Church or other religious denominations, the magazine featured voices of media industry executives and creative professionals discussing their work in connection with issue themes. This style persisted through shifts in primary readership in the middle and latter years of the run as the magazine changed to serve the needs of community thought leaders and educators more directly. *M&V* includes media maker points of view on stereotypes in relation to controlling public image, giving groups access to telling their own stories, working within constraints of market and ownership imperatives, using techniques for avoiding stereotypes, and creating and seeking positive images and alternatives. While *M&V* often includes a few items with praise for positive portrayals of social identities in news and entertainment alongside the many articles critiquing the relationship between negative media stereotypes and real social issues, contributors occasionally critique the limitations of positive stereotypes as well. Today, now that all media users are also likely to create and share digital media content themselves, these tactics for modeling professional practices for avoiding and challenging stereotypes seem especially relevant for contemporary MLE.

The editor's introduction to the second issue of *M&V*, "Surviving Stereotypes and Caricatures" (Thoman, 1977b), voices concern with the appearance of many high profile news stories about nuns shedding traditional habits for comfortable clothes and hairstyles, calling for sisters to take control of media exposure by moving interviews to "the heart of the matter" and articulating the "real significance of our work in church and society" (p. 2). This is indicative of a trend in *M&V* situating media makers as stakeholders within

a particular social identity with power to shape the public image of their own social group. The use of collective first-person pronouns (“our,” “we”) indicates the contributor’s and often the reader’s co-membership in a social group. For example, a feature article in the following year reports results of a content analysis of newspapers and magazine portrayals of Catholic women religious finding the traditional black and white habit used in 72 percent of pictures as a “product identification” for nuns, which researcher Sister Phyllis Giroux claims to be at odds with how sisters see themselves; in her conclusion she asks, “Can we continue to let such public education pass without comment?” (1978, p. 3). Thoman follows this article with her own commentary entitled “How to Break the Stereotype” (1978b) recommending public relations strategies to create desired images and a vigilant awareness of “the media we make” in relation to current media stereotypes (p. 4). This theme of addressing readers as media-making stakeholders in shaping the public image of their identity group dissipated as the magazine audience diversified in the middle years under the multi-denominational ownership of the Media Action Research Center and as *M&V* sought to reach educators in diverse settings in the latter years. Articles using this trope still appeared occasionally, as in “Accentuate the Positive: Italian Americans Create New Image” (Staff, 1988b), which profiles the work of the Coalition of Italo-American Associations of New York in creating cable access TV documentaries, law brochures, and other media to “demonstrate how an ethnic group can begin to take the question of its image into its own hand” (p. 24). This example shows how, in the middle and later years, the magazine takes up a position outside of particular social identity groups, referring to “*its* own hand” instead of *our* hand, and abstracting the efforts toward shaping public image by particular groups as models for reader participation in the production of their own groups’ media images. Thus, the ability of media makers to shape public image and counter media stereotypes becomes enmeshed with media reform discourses in *M&V* that discuss the issue as a matter of access rights, “[Groups in] developing countries rarely have the chance to tell their own stories—others tell it for them. Their reality is not depicted fairly and is often laden with stereotypes,” (National Council of Churches of Christ, 1992, p. 16). However, such articles encouraging readers to engage in media-making efforts to shape public opinion, and in media reform efforts to increase public access to media production and dissemination, were increasingly rare as the magazine progressed through the 1980s into the early 1990s, and did not include advice for media makers about how to deal with stereotypes in their own work as some early articles had.

In the early years, *M&V* recommended many resources to support media makers in avoiding stereotypical and discriminatory representations, including handbooks for avoiding sexist language (Staff, 1978f) and brochures for avoiding ageism in news publishing (Staff, 1980c). The theme of negotiating

tensions between reflecting reality, avoiding stereotypes, and promoting public images of diverse cultural participation shifted from direct advice and resources for media-making readers in the early years of *M&V*, to articles with perspectives of mass media creators on dealing with stereotypes in their own work. Silver (1989) uses the metaphor of a “tightrope” to describe the constraints screenwriters face in creating realistic yet non-stereotypical women characters:

Some production companies believe the charge of stereotyping is a tightrope ... writers who portray professional female characters such as lawyers, doctor or judges may hear that portrayal of women in these professions doesn't reflect 'real' society ... writers who reflect the work force by creating nurses, secretaries or teachers may be called sexist.

(p. 4)

In addition to constraints of worries from production companies about audience perceptions, Silver emphasizes how stereotypes “reflect” the real lives, needs and concerns of audience members, as evident in quotes from a screenwriting professor explaining the appeal of stereotypical portrayals of women preoccupied with age and attracting men in the hit film *When Harry Met Sally*:

Today's stereotypes still reflect our needs ... one can defend that [stereotypical portrayal] because the audience is full of people living out those concerns ... stereotypes can draw the audience into a comfortable arena of familiarity ... A character on screen who is a woman living a stereotype but then working out her freedom from it is someone the audience can relate to and perhaps be inspired by.

(Silver, 1989, p. 4)

Thus, the article offers the reader insight into the constraints on the screenwriter from the production company and audience expectations as well as the opportunities to use stereotypes in order to transcend them. Silver also emphasizes how “to a large extent what sells—or *what's supposed to sell*—is often what finally matters” (p. 4). Again, using quotes from screenwriters, the article shows how media makers work within market constraints, as the sitcom writers of *Maude* and *Roseanne* explain, “We couldn't sell a TV movie script about a woman who has problems [a few years ago] ... Now that more problem-related shows like *The Burning Bed* (about an abused wife) have been successful, they're [the networks are] very interested in these issues” (p. 3). By featuring such screenwriter perspectives, *M&V* portrays media makers as valiantly striving to transcend stereotypes while negotiating constraints

imposed by the media industry beliefs, audience needs for familiarity, market precedent, and media genre, “The sitcom format, particularly, can sometimes be limiting, but what we strive for is to put real people on paper” (p. 3). While valorizing the efforts of media makers to transcend constraints, these articles also identify, and laud, particular shows and films as examples of positive, well-rounded, and realistic character portrayals.

In the middle and late years of production, as the magazine targeted community leaders and teachers interested in media education and reform, the insights of media makers on dealing with stereotypes emphasized the role of the audience and market as much as the decisions of producers and executives. This facilitated positioning readers as responsible for changing the market through their consumer choices and through feedback to industry in reform efforts (see chapter 5 for discussion). Furthermore, by spotlighting the positive efforts of media makers (rather than calling out particular producers as culpable for reinforcing negative stereotypes), the magazine offered readers models of success for promoting change. For example, in “Attacking Ageism in Advertising” (Wood, 1989), director of publications for the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) Robert Wood describes how the editorial policy at *Modern Maturity* keeps negative stereotypes out of ads in the magazine with the magazine and organization “trying hard to educate everyone about the realities and opportunities of aging” (p. 8). Wood (1989) promotes the idea that positive portrayals are both marketable and enriching for story:

Many members of the media may find ... that respect for the humanity of aging makes good business sense. But much more importantly, they will also find that they can enrich the stories their commercials and programs tell by recognizing the humanity and diversity of older characters.

(p. 10)

This notion of educating the media industry serves as a model for media reformers (as opposed to “media bashing” or restrictive government policies) and parallels the efforts of media educators working with media audiences. Such articles also serve as models of the media industry working for reform, as in a news brief item about how the rock band The Cure asked radio stations not to play their song “Killing an Arab” due to public misinterpretation of racism contrary to the intended anti-prejudice message, as the band manager explains, “I think we have to take responsibility for having written something that can be misunderstood” (Staff, 1986c, p. 22). Another example of *M&V* featuring media producers working for reform came in a report on an “Entertainment summit” between Soviet and Hollywood media executives who met in Los Angeles for a week in March 1987 to “explore and explode

the stereotypes and negative portrayals of each other” (Staff, 1987f, p. 11), and to overcome assumptions about each other as lackeys of Communist propagandists and the commercial studio system: “Symposium participants agreed that a world so close to all-out war cannot afford distorted images” (p. 11). Thus, the magazine offers contemporary models of mass media producers taking responsibility for their roles in influencing public perception. In introducing a feature article of interviews with writers of the sitcom *The Cosby Show*, Eisenach (1986) articulates the magazine purpose in balancing the critical views of media stereotypes in other articles with examples of positive portrayals by responsible media makers, “Critics complain that television too often teaches negative values—stereotyping, consumerism, a superficial, and trivial approach to life. In contrast, many have applauded *The Cosby Show* as a breakthrough for television’s positive potential” (p. 10). Although the magazine lauds positive portrayals of social identities in shows like *Cosby*’s, *M&V* columnists also point out the dangers of positive stereotypes. A few pages after the interview with *Cosby Show* writers, “Women” columnist Sally Steenland describes the increase of women’s representation on TV and minority women characters in news shows as mixed progress. Despite more visibility and diverse roles, she claims that most minority women can’t relate to the predominantly positive stereotypes of affluent, successful, attractive characters living in a discrimination free world:

Unremittingly positive portrayals, of both minority and majority characters, present narrow, unrealistic stereotypes that are untrue to the life experience of most minority women today. In fact, TV’s minority women are really white women with tans. They do not reflect the diversity of minority women in the real world, nor the realities of living in a white society.

(Steenland, 1986, p. 19).

In her column in the *M&V* issue on media and aging, Steenland warns about how positive portrayals of recurring TV characters often omit realities of discrimination, poverty, and health issues of elderly:

Uniformly negative stereotypes of older women are hard to find on today’s TV programs. They have been replaced by exceedingly positive stereotypes ... TV’s appetite for glamour has long overwhelmed its understanding of real women’s lives .... To add older women to the sisterhood of the sleek and sexy only obscures the truly inspiring stories that could be reflected on the screen.

(Steenland, 1989b, p. 18)

In her “Social Justice” column, Donna Demac echoes Steenland’s critique as she writes about how “TV still sidesteps real life struggles” in TV shows “in

which aging gracefully requires that a woman be a major success, live alone, work for no one and have little contact with the wider society” (1989, p. 16). In the same issue with feature articles showcasing *Modern Maturity* magazine’s efforts to educate the media industry toward positive portrayals and lauding writers of TV shows like the *Golden Girls* for including stereotype-breaking elderly characters, Demac puts the onus on media producers to go further in developing well-rounded characters, “When writers learn to create characters who can show their strength by dealing with normal human relationships, the problems of daily living and maybe even their own personal struggle to improve society, then I’ll really sit up and cheer” (1989, p. 16). Thus, while the inclusion of media maker perspectives encourages readers to sympathize with struggles to negotiate the constraints of a complex media system and recognize positive efforts of producers, columns like these combine with the preponderance of articles critiquing media stereotypes to encourage readers to expect and demand more reform, to cultivate their tastes for well-rounded and diverse representations, and to sharpen their own recognition of media stereotypes.

### **Recognizing and Analyzing Stereotypes as Knowledge and Skills for Media Literacy**

*Media & Values* sought to help readers understand stereotypes for three reasons: to encourage participation in media reform efforts (discussed in chapter 5); to free readers from the influence of stereotypes in their own thinking as an end in itself; and to support knowledge and skills for parents and educators to pass on to children, students, and peers. For the latter two purposes, the magazine used a range of strategies: featuring expert knowledge of recurring media stereotypes to facilitate reader recognition of such representations as a distortion of reality; sharing research findings on social groups, or anecdotes of personal experience, that contradict stereotypes as representing norms; offering advice for avoiding media with stereotypical representations, and for choosing media with well-rounded and diverse portrayals; recommending frameworks for inquiry to support stereotype recognition and analysis; and demonstrating close analysis of media texts with critique of techniques and elaboration of the limits imposed by the media system, channels, and genres on the production choices.

As described in the section above on restoring historicity to media stereotypes, most *M&V* contributors described prevalent media stereotypes and shared their ideas about impacts on culture without demonstrating how they derived their readings from particular texts. By using a traditional pedagogy of transmitting expert knowledge, these articles implied that readers could



use the descriptions of media stereotypes to recognize them in other media texts. In a typical example, “Minorities” columnist Cortes describes Hollywood stereotypes of minority sexuality: “Three minority teenage stock figures have become dominant in the Hollywood sexual pantheon .... The loose minority teenage girl .... The sexually threatening minority teenage boy .... The laughable (and therefore nonthreatening) minority male sex machine” (Cortes, 1989, p. 17). A few film references accompany descriptions of each stereotype, enough so that the reader could recognize the aspects of each identified stereotype in a film characterization, but not enough to demonstrate how to recognize other stereotypes from media. The approach suggests the acquisition of knowledge about a category of portrayal, so that one can recognize other instances in other contexts, rather than the practice of analyzing media texts for trends that construct categories of portrayals. Within the discourse of traditional pedagogy, such articles emphasize knowledge about content rather than skills for analysis of content. Similarly, many articles encouraged readers to distinguish media stereotypes from reality by offering statistics from sociological research about demographic groups contradicting stereotypical representations. For example, Pollack’s feature article about the emerging affluent elderly stereotype in news media uses statistics to dispel the notion that “a growing pool of retirees have created a disproportionate burden for a shrinking workforce” and support his claim that, “In fact, there are more workers to support community and far fewer children to be educated, fed, clothed and nurtured” (Pollack, 1989, p. 4). In a 1986 article entitled “Female Roles Still Distort Reality,” “Women” columnist Maria Riley compares statistics of women working with proportions of working women in TV representations, showing how media under-represent working women in order to emphasize that “although a new image of woman is being projected by the media, we must consistently check that image against the realities of the majority of women’s lives” (p. 20). While such articles model the technique of comparing recurring media characterizations to research statistics to evaluate the relation between representation and reality, the emphasis is on sharing expert knowledge of both media stereotypes and real world research rather than encouraging the development of readers’ skills and inquiry.

Some contributors encourage reflection on personal experiences to contradict stereotypes. In several “Reflection/Action” columns, staff writers encourage parents and teachers to ask their children to compare their real experiences to media characterizations in order to distinguish stereotypes from reality. For example, “Children” columnist Judith Myers-Walls suggests that parents address stereotypes by asking their children, “What do TV’s grandparents have in common? ... How are they like or different from his or her own older relatives?” (1989, p. 17). Her column offers a similar discussion question in the *M&V* issue on ethnic diversity, “Children can

look for color differences, speech patterns and variations in dress... How do the media presentations compare to the children's real life experiences?" (Myers-Walls, 1986, p. 21). *M&V* does not confine this approach to children, as Sally Steenland's "Women" column demonstrates in prompting readers to assess TV's portrayals of elderly women in relation to their own experiences, "How true to life are the lives and problems [of elderly women TV characters]? Do they share the same concerns as women you know?" (Steenland, 1989b, p. 19). The strategy of comparing media representations to personal experience places the media user in the role of expert, but it also assumes that the reader has had experiences with diverse people who share traits found in media stereotypes, and that they have understood their experience through a lens of multicultural pluralism, valuing the differences. Several columns advise parents to proactively seek out real world experiences to gain such a perspective as leverage against stereotypical thinking, for example: Myers-Walls suggests that parents "Provide children with positive multiethnic experiences. Firsthand experience is more powerful than any media stereotype" (1986, p. 21); and, likewise she suggests the tactic for combating stereotypes of the elderly for children without grandparents, "Use acquaintance with TV 'grandparents' as a springboard for getting to know actual old people: visiting nursing homes, making videotapes, writing letters or talking by computer with faraway grandparents" (1989, p. 17). Although in the guise of a more progressive pedagogy with the learner as expert, these columns of parental advice reveal the strategy to involve transmitting particular motivations for and understandings of experience (seeking and valuing diversity) to children in an effort to build a particular form of knowledge from personal experience. Thus, traditional pedagogy to deliver a progressive political perspective poses as progressive pedagogy while actually recommending a transmission model of inculcating values and knowledge rather than building skills for analysis and inquiry. Many columns and resource listings recommend choosing media that avoids or transcends stereotypical representations and exposes viewers to positive portrayals of diverse social identities, thus complimenting the traditional pedagogical strategy of inculcating values through selective media experience curated by trusted experts. However, in a few recurring tropes, the magazine genuinely employs progressive and critical pedagogies to address stereotypes.

*Media & Values* sporadically offered frameworks for inquiry, in the form of lists of questions or message construction techniques, to support stereotype recognition and analysis. For example, an early article on "How Cartoons Work" (Harrison, 1982), discusses the techniques used in comic strips to deliver messages, which proceed from concepts of "leveling" (simplification), "sharpening" (highlighting importance), and "assimilation" (exaggeration), "Simplifying can lead to oversimplification; sharpening can unfairly

caricature; exaggeration can become stereotype which perpetuates the worst racial, ethnic or sexist elements of popular culture” (p. 7). These tips were offered to facilitate readers’ critique of comic strips, but also as a guide for choosing syndicated comic strips for editors who publish newsletters, a large portion of the early *M&V* audience. In the 1986 issue on advertising and materialism, California State University professor Laurien Alexandre reviews a twenty-minute film by feminist scholar Jean Kilbourne, *Killing Us Softly*, as “an excellent resource for use by classes or discussion groups that want to explore the impact of advertising images on society’s view of women” (Alexandre, 1986, p. 19), and recommends that “viewers examine ads from different media...in order to sharpen their own critical skills and internalize an analytic approach to media imagery” (p. 20). Speaking to thought leaders in diverse religious communities, the primary target audience during *M&V*’s middle years under MARC ownership, this article marked the first instance of suggesting pedagogy in relation to stereotypes instead of summarizing expert knowledge that community leaders might pass on to schools under their purview as topics to cover. In a style that was to become more common in the later years as *M&V* shifted the primary target audience to serve educators more directly, this review was followed by an article with a list of questions for analyzing advertising techniques taken from a semiotics textbook by Asa Berger, two of which addressed stereotypes:

If there are figures (men, women, children, animals) what are they like? What can be said about their facial expressions, poses, hairstyle, age, sex, hair color, ethnicity, education, occupation, relationships (of one to the other)? ... What sociological, political, economic or cultural attitudes are indirectly reflected in the advertisement? An advertisement may be about a pair of blue jeans but it might, indirectly, reflect such matters as sexism, alienation, stereotyped thinking, conformism, generational conflict, loneliness, elitism, and so on.

(Berger, 1986, p. 22)

Most articles suggesting techniques and frameworks for media analysis of stereotypes focused on print advertising with a few exceptions in the later years. Following articles about film stereotypes of enemies in war in issue 56, “The Media: In War and Peace,” a “Re:Action” box offers a list of analysis questions adapted from a Canadian Association for Media Literacy curriculum on the Gulf War:

2. How is the enemy represented? Do filmmakers make use of stereotypes and demonization? ... 5. What does the film say about what it means to be a male person? a female person? Are women foils for the male characters or real

people? 6. Is there a system of beliefs (myths) that characterize a particular class or group, such as men?

(Staff, 1991, p. 20)

In the later years of *M&V*, such inquiry frameworks also appeared alongside or following analytical articles, which positioned the analyses as demonstrations of techniques for deconstructing stereotypical representations in media texts and the political economy of media production that limits media makers to stereotypical choices. The two-page curriculum resource articles at the end of each *M&V* issue on gender (48, 49) each suggested discussion questions for analysis of media stereotypes to provide frameworks for further inquiry with teachers and students, parents and children (Seger, 1989; Femiano, 1989). This move toward including progressive and critical pedagogy approaches expanded in the curriculum resources of the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* that supported the educational use of each issue in the later years (as discussed in chapter 9). However, it was very rare that articles reflected on the learning process between parent and child or teacher and student in addressing stereotypes. A few articles by educational director Jay Davis, such as “But what do I say? Five important ideas to teach your kids about TV” (1990/1991), include details of actual exchanges between children and parents or teachers, which shows that the magazine recognized the elaboration of teaching methods as important for supporting media literacy practice, even though such support seldom appeared in *M&V*, “I don’t need any more authorized spokespersons telling me I ought to do it. What I need are some specific suggestions, some examples” (p. 16). Thus, especially toward the end of the magazine’s publication run, *M&V* positioned media literacy as involving internalizing frameworks of inquiry and analysis as skills and habits of mind to deconstruct stereotypes, which should be supported by parents and teachers with specific instructional techniques.

In addressing media stereotypes, *Media&Values* positioned media literacy as understanding representation and reality in terms of effects and sources of stereotypes, as well as techniques for countering them. Effects of stereotypes included influencing self-esteem and individual attitudes about others along axes of social identity, and perpetuating oppressive ideologies (racism, sexism, class struggle) and political hostility (enmity) or complicity (distracting public focus). *M&V* positioned youth, women and minorities as particularly vulnerable to these effects of media stereotypes. While lauding media makers’ efforts to avoid and transcend stereotypes, *M&V* emphasized the complexity of sources for media stereotypes as distributed among attitudes of media executives, audience expectations, government exploitation, children’s developmental needs, and market success. To counter stereotypes,

*M&V* featured expert knowledge of recurring media stereotypes and their relation to historical and demographic research while recommending media choices that avoid stereotypes, and offering inquiry frameworks alongside demonstrations of close analysis of media texts (mostly magazine ads). While *M&V* promoted the recognition of stereotypical media representations in relation to an observable reality accessible through social science, critical inquiry, and personal experience, the magazine also positioned media literacy as understanding media representation of values and in relation to a subjective reality of personal and collective morality and ethics.

Long time media literacy advocates, and media literacy practitioners with roots in cultural studies oriented media programs, are well aware of the concept of representation as a unifying or core principle in media literacy. However, as a field we should critically discuss and review how well this concept works for our various strands of practice since the current trend seems to be toward specialization in particular sorts of representation (cultural identity, reality in news, or ethical behavior), especially as the growth of networked online communities complicate how we conceive of authors and audiences as well as the distribution of recurrent media representations. We may find that representation needs to be the concept we all champion as a flexible concept that unites us, or we may find it divisive and limiting, too vague and imprecise, and that we need to let go of this attempt to unify in principle. The following chapters serve to facilitate further exploration through reflection on the historical construction of media literacy as understanding representation and reality in relation to values and news bias.

## NOTE

1. These statistics result from a *ProQuest Historical Newspapers* database search. For example, results for the search term “stereotypes” in news articles in the *LA Times* show 1,360 items (789 media-related) between 1967 and 1977, and 4,295 items (2,885 media-related). Media-related items were found using the search term “stereotypes AND (film OR television OR movie OR book OR news OR music).” The *ProQuest* search engine displays a graph of results with data points for each year showing the steady increases reported. Results were not scrutinized in detail to clean data for off-topic references, but a scan of titles in results and an in detail examination of articles from select years sufficed to lend confidence that U.S. newspapers of record showed increased attention to media stereotypes, and the concept of stereotypes generally, through the period of *Media&Values* publication. I repeated this process with the *New York Times* with similar results. References to recurring types of articles are based on my impressions from examining the results lists of titles as well as reading many selections in each year to get a feel for how the stereotypes were referred to in newspapers of record; they do not reflect a formal analysis.

## Chapter 7

# Clarifying Values

Media literacy educators in the twenty-first century confront the challenges of supporting learners in developing and enacting ethical practices in new cultural spaces of digital media where norms are emerging or fluid. Consequences for transgressive or harmful behavior and communication are sometimes remote in digital spaces through anonymity and aliases, or sometimes massively amplified through instant viral sharing. Strands of media literacy concerned with developing practices in digital ethics and digital citizenship strive to develop effective ways for diverse learners to participate in, negotiate, and shape the various communities they navigate in social media. With this ethics challenge in digital media, there has been a resurgence in both traditional character education asserting “universal” norms applied to digital identities, and progressive pedagogy of co-constructing new norms through negotiating diversity. Meanwhile, critical media literacy practitioners apply social justice lenses to developing digital ethics to engage in identity politics online. The current struggles to develop media literacy to support ethical media practice has a rich history, which plays out in *Media&Values (M&V)* magazine in discourses on understanding mass media representations in relation to the realities of cultural and personal values. In addition to its relevance to practitioners of digital ethics and digital citizenship pedagogy, this history is especially pertinent to current educational innovators who position media literacy as a means to confront violent extremism, to negotiate race and gender tensions, and to promote cross-cultural understanding and empathy.

Just as the discourses on media stereotypes in *M&V* positioned media literacy as understanding representation and reality by way of recognizing how media portrayals distort and influence social identities, the magazine discussed values messages in media as a way to distinguish the normalizing influences of repeated media tropes from the ethics of various identity

positions. *M&V* contributors echoed media effects and critical media studies discourses in discussing stereotypes as shaping and reinforcing individual attitudes toward self and other, which had systemic real world effects in asserting ideology and reifying institutional power. In similar ways, the magazine portrayed prominently recurring values messages in mass media entertainment and news as influential. In *M&V*, media stereotypes resulted from a range of complex factors, which the magazine insisted should not be reduced to the exploitative intentions of media makers, and the magazine portrayed such complexity around the production and repetition of dubious values messages in media. *M&V*'s inclusion of features on media makers avoiding or transcending stereotypes had its parallel in the occasional articles and news brief items about movies and TV shows with positive values messages. However, instead of restoring historicity to media representations and focusing on inquiry frameworks for textual and cultural analysis as *M&V* did in constructing media literacy to address stereotypes, the magazine promoted personal reflection and group dialogue as means of understanding representation and reality in terms of values messages.

### **MEDIA VALUES VS. REALITY VS. MY VALUES: ML AS UNDERSTANDING VALUES MESSAGES**

Alongside addressing stereotypes, *Media&Values* magazine positioned media literacy as understanding representation and reality in terms of values<sup>1</sup> messages in media. *M&V* emphasizes how media representations influence real world beliefs and attitudes, as media teach values systems and inculcate culture, especially for vulnerable youth audiences. *M&V* portrays engagement with media as an opportunity for clarification of one's own values, and conversely positions values clarification as a defense against the influence of dubious media values. The magazine identifies trends in media representations of values, and recommends techniques for recognizing media values, to facilitate readers distinguishing media values from a naturalized sense of reality or normality, and from their own moral beliefs and perceptions of normal or common values. Although *M&V* presents values clarification as a progressive strategy for both pedagogy and politics, suggesting that individuals compare representations of values in media to their own values, the magazine identifies articulations of normative media values around violence, sex, and consumerism as particularly pervasive and negative. Furthermore, the promotion of values clarification coincides with alarm about media displacing the traditional socializing institutions of the family, community, religion, and school.

Contemporary media literacy advocates produce a new iteration of this tension between progressive and traditional approaches to values representation

in digital media. Efforts to design media literacy to promote empathy and cross-cultural understanding (Boehmer, 2018; Tuzel & Hobbs, 2017; Friese, 2016) grow alongside efforts to recognize and deter extremist values associated with violence and terrorism (Singh et al., 2016). Understanding the historical development of these tensions in media literacy may provide perspective on how today's discourses frame how we think, act, teach, and learn about values in media.

### Media Inculcate Values through Ritual Media Use

Throughout the production run of *Media&Values*, the magazine maintains troubled concerns about the socializing influences of media on people's values, which founding editor Elizabeth Thoman establishes in her first article in 1977 characterizing media as a powerful influence "on our lives, our values, and our social order" (p. 4). An excerpt from an *M&V* board statement in 1978, expresses the primary concern sustained and reiterated throughout the production run about media delivering influential values messages mistakenly regarded as reflecting reality:

Media do not only reflect life; they shape and color it with a spectrum of values (1) through the way news is reported, (2) the ways women and minorities are portrayed, (3) a presence or absence of sex and violence, (4) the need they create for products they advertise, (5) the value they put on religion, and (6) their recognition or not of family life.

(Staff, 1978, p. 8)

*M&V* portrays the pervasive presence of media messages in daily life for people in modern societies as creating a ritualized experience, which several contributors describe as serving to fulfill the role of religion in communicating values (Gerbner, 1981; 1987; 1992; Chavez, 1982; Katz in Silver, 1983b; Goethals, 1983; Fore, 1987). For example, a review of the book, *Media, the Second God*, by advertising and public relations expert Tony Schwartz, discusses how media influence lives and shape beliefs "as profoundly as any religion" (Chavez, 1982, p. 11). A 1983 feature article summarizing ideas of Hebrew University media researcher Elihu Katz posits that the "centrality of importance in which television provides a ritual outlet for the whole society is the crucial characteristic of what are often called 'media events,' ... 'the high holidays of television'" (Silver, 1983b, p. 1). According to Katz, mass audiences experience live media coverage of elections, royal weddings, political scandals, and championship sports as "a crucial and perhaps irreplaceable avenue of meaning and values transmission in modern society ... media events induce participation and a sense of resolution, change attitudes and



provide a feeling for process and the way things work” (pp. 2–3). Likewise, in a feature article with excerpts from his book, *The TV Ritual: Worship at the Video Altar*, Rhode Island School of Design art history professor Gregor Goethals’ claims that “nightly news may assume ritualistic dimensions ... offer a regularly repeated pattern ... tell millions of Americans how it is, how things came to be, what might be expected.” Goethals echoes Katz, “telecasts of professional sports ... campaigns, caucuses, conventions, debates, election night and the inauguration have all become ritualized media events” (1983, p. 4). With examples of the Kennedy funerals and space landings, Goethals illustrates how television uses icons to “depict common world views, models of human behavior, and questions that articulate our valued experiences.” By featuring articles from perspectives of media industry (Schwartz), critical cultural studies (Katz), humanities (Goethals), and media effects (Gerbner), *M&V* convenes a scholarly consensus around the notion of media experience as socializing ritual.

Convening such cross disciplinary consensus for understanding media experience has become a challenge for contemporary strands of media literacy, but such efforts may lend strength and coherence to the field (Bulger & Davison, 2018). However, when addressing ethical issues in media representation, the realities of working with different cultural communities complicates the language for discussing values and beliefs. We see precedent for dealing with this problem of diverse audiences and participants in *M&V*’s evolving discourse around values clarification for shifting target audiences.

An article with excerpts from a 1981 lecture by George Gerbner appears three times in *M&V* with the titles, “Television as Religion: A noted communications researcher proposes that television does for society today what religious ritual did for our prehistoric ancestors” (1981), “Television, modern mythmaker: Television does for society today what religion did for our prehistoric ancestors,” (1987), and “Society’s Storyteller: How television creates the myths by which we live” (1992). The term “religion” moves from the main title in 1981 to the subtitle in 1987, and disappears altogether in 1992. While the progression of the titles reflects the *M&V* readership shifting from Catholic religious communities to more diverse religious and secular audiences, the revisions also illustrate how *M&V* shifted its emphasis in problematizing the socializing function of media from the displacement of religion to the fabrication of myths.<sup>2</sup>

### **People Assimilate Values Messages Unconsciously from Constructed Media Representations Taken as Reality**

Emblematic of a dominant theme around understanding representation and reality in *Media & Values*, each of these articles discusses the constructed-ness

of media experience, distinguishing it from “reality.” For example, in media coverage of real events, Katz calls attention to production techniques and editing choices, “The home viewer gains comfort and an Olympian perspective, with analysis, color and camera angles chosen by others. Viewers have no means of knowing exactly what has been added or left out” (Silver, 1983b, p. 2) Although viewers only receive a partial, manipulated view, the impression of an all-knowing, “Olympian” perspective replaces reality, “In effect, the event as it actually happens is less important than the event as represented by television. The broadcast is what the mass audience reacts to—not what actually takes place” (p. 3). The influence of this fabricated reality is not confined to the media audience, “The actions of the actual participants in the event are also shaped by how that event is presented on television” (p. 3). Goethals (1983) articulates this phenomenon as affecting an inclusive “us” by overriding “our” ability to distinguish representation from reality, “TV images rush quickly past us and elude our prolonged contemplation and critical analysis ... [TV has] created an environment of symbols as ‘real’ as reality itself,” which gives media the power to “tell millions of Americans how it is, how things came to be, [and] what might be expected” (p. 6). However, media do not communicate reality, but a representation of values, “TV images of the family, like those in earlier art forms, are not records of what life is actually like. They are, rather, imaginative visualizations—symbolic records—of the intangible norms and values associated with family life” (p. 7). Gerbner (1981) uses the metaphors of “a hidden curriculum” and a “hidden taxation” to describe the cumulative effects of mass media on public perceptions of social norms, as he charges educators with the task of raising consciousness about media’s powerful influence, “Television is a hidden curriculum for all people financed by a hidden taxation without representation, paid by everyone regardless of whether they use the service or not ... Bringing this to consciousness is the number one task of education today” (p. 3). By describing the inculcation of media values as an unconscious process, *M&V* positions awareness and problematization of “hidden” values messages, influences and ideological processes as central to media literacy.

Some of today’s media researchers continue to use this discourse of raising consciousness of new media environments positioning users as developing perspectives on the real world from reality TV and from “real” videos on YouTube or shared user-generated images shared via social media. However, today’s educators also face the challenge of raising consciousness amid a multiplicity of ideological discourses, often constructed out of the limitless supply of diverse media content aggregated by the algorithms of automated media delivery. As content aggregators (Google, Yahoo, etc.) and social media platforms (Facebook, Instagram, etc.) deliver media content based on personal user data, they may reinforce different worldviews for each of us, or

groups of us, indicated by our prior media choices as algorithms predict what we would like to see. For many of today's media literacy educators, raising consciousness of how the media environment constructs reality remains a priority.

### **Problematizing Negative Media Values around Violence, Sex, and Consumerism in Terms of Representation and Reality**

In chapter 4, I discussed how, in order to position media literacy as means for reform, *Media&Values* problematized the socializing influence of media: as displacing traditional institutions; as impacting public health by normalizing violence; as teaching and reinforcing racism, sexism, and fear; and as promoting materialism. Here, I would like to emphasize how *M&V* contributors also couched these problematizations of media in terms of understanding representation and reality in relation to values. For example, literature professor Elayne Rapping (1987) discusses how non-fiction television of court shows, game shows, reality shows, and news all reinforce the same myths of materialism as seen in fictional TV:

The power of the media is most awesome. It creates an entire universe—a looking glass world—which is, for too many of us, more emotionally fulfilling and intellectually coherent than our actual personal and social experience. This world, like Alice's own looking glass land, is apparently identical to our own, yet subtly deceiving.... While watching we learn a new dogma—that in a world of poverty, scarcity and dreams that come true “once in a lifetime,” material commodities are the most gratifying things life is likely to offer most of us, the most certain signs of success and luck.... Like its fictional counterparts, non-fiction TV uses show biz and dramatic convention to sell messages that echo those of the commercials and the news itself.... the very same worldview and ideology is played out on game shows, on People's Court, even on Real People ... the socialization of the TV world we enter every day has thrown its glamorous spell like a net into the workaday world. Long ago, we stopped trying to make TV like reality, and started trying to make reality like television.

(pp. 11–12)

Metaphors of a “looking glass world” and a “glamorous spell” reinforce the portrayal of media's socializing function in *M&V* as covertly distorting the reality of “our actual personal and social experience.” Likewise, philosophy professor and Catholic priest Fr. John Kavanaugh uses a critical cultural lens to problematize advertising messages as inculcating values of materialism that produce social identity:

Television and magazine content is interlaced by the financial fabric of advertising and its covert ideology of happiness through commodities.... The

formation of her [an average American child's] social identity is based upon commercial imagery and acceptance.... A coalition of pressures from commercialism, advertising and social programming dominates her consciousness.... A commodity-like identity is the end result of the cultural education system in North America.... Products are portrayed as the condition of happiness.... Since our identity and fulfillment is wrapped up in the possessing and consuming of our commodities, we "style" ourselves after products, and where were not good enough, we are replaced or remodeled. The natural body is to be rejected in favor of the fabricated one.

(Kavanaugh, 1986, pp. 3-4)

Kavanaugh charges educators with the task to "uncover" the ideological function of media representations by helping others to turn inward toward the reality of their direct personal experiences, and outward toward the reality of tangible relationships with others:

We must consciously seek to help those we work with uncover cultural ideology and instill methods of solitude, self-understanding and experiencing of the interior life. A commitment to relationships, the reversal of the culturally taught insensitivity to human suffering and contact with whose the culture rejects as worthless, can help counter our built-in biases.

(Kavanaugh, 1986, p. 5)

Thus, *M&V* positions media literacy as demystifying media ideology to recover the reality of personal and community values derived from direct experience of the world.

Does such an approach translate to new media environments today? On one hand, new media users may now choose images to curate their own ideological constellations of news and entertainment media. However, many new media scholars contend from a critical media literacy viewpoint that users may need support to strategically construct their media environment to match their best interests, and that much is left to the automated programs of the social media we use and seldom understand. The challenge for critical media literacy today includes demonstrating the value for the user of expending the effort required to deconstruct ideologies and consider biases of automated content delivery algorithms; unmasking ideology, always a daunting task, has become even more complicated.

In *M&V*, media literacy also entails awareness of how media representations of violence and sex "twist" understandings of reality and acceptable behavior. Editor of *Mandate* magazine Dean Slater (1985) claims that American media "tend to represent values from the darker side of reality. Violence is pervasive...It may be that it is twisting our sense of what is real" (p. 13). In the 1985 feature article, "Media's New Mood: Sexual Violence,"

*M&V* staff summarize how “Researchers are studying the fusion of aggression and eroticism in film and video. They’re asking whether it’s creating a climate in which sexual violence is more acceptable in real life” (Staff, 1985f, p. 3). The article describes media effects research concluding, “Many films portray the ‘rape myth’—the idea that women enjoy sexual violence and that it leads to positive consequences ... [which] can contribute to a social climate in which violence against women is more accepted and thus may be more likely to occur” (p. 5). In his “Youth” column, Bill Wolfe (1989) draws on personal experience as a youth group leader along with references to media effects research to assert claims that the sexual violence of horror movies “constitute primary sexual lessons for youngsters ... [who] view aggressive behavior as a model for their own” (p. 19) He positions educators as responsible for intervening in this socialization process:

Youth leaders ... know that discussion from a values perspective is desperately needed by young people building their adult value systems. Confronting what is shown on the screen and what one feels inside is necessary for healthy growth.... If no concern is shown by youth leaders ... it could easily be assumed that viewing sexually violent films is only one more example of what it means to be an adult today.

(Wolfe, 1989, p. 20)

Thus, *M&V* positions media literacy as learning to distinguish dubious representations and values messages in media from “reality” in two senses: from the reality of direct experience as understood through personal values, “what one feels inside,” or shared community values; and from an objective reality observable through social scientific or journalistic ways of knowing.

Creating safe spaces for critical dialogue, considering both the personal/community ways of knowing (our inner feelings), and the scientific/journalistic methods of producing knowledge, may be a way forward for today’s media literacy educators concerned with the crisis among competing epistemes of diverse communities described by new media scholar danah boyd (2018). Whether such approaches can foster constructive cross-cultural dialogue remains an open question for media literacy researchers.

Furthermore, media literacy engagement transforms the problems of transgressive values and distortions presented by media messages into learning opportunities, as founding editor Elizabeth Thoman (1989f) describes in her concluding column to the *M&V* issue “The Birds, the Bees and Broadcasting”: “Mass media can provide the opportunity for dialogue, allowing us to integrate talk of sexual values and conduct into everyday conversation, where questions can be explored, values communicated and misinformation

corrected” (p. 24). Throughout the publication run, *M&V* promotes this sort of dialogue about media as an opportunity values clarification.

### **Media Users Need Support [MLE] to Clarify Their Values in Relation to Media**

From its inception through its last issue, *Media&Values* magazine consistently promoted the practice of values clarification as a component of media awareness and media literacy. In excerpts from the US Catholic Bishop-Delegates 1977 “Statement on Communications Media and Catechesis,” *M&V* highlights how classroom teachers are advised to view “media as a crucial part of the cultural background of students” and to “help students evaluate media in light of other values” (Staff, 1978b, p. 5). In the early years, *M&V* contributors writing for an audience of Catholic religious communities sometimes specified these “other values” as “Gospel Values” (as in the recurring “Word Breaking” column, see chapter 3 for discussion), or as Catholic values. However, the magazine also recommended ecumenical resources for values clarification, like *Television Awareness Training* (Staff, 1978g) produced by the multi-denominational Media Action Resource Center (who bought *M&V* in 1983), and a bi-weekly magazine called *Cultural Information Service (CIS)* that offered reviews of popular media in relation to more generally spiritual values. In their 1979 article in *M&V*, “Stay Tuned ... TV Can Be Good For You!”, the *CIS* publishers, Fredric and Mary Ann Brussart, outline the positive potential of using media for values clarification:

Television can be a positive practical training ground for moral growth in a changing world.... Despite criticism from many quarters that television is a “wasteland”.... Television is actually a microcosmic picture of our culture. It is a window on our world, influencing, shaping and feeding back the complex value systems of our society. It provides models of behavior, including standards for success and failure, examples of what is right and wrong, images of masculinity and femininity, etc. The things people are most concerned about eventually show up on TV, not only in the news, documentaries and talk shows, but also in the storylines of the series and the movies.

(pp. 1–2)

Instead of problematizing the socializing aspects of media, Brussart & Brussart portray the complex relation of media representation to reality (“a window,” “influencing, shaping, and feeding back”) as an opportunity for reflection and discussion of values.

In times of stress, choices of how we are to live and what we believe must constantly be identified, activated and reformulated in daily life. Television, and other modern media, by reflecting the concerns of society and raising important questions, can become a catalyst for discussion. Repeated dialogue experiences about media can actually help people exercise their values and become a participant in the media experience rather than just a passive observer.

(Brussart & Brussart, 1979, p. 3)

Here, the transformation from passivity to participation involves “repeated dialogue experiences” about values. *M&V* repeatedly underscores the particular importance of such dialogue for children, whom the magazine constructs as the audience most vulnerable to the influence of values messages in media. In addition to highlighting the notion from developmental psychology that young children cannot distinguish fantasy from reality in visual media (e.g., Fore, 1985), magazine contributors point to the simple fact that children have less real life experience than adults and thus have had fewer opportunities to develop their values from real experience. Feminist media critic Jean Kilbourne (1989) uses the metaphor of “peer pressure” to describe the influence of media values and the susceptibility of teenagers:

Adolescents are particularly vulnerable because they are new and inexperienced consumers and are the prime targets of many advertisements. They are in the process of learning their values and roles and developing their self-concepts. Most teenagers are sensitive to peer pressure and find it difficult to resist or even question the dominant cultural messages perpetuated and reinforced by the media. Mass communication has made possible a kind of national peer pressure that erodes private and individual values and standards.

(p. 9)

With children and teens consistently portrayed as “in the process of learning their values and roles” appearing along with the problematization of media socialization, *M&V* positions parents and educators as playing a crucial role in clarifying values for and with their kids. As a preface to suggesting methods of co-viewing, discussion, and activities around values messages in music videos for parents and kids, media educator and radio producer Jeff Kelham (1985) differentiates values clarification from censorship:

If you're into rock album bonfires, or somehow protecting the values of your children through censorship, you already know what to do. But if you realize that human beings, young and old, are designed to choose from alternatives having the capacity to make informed choices based on values acquired since early childhood, here are my suggestions for confronting the rock video phenomenon.

(p. 4)

Kelham suggests that parents make a log with their kids of details from music videos, and decide on criteria for categorizing notes, “for example, violence, women’s roles, dream fantasies” (p. 4). Despite the typical critical cultural lens of the suggested categories, this rare early example of progressive pedagogy—constructing your own categories for analysis—shows how values clarification could be employed to serve diverse interpretations of media from different values perspectives. Similarly, communications professor George Conklin (1985) suggests the following values clarification activity:

Another exercise is to develop a continuum or comparison between your values and those of the medium. Draw a line down the middle of a piece of paper and label one side. “My basic values.” On the other side put, “What this media technology or content promises.” List your values first. They might include cooperation, helping others, seeing people as each having unique worth, problem solving through peacemaking, care for the environment, wisdom, patience, sexuality as a natural gift and self respect. Opposite them list the appeals of new media technology or content that strike a responsive chord in you. Don’t be surprised if there are some discontinuities or even conflicts in the two columns. We are complex individuals and billions have been spent learning how to reach us at every possible level. The aim of these exercises is to become conscious of your role in the transaction with media and values, to discover your own selectivity factors and then to make intentional choices based on your new understandings.

(Conklin, 1985, p. 7)

In Conklin’s example, again we see a suggested list of values without religious reference, which pose as *universal* or *human* values, within an open invitation to list “your values.” The goal of the exercise, again, is to move from an assumed passivity in relation to media experience and influence to becoming “conscious” and “intentional.” This movement from passive to active engagement does not require expert knowledge since the individual is free to discover and develop personal criteria. However, values clarification can privilege expert knowledge in the form of moral authority. A “Pastoring” column entitled “Media Mirrors Heart of Darkness,” by director of communications for Trinity Church, Leonard Freeman (1985), illustrates this duality as he suggests using popular culture to clarify values in Church:

In the current glut of sexually promiscuous violence in the media and in real life ... to explore with our parishioners why we want to hear about and see promiscuous or sexually violent material—at this point in time and place—is to get in touch with the battleground of the spirit in our current culture.

(p. 18)



Although the column, again, portrays popular media as an opportunity for values clarification rather than a bad influence to be avoided or censored, in this setting, in regards to the topic of sexual violence, the moral authority clearly rests in Christian taboos and the expertise on Christian values lies with the pastor. So, values clarification can also entail expressing pastoral or parental authority on values, as suggested in a column by editor Elizabeth Thoman (1989g) in which she advises parents to “clarify your views of fatherhood on television—and share them with your children” (p. 24). Rather than “exploring with” children, Thoman illustrates how values clarification can be about the parents communicating, in the hopes of transmitting, their values to their children. The expert readings of values messages and the media socialization process by feature article authors in *M&V* stand in contrast to the learner-centered, exploratory inquiry approach recommended by *CIS*, *T-A-T*, and other contributors to discussions of values clarification.

By offering far more critiques of television, advertising, and news in general than analyses of specific media texts, *M&V* privileges expert knowledge about media effects on attitudes and beliefs, and about the ideological function of media in relation to values, over the skills and habits of inquiry needed to practice and explore media analysis for values clarification. This balance shifts, in the final years of *M&V* as the magazine sought to become a more direct curriculum resource for educators, toward offering more inquiry frameworks and lists of principles, key concepts, or media myths as tools for analysis and discussion to facilitate values clarification. For example, in the “Reflection Resource” pullout page “Living in a Media World: A Four Step Survival Guide” (1992), two of the four core principles of media literacy articulated by education director Jay Davis (1992c) position understanding representation and reality in relation to values as central to media literacy practice: “Media Construct Reality”; and “Media Present Ideologies and Values Messages” (p. 21). Davis suggests analysis questions with each principle, including “What was left out of the story? Why?”, “How would you have reported ... differently?”, and “Who Benefits? Or who loses?” (p. 22). In the “Reflection Resource” pullout page “The Violence Formula: How to Analyze for Violence in TV, Movies and Video/ Verify the Violence Formula for Yourself and To Teach Others,” *M&V* contributing editor Barbara Osborn categorizes three ways that violence is portrayed in TV and film: “1. Violence Drives the Storyline ... 2. Violence Has No Consequences ... 3. A World of Good and Bad” (1993b, p. 21). Osborn includes lists of questions for each principle to support analysis and discussion, for example, “Why do the ‘bad guys’ use violence? Why do the ‘good guys’ use violence? [b] Do the ‘bad guys’ have family or others who will care if they get hurt or killed?” (p. 22). By offering specific conceptual tools and inquiry frameworks for recognizing and discussing values messages in a variety of media, these curriculum

resources supported a more learner-centered approach to values clarification compared to general knowledge about media ideology and socialization. *M&V* expanded the approaches of these curriculum resources in the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* published with each issue from 1989 to 1993, which I will discuss in detail in the chapters 9 and 10 on “Media Literacy as Pedagogy.”

In problematizing the socializing influence of media and promoting values clarification with media, *M&V* distinguishes values messages in media representations from two notions of reality: from direct experience of the (non-mediated) world, as filtered by one’s own values system (subjective), or observed from scientific or journalistic objectivity; and from the worldview of a collective values system shared by a community (often religious). The former notion of reality articulates an individualized values clarification while the latter either allows for clarification governed by the authority of any collective values system to which a given individual may belong, or assumes common values (e.g., Catholic, Christian, religious, American, human, etc.) shared by the magazine contributors, readers and a wider community. Clearly, *M&V* sought to build flexibility into media literacy with respect to understanding representation and reality in relation to values, which could accommodate individual, collective, and universal articulations of values systems, as well as personal, critical, social scientific, and journalistic epistemologies around media representation and socialization. This approach provides an historical example that could be adapted for contemporary practice by today’s media educators who share concerns about media literacy being limited by asserting an authoritative way of knowing without allowing for competing epistemes of participants (boyd, 2017, 2018), and about media literacy over-emphasizing individual skills (Bulger & Davison, 2018; Mihailidis, 2018). For whichever authority on values (personal, community, religion, law) and way of knowing about media influence (ideological critique, attitude survey, direct observation), *M&V* positions media literacy as moving learners from passive to active relationships in media engagement with regards to their values formation through processes of acquiring knowledge about media influence and dominant values messages in media, reflecting on personal and shared beliefs from non-mediated experience, developing skills for recognizing and analyzing media representations of values, and participating in dialogues exploring and comparing values-laden media representations with real world, shared, and personal articulations of values.

For contemporary educators, the historical examples above are useful for examining in relation to emerging practices around media literacy as digital ethics, citizenship, and civic engagement, especially for identity politics and cross-cultural communication. Recovering the discourse of media inculcating values through ritual media use may inform discussions of self-regulation in

media habits and choices about participation in particular digital communities or game environments. Likewise, the notion of demystifying the ideology of representations normalized in media, and distinguishing from one's own values, is a useful discourse to consider in relation to progressive pedagogies for digital citizenship. The presence of a prevalent, dominant mass media influence on cultural values has been complicated in contemporary digital media by niche markets, specialized communities, user-generated content, and social media. Likewise, participation in multiple, diverse discourse communities and digital cultures complicates our identities. However, the historical example of a simplified dynamic between dominant mass media and personal, group, and cultural identities provides a useful contrast for examining how we may adjust media literacy practices to new challenges of digital cultures.

## NOTES

1. See chapter 3 for discussion of the meaning of “values” in *Media & Values* magazine in relation to editors’ intentions.
2. Although these examples focus primarily on televisual media, *M&V* contributors discuss the inculcation of values through ritualized media use and the fabrication of media myths across various media, including popular music (e.g., Kimball, 1986), film (e.g., Hollander, 1987), advertising (e.g., Kilbourne, 1991), and newspapers (e.g., Hynds, 1990). “Stories that support—and create—these commonly held assumptions thus become a kind of propaganda, not in the form of deliberate lies, but as widely disseminated social mores ... as a stabilizing force that grows out of the need of the whole society. Thus propaganda *exists at all technological levels and uses all media*” (Fore, 1987, p. 4; emphasis added).

## Chapter 8

# Addressing News Bias

Deconstructing stereotypes and clarifying values messages in *Media&Values* (*M&V*) magazine sometimes included analyses of news media, but more often the discussion of news in *M&V* positioned media literacy as understanding representation and reality in terms of addressing bias. Whereas the magazine critiqued the influence of dubious values messages about sex, violence, and consumerism in ritualized media use, *M&V* problematized news in terms of a variety of limitations that made the accurate portrayal of objective reality impossible and the common practice of understanding the world from a few mainstream news sources inadequate for democratic participation. Unlike the suggestion that news should objectively reflect reality, implicit in the current discourse around fake news in relation to President Trump's accusations of mainstream media or with respect to FBI reports of Russian influence on the 2016 presidential election through fabricated news in social media, media literacy discourses historically have assumed that all news is biased in myriad ways, and should not be expected to represent reality perfectly. *M&V* promoted values clarification pedagogy to support learners in activating their personal experiences and preferred ethical reasoning in response to the mass media values messages; however, the magazine addressed news bias with approaches more similar to the practices it recommended for deconstructing stereotypes (analysis of media texts, culture and political economy with comparisons to other sources of information) and taking action to help mass media produce better representations of social identities (through feedback to media industry as well as monitoring and adjusting one's own media consumption). Both of these practices persist in divergent strands of contemporary media literacy education.

## THE NEWS IS NOT A WINDOW: ML AS UNDERSTANDING HOW NEWS CONSTRUCTS REALITY

From the feature articles in the first issues of *Media&Values* critiquing news with stereotypical coverage of nuns (Giroux, 1978) through articles on government control of news images during the Gulf War (Silver, 1991b) and sensationalized news coverage of the violence in the L.A. riots following the Rodney King verdict (Thoman, 1992), the magazine consistently challenged the notion that news media offer a window on the world through which the public sees an objective reality. *M&V* emphasized that news media construct reality rather than merely reflecting it, and positioned analysis of news techniques as central to media literacy practice. In *M&V*, media literacy involves understanding how and why bias is inevitable in news, and developing skills and habits of inquiry for analyzing bias in multiple information sources. Issues with news-related themes seek to demystify the “myth of objectivity,” perpetuated in news media. Some current strands of news literacy and information literacy reinforce what *M&V* called the myth of objectivity by focusing on news quality in comparison to journalism standards like accuracy and fairness, and on reliability in relation to source reputation (for objectivity) and fact-checking (Klurfield & Schneider, 2014). In contrast, *M&V* demystified the “myth of objectivity” by enumerating the many limitations on news coverage imposed by sources, reporter knowledge, time, economic costs, audience attention, politics, government control, corporate interests, market demands, genre constraints, and so on. *M&V* shows how such limitations lead to news distorting reality in failing to represent minority issues and voices while reinforcing stereotypes. The magazine constructs media literacy as a means for understanding inevitable bias in news representations of reality through knowledge about the political economy and production of news, skills for analyzing news production techniques and for evaluating reliability of information, and habits of inquiry about the points of view and contexts left out of news coverage. With special issues on news in relation to national elections in 1988 and 1992, *M&V* positioned media literacy for understanding how news constructs reality as a crucial component of democratic citizenship.

Some strands of global and civic news literacy continue this media literacy approach to recognizing limitations of any news organization or source, while positioning learners as taking action to participate in and shape their news media environment (Mihailidis, 2011; 2018). Such strands might benefit from reflecting on how *M&V*'s critical approaches to addressing news bias might be synthesized with its progressive approaches to values clarification in analyzing representation and reality. Such a synthesis may work toward

engaging digital media participants in constructive learning across diverse discourse communities to find new ways to negotiate today's news crises.

### **News Media Construct Reality through Selection of Stories and Storytelling Techniques**

Throughout its production run, *M&V* emphasized the notion that news makers select and tell stories, which restrict and shape the understanding of reality among readers and viewers. Although contributors never reference formal media theories of news framing and agenda setting, their ideas often coincide with such discourses of newsmaker influence over meanings and audience. For example, in editor Shirley Koritnik's "Report on the NSCS Special Conference To Use Media in Liberation Theology" (1980b), she recounts speakers' claims that "The reader is prisoner of what reporters tell him or her . . . Control is not so much that the media tell us what to think, as what to think about" (p. 8). A decade later, in an article about how to "Balance Bias with Critical Questions," feature contributor Patricia Hynds (1990) states, "Each reporter has to make choices in writing the story: what to include, what to leave out, what sources to use. A few well-placed adjectives, a few uses of 'alleged' or 'so-called' can cast a definite ideological twist. Two reporters can see the same event very differently" (p. 5). Like Koritnik, Hynds claims that news provides a partial, limited view of reality, which she describes in terms of the inevitability of selection bias while also highlighting the effects of choices in storytelling. *M&V* contributors often used metaphors to express newsmakers' control over audiences' perception of reality, as in Koritnik's "prisoner" word choice above. Elayne Rapping, literature professor and author of *The Looking Glass World of Nonfiction TV*, uses metaphors of the "looking glass" and the distortions of reality experienced by characters from *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *The Wizard of Oz* to describe news media in her feature article "Alice Doesn't Live Here Any More But The White Rabbit Does: A Glimpse behind the looking glass world of TV's nonfiction programming" (1987; reprinted in 1990/1991 for fifteenth anniversary issue). Rapping calls for special attention to the analysis of news as narrative rather than information to help viewers focus on the constructed nature of story as a re-creation of reality:

Because we think of TV as a cultural form, it is fiction that is primarily analyzed as drama, while news—the province of sociologists—is discussed as information. Other non-fiction genres—the game shows, variety acts and talk shows that make up so much of the TV schedule—remain virtually unanalyzed, even though they also epitomize the masterful re-creation of reality that characterizes the TV world . . . the Wizard of Oz's hokum magic was exposed when Dorothy

looked behind the screen to see him working the levers. We too need to look behind the screen at the ordinary people pulling the strings.

(Rapping, 1987, p. 12)

*M&V* answered Rapping's call in the later years (1989–1993) by publishing articles as curriculum resources with key principles, discussion questions, and activities to support the analysis of techniques used to deliver messages in news.

### **Media Literacy Involves Analyzing News Production, Techniques, and Messages**

In the article that first articulated *Media&Values'* version of the key principles of media literacy<sup>1</sup> (later reprinted in each *Media Literacy Workshop Kit*), education director Jay Davis (1992c) states of principle number one, "Media Construct Reality":

Everything we see in the media is created or manipulated in some way. Media makers are our modern day storytellers ... [they] select certain pictures and reject others. Like you, they are sometimes fair, sometimes tired, sometimes brilliant ... they have all kinds of ways of keeping their audiences interested and involved.

(p. 21)

Although Davis means for the principles to apply to all media, his suggestion for an activity for teaching and learning the first principle involves analyzing news:

TRY THIS: ... record the local evening news. Choose one story you're interested in and write down everything you learned ... make a few phone calls or do a little investigating yourself. What was left out of the story? Why? How would you have reported ... differently ... ?

(Davis, 1992c, p. 22)

This activity suggests direct experience of the facts and of making choices for reporting in order to reveal the constructed-ness of reality in news stories. For the second principle, "Media Use Identifiable Techniques," Davis suggests methods for deconstructing messages in the news:

Take apart the world they create by identifying camera angles, punchy quotes, music, special effects and splashy layouts—things that heighten our response and grab our attention ... we can begin to "de-construct" media; that is, *take*

*apart* the reality constructed for us so that we begin to see the hows and whys of media. In the process, we enhance appreciation for clever techniques and become less susceptible to their manipulative use.

(Davis, 1992c, p. 21)

In an earlier article for a news themed issue, Davis elaborated steps for analyzing news in a curriculum resource pullout page, which was also repackaged in the *News for the 90s* media literacy kit) (Davis, 1990, p. 22). *M&V* published materials for supporting the analysis of news in relation to a number of different topics. For example, the pull out “Activity Page” in the *M&V* issue on media representation of economic issues listed questions to support teachers and learners in recognizing the story selection of editors and recommended analyzing techniques of layout in newspapers and various production choices in TV news (Sparr, 1989, p. 22). A “Re:Action” item alongside an article on women in the news in the *M&V* issue “Redesigning Women,” suggests methods for content analysis of newspapers for high school classes and women’s groups to find “the average percentage of female bylines, female representation in photographic coverage and references to females [in news articles]. After only a few days, patterns will emerge” (Staff, 1989c, p. 13). Read alongside the discourses of media literacy as reform (see Chapters 4–5), these approaches for developing skills for analyzing newsmakers’ production choices and storytelling techniques support news consumers in critiquing their news providers as a step toward demanding better news in feedback via letters, calls, or alternative news choices. Thus, *M&V* positions media literacy as understanding representation and reality in news messages in order to encourage more active participation of news consumers in producing better quality news. However, it is important to note that *M&V* seldom singled out particular news outlets for presenting biased views of reality. On the contrary, *M&V* presented bias in news as inevitable and sought to demystify the “myth of objectivity” in news.

### **Bias is Inevitable in News Due to Limitations in News Making**

In a rare instance where *Media&Values* critiqued a particular newsmaker, rather than finding fault with biased coverage, founding editor Elizabeth Thoman (1979c) admonished iconic television news anchor Walter Cronkite for perpetuating the myth of objectivity in his famous broadcast sign-off line, “And that’s the way it is.” In her cover feature for *M&V* vol. 9, “No Walter, That’s Not the Way It Is,” Thoman claims:

Although the reporting of news is often thought to be “objective,” it is increasingly obvious that reported “facts” may differ depending on class, race, and sex of the reporter, the time pressures of the newscast or the multinational



investments of the parent corporation ... broadcaster biases and experience do shape coverage.

(Thoman, 1979c, p. 1)

The most common theme in *M&V* articles about news throughout the production run professes the inevitability of bias due to myriad limitations on news making, which Thoman outlines in the list above. A few articles critique the dominant rationale in journalism of truth-telling, balanced viewpoints, and impartiality that support the “myth” of objectivity in news representations of reality. For example, in the “News for the 90’s” issue, Central American missionary Patricia Hynds discusses the inevitability of relative perspectives on “the truth”:

Latin American journalist, Penny Lernoux, says, “There is your truth, there is my truth and there is the truth.” ... In the ‘90s, more and more sophisticated news management techniques will be used to convince us that someone else’s “truth” should be ours ... there is a great deal of untruth, some of it deliberate, in what is presented in U.S. media about the rest of the world and even about domestic issues ... objective reporting is a myth.

(Hynds, 1990, p. 5)

Hynds does not question the existence of *the* truth of objective reality, as *M&V* contributors in general do not, but rather argues that news communicates a perspective on the truth and that “reporting” reality objectively is a myth. Furthermore, she argues that techniques to portray “balance” in perspectives in news often distort reality:

The struggle to appear balanced can obscure “the truth,” and it often rests on shaky assumptions ... if two perspectives are totally opposed, the truth must lie somewhere in the middle ... the media must never appear one-sided. Thus, much violence in Third World countries and elsewhere is presented as innocent civilians caught in the crossfire between two equally repugnant forces—even in the face of clear evidence of greater levels of abuse by one side. Another version of the distorted idea of balance requires that every quote that contradicts previous norms, assumptions—or U.S. policies—must be countered by a quote from the administration or a “Western diplomat” or “high official source.” This appearance of balance usually leaves the reader hopelessly lost .... The effort to appear objective frequently results in just the opposite, a weighted coverage favoring the current political “party line,” or at least not challenging the conventional perspective.

(Hynds, 1990, p. 6)

While some *M&V* contributors critiqued the notion of objectivity in news coverage directly, more often articles about news included discussion of the many limitations and constraints on news making that result in inevitable bias.

*M&V* repeatedly portrays the reliance of reporters on sources as a limitation making bias inescapable while facilitating government and corporate control of information and public opinion. “Journalists are very much prisoners of their sources,” claimed New York University Journalism professor and co-director of the Center for War, Peace and the News Media, David Rubin, “[Although] journalists cannot (and indeed, should not) ignore the statements of these officials, they must work to keep ... bias from completely dominating the news channels” (1987, p. 8). In addition to the limitations of sources, news bias proceeds from the knowledge, experience, and political opinions of reporters. American Association of Retired Persons magazine editor Ronald Pollack puts it bluntly, “The media have done an incomplete job of educating themselves about social policy questions that affect the elderly ... it’s still possible to get assigned to social policy beats with far less expertise than it takes to get assigned to cover high school football” (1989, p. 3). Of course, acquiring knowledge about issues takes time, a costly prospect for newsmakers. As discussed in chapter 4, *M&V* problematizes market-driven media for failing to serve the public interests, which include economic limitations on news coverage by advertising and consolidated corporate media ownership (Sparr, 1989), and market-driven sensationalism (Rifkin, 1988; Rapping, 1987). In discussing how news coverage about Africa in United States media is negative, relying on crisis coverage and stereotypes based in years of colonial exploitation, Makunike (1993) succinctly points to profit motives as responsible for the problem, “In the eternal media race for larger circulations and higher ratings, profits and the bottom line dominate concerns about values and ethics” (p. 12).

Corporate interests, market-driven sensationalism, and economic considerations manifest in emerging genre conventions of news, which *M&V* contributors identify as another limitation on the capacity for news to represent reality, such as the “fast-talking spokesman” (Rifkin, 1988, p. 9), “the 30-second sound bite instead of description or analysis” (Hynds, 1990, p. 7), and “the allure of flashy technology while ignoring its impact on humankind” (Silver, 1991b, p. 3). In describing production techniques in Gulf War television coverage as creating the atmosphere of sports events and videogames, which dehumanize the enemy while trivializing and sanitizing bloody realities of war, media critic Sam Keen links genre conventions to ideology, another limitation of news representation prominently discussed in *M&V* (Silver, 1991c).

In *M&V*, contributors portray the capacity for news to represent reality as circumscribed by dominant ideologies. For example, editor of *The Catholic Agitator*, Jeff Dietrich (1987) claims that President Reagan embodies the historically dominant values of militarism and uses the press to “reinforce the values, institutions, prejudices and stereotypes of the dominant culture that create the context for the use of military force” (p. 3). In a rare explicit reference to media theory, Dietrich claims that “Reagan does not argue for ‘American values;’ rather he *embodies* them. He renews our past by resuming it ... he is the durable ‘bundle of meanings’ that Roland Barthes calls *myth*” (p. 4). Fadwa El Guindi (1991), visual anthropologist at the El Nil Research foundation for research and ethnographic film on Arab culture, described colonialist ideology as framing Gulf War news coverage in a “fantasy created by Orientalists, come true in Hollywood, of a world the West has a subliminal desire to penetrate, to dominate ... [for] an audience whose worldview is limited to that of winners and losers, cops and robbers, cowboys and Indians” (p. 17). Makunike (1993) describes ideological constraints as a “self-fulfilling prophecy” whereby White western audiences lack interest in African affairs beyond crises, inhibiting market-driven coverage, while the media shapes the audience’s interests. He even doubts the potential for efforts of journalists who produce alternative views of Africa, “Unfortunately, reporters and editors with a broader vision run the risk of having their stories disbelieved and unused. This dynamic explains why the life of Africa’s varied and diverse countries is missing” (Makunike, 1993, p. 12). Thus, *M&V* positions ideology as a factor introducing inevitable bias for both producers and consumers of news hinging on how they understand representation and reality.

### **Media Literacy Involves Asking Questions about Point of View, Contexts, and Omissions in News**

In order to address the inevitable bias in news, *Media&Values* offered inquiry frameworks to help news consumers take into account the various limitations in news representations of reality. For example, in a “Women” column for the 1988 election-themed issue, “First Ladies Convey Today’s Feminine Independence,” Sally Steenland suggests that readers analyze media coverage of the wives of presidential hopefuls, “Ask yourself if a husband could or would say the same words or play the same role. Pay attention to media coverage of these women’s words. Does it provide what they feel and think, or simply regard them as shadows of their husbands?” (p. 18). Pamela Sparr’s “Activity Page” for the “Media and Money” issue includes analysis questions for economic news coverage: the first cluster asks about context of the issues, “1. How complete is the story? Are underlying causes and the human consequences of the economic events or developments discussed? Are connections

between local, national and international events made clear? Is follow-up and background provided?"; the second deals with points of view of the storyteller: "2. Who are the sources? Is the story told from the official point of view only? How would it differ if a person of another gender, color, class or nationality were interviewed? How many alternate viewpoints are presented?"; The third deals with the context of the target audience, "3. Who is the audience? Assumptions about viewers, listeners or readers shape perspective. How would the information presented change if different groups were addressed?" And the last deals with economic contexts of production, "4. Who's selling what? Does the presence of major advertisers in ads or commercials seem to affect what's being reported? How do ads or commercials related to the prospective audience?" (Sparr, 1989, p. 22). In the curriculum resource pullout-page for the "News for the 90s" issue, Jay Davis includes an analysis question about omissions, "3. Question the hidden agenda of suspicious sources .... When a reporter cites 'top U.S. officials,' 'company informants,' or other anonymous sources, whose position is left out? What ulterior motive might a source have?" (1990c, p. 22). Likewise, in a feature article in the same issue, "Balance Bias with Critical Questions," Hynds encourages readers to use critical questions so that "with a little practice, you can learn to recognize the subjective underpinnings of a story" (Hynds, 1990, p. 5). Thus, in *M&V*, critical questions facilitate media literacy as a means for understanding the inevitable bias and limitations in news.

### **Mainstream News Distorts Reality by Failing to Represent Minority Issues and Voices**

While *M&V* strives to help readers understand and account for inevitable sources of news bias, the magazine also sensitizes readers to the failure to represent the realities and interests of historically disadvantaged groups such as the poor, women, and ethnic minorities. *M&V* portrays such failures as *distorting* reality through misrepresentation, under-representation, or omission. As discussed in chapter 4, *M&V* uses content analysis and survey research references within media effects discourses, as well as critiques of ideology and political economy from critical cultural discourses, to identify and explain the absence of minority issues in news. For example, researcher Junior Bridge (1989) compares newspaper content analysis to population statistics to show how news media underrepresent women:

Their relative invisibility occurs despite the fact that females comprise over half of the U.S. population, about half of newspaper readership, 45 percent of the total labor force, 60 percent of new investors in the New York Stock Exchange companies and more than half of all college students. During the month of the

survey, there were days when there were no female bylines, photographs or references to women at all on the front pages. Imagine a front page without a male byline, photo, or reference!

(Bridge, 1989, p. 12)

Media critic Ira Rifkin locates the problem in the market strategy of mainstream news, “The problem is the strategy of mainstream media to get the upscale viewers or readers. The result is only the affluent get covered regularly and the poor, which generally means minorities, disappear from the news except in dramatic moments” (Rifkin, 1988, p. 10). Following her feminist critique of the connotations of sexual violence in Gulf War news coverage conventions using football metaphors and references to veiled “ninja women,” Kara Points (1991) uses both omitted journalistic facts and survey statistics to condemn the mainstream news as promoting sexism, racism and colonialism by distorting reality:

We were told that the presence of US women soldiers would have a liberating influence on Arab women, as if the latter were silent, apolitical, and completely controlled by their culture and religion. Arab women, in fact, were at the forefront of protesting aggression in the Gulf. ... As the image of the silenced, controlled Arab woman proves to be ever less accurate, so does the picture of the liberated female US soldier. ... 64 percent of the women in the US military have been sexually harassed on the job ... women soldiers became a standard human interest story.

(Points, 1991, p. 19)

In addition to scholarly voices, *M&V* also featured media professionals sharing insider views on the omission and misrepresentation of minority issues. In a feature article for *M&V*'s 1988 election issue by Kathy Bonk, consultant for withdrawn presidential hopeful Patricia Schroeder, calls out news reporters (without naming names) for questioning her candidate's electability rather than her stance on issues, and for writing stories with biased, anti-feminist themes picked up by the mainstream media, “news articles didn't include her qualifications. Nor did they emphasize the issues on which she planned to run” (Bonk, 1988, p. 8). Bonk claims that the media coverage of Schroeder and African American candidate Jesse Jackson were “full of sensationalism, along with a healthy dose of garden variety sexism and racism” (p. 9). By connecting failures in the news representation of minority issues to elections, politics and policy, *M&V* contributors position understanding representation and reality, and thereby media literacy, as an important component of democratic citizenship.

## Media Literacy Involves Skeptical and Critical Evaluation of Reality from Multiple Sources for News to Facilitate Informed Civic Participation

As discussed in chapter 5, *Media & Values* frequently recommended alternative news sources and promoted giving feedback for reform of mainstream news outlets as a part of civic participation. Articles with inquiry frameworks, key myths and principles, and activities for analyzing news bias and omissions routinely included such recommendations. For example, the activity page for the “Media and Money” issue offered a list of economic news sources from various political views including news co-ops for minority issues and news covering developing nations (Sparr, 1989, p. 22). In such curriculum materials, *M&V* integrated its history of recommending alternative news media as a habit of inquiry necessary for understanding representation and reality. To compliment critical analysis, *M&V* promoted seeking diverse perspectives in news, particularly in representation of and by disadvantaged groups, as evident in “How to Analyze a News Story: Eight Guidelines for Reading Between the Lines” (Davis, 1990):

Look for journalists and media that stretch to find unusual perspectives. Watch for the foreign correspondent who takes the trouble to interview refugees when another power invades their country ... Look for non-white, non-male perspectives. North American media rely heavily on white, male officials for their news. How does the news change when seen from the perspective of women or other races? For a class or group project, have group members tally the sex and race of sources cited in a television, radio or print report. How many are white and male? How many are females or people of color?

(Davis, 1990, p. 22)

Sparr’s “How to Evaluate the Coverage that Effects Your Life” (1989) follows tips for analysis and recommendations of alternative news sources with a call for civic engagement that summarizes the various calls to action *M&V* had made for the past decade:

What can you do to alter this situation? Plenty. Be an active consumer of news. Help shape your local media coverage by writing letters to editors and news directors, meeting with editors, producers or writers to discuss your concerns and offering story and source suggestions. Radio and TV stations must renew their licenses periodically—a process that allows for public input. Speak up, offer your opinions and work for improvements. Talk to your legislators about better funding for public broadcasting, more audience-oriented regulation of broadcasting and tougher scrutiny of media mergers and acquisitions.

(Sparr, 1989, p. 22)

Thus, *M&V* positions media literacy as understanding representation and reality in relation to news bias in three ways: understanding news bias through knowledge of news limitations and message construction techniques; recognizing news bias through analyzing points of view, contexts, and omissions in news stories and story selection; and addressing biased views of reality by seeking diverse perspectives and participating in media reform. These discursive formations around knowing, analyzing, and addressing bias in news intersect with the magazine's discourses of media literacy as reform, illustrated in the latter example and discussed in chapter 4–5, and of media literacy as pedagogy, especially with regard to the empowerment spiral (awareness-analysis-reflection-action) and *M&V*'s articulations of media literacy for citizenship, which I discuss at length in chapters 9–10 on Media Literacy as Pedagogy.

### CONCLUDING THOUGHTS: IDENTITY POLITICS, AGENCY, AND NEWS ETHICS IN MAKING ML

The ways that contributors to *Media&Values* employed discourses of media effects and critical studies of media to discuss media stereotypes, inculcation of values messages, and news bias positioned media literacy as demystifying media ideology and socialization. *M&V* portrayed the knowledge, skills, and habits of inquiry comprising media awareness and media literacy as raising consciousness about “hidden” agendas and “unconscious” processes of assimilating media representations of limited social identities, dubious values, and inevitably biased journalism shrouded in a myth of objectivity. After finding the prominence of these concepts in the magazine, I asked Elizabeth Thoman in an interview about the impetus for highlighting issues of media representation in *Media&Values*. Without hesitation, her initial answer was clear and concise, “The women’s movement.” She took a long pause, then related an anecdote about a formative experience as a graduate student interviewing Gloria Steinem and Pat Carbine of *Ms.* magazine just before founding *M&V*, which Thoman followed by situating her experience of becoming conscious of identity politics in relation to the civil rights movement and her Southern, white working class upbringing:

So, that’s been in my DNA for a long time, representation. Also, the fact that I came from the South. I missed the Civil Rights Movement by a few years—age—I was pretty young when the Freedom Riders were going on. But it became a pretty defining moment for me in college when I realized I had been lied to my whole life by my culture, Southern culture. So, race and gender were very big for me, class I’ve learned to understand, particularly from social analysis, the

idea of having to deal with class ... it was always kind of just part of my own zeitgeist. And Roz [editor Rosalind Silver] was the same; we shared that. And Jay [Davis, education director] shared that with us. And Barbara [Osborn, contributing editor]. Barbara was the big news person because she was really a journalist and she was very big into alternative radio and alternative news sources.

(E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013)

Thus, Thoman recalls her staff sharing the “zeitgeist” around issues of gender, race, and class that led to their development of knowledge, skills, and inquiry for *understanding representation and reality* as central to media literacy—which she also connects specifically with promoting alternative news sources (something *M&V* contributors did consistently before Barbara Osborn joined the staff in the late 1980s). The focus on race, class, and gender representation in media may have indeed constituted a zeitgeist in the emergence of media education approaches in the late 1970s and 1980s. In the United States, the civil rights movement continued in the 1970s as the Women’s Movement was prominent in politics and popular culture with the liberal political left pushing for welfare initiatives, equal pay for equal work, reproductive rights, hate crimes legislation, and educational multiculturalism, and meeting with stifling resistance from the Reagan and Bush administrations and Christian conservatives of the right who dominated US national politics in the 1980s favoring free market politics to abolish welfare and labor reforms, pro-life policy to abolish abortion, and back-to-basics education reform. American news media covered these issues of race, gender, class, and identity politics amidst continuing Cold War tensions, Reagan’s characterization of the Soviet Union as the “Evil Empire,” the first woman vice presidential candidate of Geraldine Ferraro, African American Civil Rights leader Jesse Jackson’s 1984 and 1988 presidential candidacies, and countless other high profile stories highlighting the representation of race, class, and gender. While the influence of work in British cultural studies and feminist media criticism upon the field of media studies in the 1970s and 1980s, along with the struggle over multiculturalism in education, may have contributed to the positioning of understanding representation and reality as central to media literacy education, the zeitgeist around identity politics to which Thoman refers may have been as or more instrumental.

The interview transcripts in Tessa Jolls (2011) *Voices of Media Literacy* show several media literacy “pioneers” (identified as influential media educators in the field before 1990) discussing “representation” as central to media literacy. Current Philosophy of Education chair at the University of California, Los Angeles, and proponent of critical media literacy, Douglas Kellner tells the story of his beginnings in media education from teaching at



the University of Texas in the early 1970s through his own relationship to the zeitgeist around identity politics and issues of representation:

After teaching there a couple years a group of graduate students and myself had a study group. Basically, we were trying to figure out how the revolution in the 1960s failed, what was the major sort of conservative cultural force that kept U.S. society together, as it were, and what was the major socializer, form of ideology, and political influence, etc. We concluded it was media, and especially television. So I actually started studying media in the 1970s in a study group with graduate students.

(Kellner in Jolls, 2012b, p. 2).

Like Thoman, Kellner's path to media literacy education came through a combination of his relationship to the liberal legacy of the 1960s cultural revolution and graduate studies.<sup>2</sup> Whereas Thoman's path to graduate school came through religious fieldwork in facilitating the use of educational media,<sup>3</sup> Kellner's commitment to issues of representation in media literacy emerged from government-funded fieldwork.

Then around 1977, I started to teach a course called Philosophy of Culture and Communication ... [through] a grant from the federal government on this topic of media education. I was basically hired to go around the state of Texas to do workshops on media education, along with a woman, a Latino guy, and a black guy. We were basically covering the representation of values and ideologies in media and, in general, the politics of representation concerning gender, race, class, sexuality and so on .... So I got into media education in a very practical and in a very political way, before there was an academic field, or I started writing on it, or discovered even British Cultural Studies.

(Kellner in Jolls, 2011b, p. 2).

Kellner's story runs parallel to the inception of *M&V* in 1977 and its development of concepts of representation and reality as central to media literacy. While media educators in the United States, like Kellner and Thoman, spontaneously developed media literacy approaches independently of each other in the late 1970s (Brown, 1991; Tigga 2009), issues of representation became central to formal media education in the 1980s in the UK and Australia. In Jolls' interview with Robyn Quin, the media educator recalls the shift in Australian media literacy:

So the 80s brought a huge change in what we conceived of the subject ... there was a lot of work on stereotypes ... the representation of race, the visual coding in film and in television, cultural representation, sexism, genre narrative, and semiotics started to become terms being used. So the sort of work that was being done was no longer, "Go out and make a documentary of your school." It was,

“Explore the concept of the representation of gender in magazines or in popular film, etc.,” so the content changed quite radically.

(Quin in Jolls, 2011c, p. 6)

Through networking at international conferences in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Thoman learned of how the notions of understanding representation and reality developing in *M&V* had become central to media education curricula elsewhere in the world. In a document on the development of the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* discussed at a 1993 CMV board meeting, Thoman recalls meeting Quin and other international media literacy practitioners for whom issues of representation were a primary focus:

In May, 1990, Jay [Davis, education director], Roz [Rosalind Silver, editor] and I attended the first North American conference on Media Literacy in Guelph, Ontario sponsored by The Canadian Association for Media Literacy. We met many of the leading writers and activists in the field (Masterman from England, Robyn Quin and Barrie McMahon from Australia and all the Canadian folks.) We also experienced workshops by teachers in Canada and talked extensively with Canadian teachers who by then had had a year or two of actually developing courses and teaching media literacy since it was mandated by the Ministry of Education in 1987.

(Thoman, 1993b, p. 2)

At a board meeting following the Guelph conference in 1990, Thoman had shared a marked up handout from Len Masterman’s keynote speech, “Media Awareness Education: Eighteen Key Principles,” which highlighted the second principle:

2. The central unifying concept of Media Education is that of representation. The media mediate. They do not reflect reality but re-present it. The media, that is, are symbolic or sign systems. Without this principle no media education is possible. From it, all else flows.

(Masterman, 1989)

Thoman recommended Masterman’s seminal media education text, *Teaching the Media*, to educators as the “bible of media literacy,” in her closing column of a 1991 issue of *M&V*, “Media Literacy: Strengthening Democracy”:

He challenges teachers to break the media’s spell by empowering students to make their own independent judgments about what they see, hear and read. Without media education, he proposes, a society cannot have the critically informed citizenry necessary for a functioning democracy.

(Thoman, 1991f, p. 24)

Encounters with Masterman and other international media educators in countries that had established formal media education in national curricula validated the development in *M&V* of concepts of understanding representation and reality as central to media literacy for Thoman, as is evident in a letter seeking funding for her trip to the “New Directions in Media Education” conference<sup>4</sup> in Toulouse, France, in 1990 wherein Thoman points to similarities between *M&V*’s consciousness-raising design and Masterman’s pedagogy of demystification of media representation for critical autonomy:

Note also the brief description of our methodology—which will expand the Friere [sic] model of awareness/analysis/reflection/action established by the magazine several years ago and which I now realize echoes the approach of England’s Len Masterman in his prophetic book. *Teaching the Media*.

(Thoman, 1990d, p. 1)

Previewing the Guelph conference in this letter as well, Thoman lauds the Canadian media educators who had integrated Masterman’s ideas in their curricula, “Canada is where the action is in curriculum development and we are expecting to learn a great deal from their head start in this field.” In a 2010 interview, author of the central texts of the first mandated Canadian media education curriculum, Barry Duncan described understanding representation and reality as emerging from identity politics of the 1960s to become the key principle of media literacy from the late 1980s through today:

Let’s look at the over-arching notion—it would be, to quote Len Masterman, the notion of “representation.” That is the central concept of media literacy ... And that notion is being propelled through the decades—through the ‘60s to today—and it is central that how well we talk about representation largely determines the nature of how GOOD our media literacy is.

(Duncan in Jolls, 2011d, p. 3)

Thus, Duncan extends the legacy of the zeitgeist around 1960s identity politics and media representation from emergent media literacy education of the 1980s through contemporary practice.

More recent influential texts from leaders in various strands of current media literacy practice validate Duncan’s claim that representation remains a central concept for media literacy education. Potter’s *Theory of Media Literacy: A cognitive approach* (2004), uses a media effects orientation to emphasize the need for learners to acquire and utilize “knowledge structures” around stereotypes and values messages in media content and political economy of media industry, as well as processes of media influence and socialization, in

order to activate personal control over individual media effects (pp. 75–95). As in *M&V*, Potter declares the importance of strengthening knowledge of personal values through reflection upon non-mediated “Real World” experience (p. 92). While Potter emphasizes individual knowledge and skills, other contemporary media educators focus on the social aspects of learning in understanding representation and reality, proceeding from discourses of progressive pedagogy. In *Media Education: Literacy, learning and contemporary culture* (2003), David Buckingham devotes a chapter to “Becoming Critical” in which he critiques Masterman’s approach to demystifying ideology in media representation as privileging teacher expertise in analyzing stereotypes, gender, race, class, and sexuality in media texts. After describing a legacy of struggling with this problem of applying British cultural studies discourses around understanding media representation to media literacy education in a way that fosters students’ critical autonomy, Buckingham argues for a balance of student-led reflective discussion about their own media production and a shift from text-centered to experiential analysis. With focus on the “Transparency Problem”—“The challenges young people face in learning to see clearly the ways that media shape perceptions of the world” (Jenkins et al., 2006, p. 3)—as one of three central issues addressed in a white paper on “New Media Literacies,” Jenkins et al. (2006) proposed new competencies for digital media participation as “an expansion of, rather than a substitution for, the mass media literacies” through which “students also must acquire a basic understanding of the ways media representations structure our perceptions of the world” (p. 20). This foundational paper for the contemporary digital media and learning strand of media literacy draws on notions of the powerful audience from American cultural studies and pedagogical theories of the new literacies movement (see chapter 2 for discussion) to situate students as active learners negotiating their identities through participation in digital cultures, which teachers can support by facilitating reflection on media use to develop skills and concepts around their interests and social learning experiences. In *Digital and Media Literacy: Connecting Culture and Classroom*, Renee Hobbs (2011c) devotes a chapter to “The Power of Representation” in which she also connects understanding representation and reality to the transparency problem in our experience of online and mobile media information, entertainment and games:

It’s important to recognize how choice is structured, both in real life and in video games. Just as our social roles and the social institutions around us structure the choices we make in the real world, we must consider *how choices are structured* by the storyteller and game-design team when we play videogames.

(Hobbs, 2011c, p. 73)

The historical example of *Media&Values* magazine lends perspective to these contemporary media literacy practices, particularly in relation to how media literacy pedagogy positions agency and power relations for teachers and learners, as I will discuss in detail in the following chapters.

While the expert readings of media ideology and socialization featured in *M&V* model a traditional pedagogy privileging expert knowledge, the magazine's values clarification approaches and curriculum materials toward the end of the publication run both point toward the agency of the learner. The conceptual tools (principles, media myths, etc.) and inquiry frameworks featured in "Reflection/Action" columns (1985–1993) and in curriculum materials (1989–1993), sought to offer to media literacy learners the power to demystify media ideology and socialization processes demonstrated throughout the publication run in feature articles by experts. *M&V* conceptualized skills and knowledge for understanding representation and reality as an essential step toward empowerment, but not as empowerment itself, "The ability to distinguish between reality and media distortions will not eliminate them, but it can help us recognize them when we see them" (Silver, 1991b, p. 3). Thus, in *M&V*, the power of media to reinforce and inculcate particular values and worldviews through stereotypes, values messages and news bias still dominated the culture around individuals, regardless of their personal media literacy development. This view is still central in contemporary critical media literacy approaches, as Kellner describes:

By the way, let me put one important point on my view of media literacy. That is Rhonda Hammer, Jeff Share, others that I'm associated with do what we call "critical media literacy." In other words, it's not enough just to be able to read the media, but you have to be able to critique it in terms of the politics of representation. What are the biases in terms of representation for women, people of color, gays and lesbians, different social group? Muslims, for instance are now a demonized group in the media.

(Kellner in Jolls, 2011b, p. 3)

The *M&V* notions of news bias and the myth of objectivity are also central to news literacy strands of contemporary media literacy with implications for power relations among media makers, users, teachers, and learners.

*Media&Values* constructed media literacy as understanding representation and reality in the face of a mass media system with four major TV networks, one cable news outlet, and a few leading newspapers—whose clear dominance in constructing reality prompted the magazine's constant call to recognize bias as inevitable and to seek alternative media to round out your worldview. The contemporary media landscape for news has changed dramatically with the constant news cycle, social media, and the ability of anyone with a mobile and a twitter following to make news. From the perspective of this historical

contrast, we see current news literacy approaches and their contexts more clearly. The Stoney Brook approach champions J-school notions of journalism ethics in making and evaluating news according to principles of fairness, accuracy, and thoroughness in representation, which quality news outlets may provide in contrast to the chaos of the blogosphere and social media (Center for News Literacy, 2013). The emphasis on inevitable bias is not as prominent as the focus on skills in recognizing high quality, ethical journalism. Conversely, a global approach to citizenship in news literacy tends to value the diversity of voices in digital media (Mihalaidis, 2011). With biases acknowledged, learners see themselves as newsmakers with civic responsibility to create and evaluate trustworthiness of information in new ways in news they produce and consume from a variety of big and small sources. Thus, the global approach to news literacy mobilizes the discourse of inevitable bias in an approach supporting students as contributors shaping new ethics of journalism, whereas *M&V* had connected the discourse of understanding news bias with media reform efforts as a form of collective agency and with the information needs of voters for deliberative democratic participation. The tension between contemporary news literacy approaches is about power, trust, and agency in handling information about reality, which points to a conspicuous absence of information literacy in *M&V*. Although prominent since the 1970s in library sciences, the approaches of information literacy almost completely omitted from *M&V* (one feature article). The absence of pedagogy from information literacy, along with the relative absence of youth media production, had particular implications for how *M&V* conceptualized citizenship and agency through media literacy, as I will discuss in detail in the following chapters.

## NOTES

1. In chapter 9, I discuss these four key principles of media literacy, and their derivation from the work of British educator Len Masterman and the Canadian Association for Media Literacy, in depth.

2. Thoman founded *M&V* in a graduate class at Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Southern California, *Communications and Value Systems* with Dr. Richard Byrne, PhD.

3. As discussed in chapter 3, Thoman developed her first ideas about media educators integrating policy reform, issues of representation and political economy critique during her educational outreach experience with TeleKETICs Films at the Franciscan Communication Center in Los Angeles.

4. The “New Directions in Media Education” conference was an exclusive event that invited 200 leaders in media education from around the world; Thoman was one of four media educators from the United States (Thoman, 1990e).



### *Findings Section 3*

## **MEDIA LITERACY AS PEDAGOGY**

The focus on education for media awareness and literacy in terms of approaches to teaching and learning came to the fore late in the production run of *Media&Values (M&V)* magazine. In the late 1980s, the shift from producing the magazine as an educational resource for community leaders to creating a curriculum resource for educators led to the formulation of specific pedagogy around core principles of media literacy, inquiry frameworks, and a range of teaching methods appearing primarily in the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* that accompanied each magazine issue from 1990 to 1993. In the final years of magazine production, *M&V* curricula favored student-centered media analysis and production simulation activities supported by discourses of progressive pedagogy along with traditional approaches to delivering knowledge about media systems and their cultural implications. In the kits and magazine curricula, *M&V* circumscribed both progressive and traditional pedagogical methods within a critical pedagogy design based on founding editor Elizabeth Thoman's innovative application of social analysis to media experience, formatting the magazine and ML kits to manifest the empowerment spiral of awareness-analysis-reflection-action. The magazine itself modeled this critical pedagogy from its implementation in the magazine design in 1985 through 1993.<sup>1</sup> Along with descriptions of these innovations in media literacy pedagogy, chapter 9 offers analysis of how the emerging discourses on media literacy education in *M&V* position power relations among teachers, learners, media makers, media industry, and technology, which chapter 10 situates in relation to both historical discourses on media education and contemporary debates.



**NOTE**

1. Sporadic articles in the early years of the magazine featured a range of various approaches to media education, which both developed a foundation for the integration of certain approaches in the subsequent formalization of *M&V*'s pedagogy (e.g., apprenticeship models, values clarification, choosing "high quality" media) and demonstrated an awareness among *M&V* editors of several kinds of media education mostly omitted from *M&V*'s later articulations of media literacy pedagogy (e.g., youth media production, information literacy). See my dissertation *Media for Media Literacy* (RobbGrieco, 2014, pp. 351–363), for details tracing the appearance of various approaches to media education from the early years of the magazine.

## Chapter 9

# Designing Practice, Creating Curricula

The history of how approaches to the teaching and learning of media literacy developed in *Media&Values (M&V)* magazine can help us make sense of the diverse practices in our current field of media literacy education. *M&V* magazine and its *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* alternated and synthesized practices from traditional, progressive, and critical discourses of education reform that persist in media education today. *M&V*'s innovation of applying the critical pedagogy process to media experience is a historical milestone for the field of media education that will be of particular interest to contemporary practitioners of critical media literacy. Likewise, the history of applying key concepts of media literacy—borrowed and adapted from British and Canadian educators—to curricular design provides contemporary US educators with an opportunity to examine the roots of contemporary key concepts and frameworks of media literacy education. Seeing how *M&V* contributors created curricula with a range of articulations of agency for teachers and learners offers readers from diverse pedagogical discourses a chance to glimpse historical antecedents to their own work, and to consider examples of practice from the past that may be unfamiliar.

In the production history of *M&V* detailed in chapter 3, I summarized the magazine design based upon the social analysis empowerment spiral, which founding editor Elizabeth Thoman established in 1986 as a template for the remainder of the production run. With prompting from the board of directors of the Media Action Research Center (MARC), who became owners of the magazine in 1983, the magazine sought to become an educational resource on media issues for a diverse range of religious community leaders and their constituents. Thoman drew inspiration from Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy (1970) and liberation theology approaches of South American Catholic religious communities (Gutierrez, 1973; Segundo, 1976),

which she encountered through social justice workshops by Sr. Marjorie Tuite in the late 1970s and early 1980s (E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013). Thoman applied the process of *social analysis*, a spiral from awareness to analysis to reflection to action (and repeating), to media experience by way of the magazine design (Thoman, 1986). In the following sections, I closely examine the pedagogy of this design and of its implementation in relation to the discourses of education employed and the identity positions of teachers and learners outlined in the process. This analysis provides key context for understanding the pedagogy asserted in the design of curricular materials in the magazine and *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* from 1989 to 1993.

My findings describe how the kits connected pedagogy to five basic principles of media literacy, though magazine contributors professed several other key concepts as central to media literacy practice. Both publications transformed the basic principles into inquiry frameworks for teaching and learning. Editors intended these broadly applicable principles and flexible inquiry frameworks to empower teachers and learners to address a wide range of media, accommodate diverse interests, and evaluate or challenge media representations, uses, and systems from different ethical points of view; however, the approaches still imposed disciplines on the thinking, dialogue, and identity positions of teachers, students, and media users. The kits retain the critical process of the magazine design with the four steps of awareness, analysis, reflection and action built-in to the organization of each learning module with front matter in each kit including an essay on the importance of this “Active Learning Model.” The kits and magazine reflect Freire’s critical pedagogy emphases on group learning, reading the world, social justice, and action for change. However, inconsistencies in teaching methods and conceptual goals make it difficult to discern what conceptually constitutes the particular phases of awareness, analysis, reflection, and action. Most learning modules and a significant proportion of pedagogy-focused *M&V* articles promote student-centered approaches to teaching and learning, including respecting diverse pleasures/tastes in media, activating prior knowledge, co-constructing knowledge from dialogue and experience, evaluation based on individual values, reflective practice in production simulation activities, and group deliberation for political action. Alongside these progressive approaches, *M&V* magazine and the ML workshop kits both suggest traditional pedagogies of direct instruction of expert knowledge about media, search-and-find methods for analysis, and training judgment according to particular values or ethics. The kits expect teachers to learn from the direct instruction of expert exegesis in the magazine articles and front matter of kits in preparation for running workshops. The final section of this chapter examines omissions of various media education pedagogies from *M&V* curricula, followed by the concluding chapter of this section where I discuss the

implications of these constructions of media literacy as pedagogy for power relations among teachers, learners, texts, technologies, and institutions.

### **DELIVERING MEDIA AWARENESS BY DESIGN: THE SOCIAL ANALYSIS EMPOWERMENT SPIRAL**

Thoman made the magazine design transparent in her “Blueprint for Response-Ability,” an article reprised six times with details of how the sections in *Media&Values* align with the steps of the social analysis spiral (Thoman, 1986). In the original article, Thoman summarizes the social justice process outlined in Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) and Segundo’s *Liberation Theology* as “An approach to solving social problems has emerged that has four identifiable ‘moments’ in a continually upward spiral: awareness; (social) analysis; (theological) reflection; (pastoral) action” (Thoman, 1986, p. 13). For Thoman, this process applies equally well to media issues, “These four steps, when applied to any social problem, whether homeless persons on the street or children whose nightmares stem from television images, provide a method of interpretation that asks: Why are things the way they are? Do they have to be this way?” (p. 13). The article explicitly describes how the magazine design and editorial choices intend to enact this process:

Notice, for example, how the magazine is put together:

1. Each issue of *Media&Values* focuses on a specific media concern facing our society.
2. The first article raises our awareness of the issue and what some of the major questions are.
3. Further articles develop political, economic, social, cultural or historical background to help readers (alone or in study groups) analyze the issue. Even the illustrations, quotes and sidebars add to one’s understanding of the topic.
4. A list of resources provides further help for analysis of the subject.
5. Next, *Media&Values* columnists provide thoughtful reflection and suggestions for positive action for pastors, youth leaders, family counselors, teachers, social justice leaders, and those concerned for women, minorities, and international matters. Columnists represent a wide variety of professional backgrounds and each is supported by an advisory board of denominational, academic, and professional leaders in their area.
6. Finally, the back page focuses on one person who has “gotten involved” in the issue and whose actions can provide a model for others.

(Thoman, 1986, p. 13)

Unlike in critical pedagogy approaches where the group of learners problematizes their experiences of the world through dialogue (Freire, 1970), here, the magazine “raises our awareness of the issue and ... the major questions.” This difference is crucial, and likely an artifact of the magazine medium and genre, where issues are introduced didactically. Other approaches that might model problematizing dialogue or describe the process of achieving awareness do not appear, and would have represented a profound departure from the typical special interest magazine style. However, by skipping this step in critical pedagogy, the agency to problematize media experience shifts from the reader to the magazine contributors. Contemporary media educators, who choose media-related problems for students to address, replicate this skipped step in critical pedagogy of affording learners the agency to problematize media themselves.

The original three-page article describing the magazine design also devotes most of its opening section to listing various social problems stemming from media —“mean world syndrome ... technology creating a social environment that is radically different ... pervading every aspect of our lives ... sexual violence in the media ... bias in the news” (Thoman, 1986, p. 12)—followed by a warning against focusing solely on negative impacts (with brief counterexamples of public health information distribution and social connections through new media) and against over-simplifying media issues. The former warning against negativity is consistent with the magazine’s claims that it is not “media bashing” (e.g., Thoman, 1991c) and that it features articles on positive benefits of media, despite the fact a vast majority of feature articles and columns deal with negative impacts of media effects and ideology. The article’s emphasis on the complexity of media issues positions the magazine’s importance in offering the reader ways of addressing media as “a system—with economic, political, cultural and social ramifications,” in order to avoid becoming “paralyzed ... victims rather than agents of change” (Thoman, 1986, p. 12). Thus, the magazine takes up a traditional pedagogy in problematizing media experience and in emphasizing the complexity of media issues (across a range of feature articles) as a means for enabling the reflection and action necessary to affect social change. The goal is the reader’s agency to affect media-related social issues, but the means in the front end of the design (and critical pedagogy process) are traditionally didactic. However, it is important to note that the article, and its reprints, seek to make the magazine’s pedagogical approach transparent to the reader, which presents teachers with the possibility of using the approach as a model for media education. This possibility later became a direct suggestion in the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* (discussed in the following chapter). In the middle years of the magazine, the design sought to expose readers to all four phases

of the process, to support the reader's media literacy experience rather than focusing on practices of media educators.

The original "Blueprint" article briefly mentions how media awareness education should be practiced and by whom. Thoman emphasizes group learning experience, "While it is important to think through a situation ourselves, it is valuable to do formal social analysis (using the steps and questions in the box on this page) in a group setting" (Thoman, 1986, p. 13). Learning in groups is integral to Freire's critical pedagogy (1970) as well as in progressive approaches following Vygotsky's theories of social learning where new skills and knowledge develop informally as well as from formal instruction (Vygotsky, 1978). The box of steps and questions to which Thoman refers were derived from Tuite's workshops on Liberation Theology (E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013), and do not include any mention of media (see Figure 9.1). In the awareness and analysis phases, most of the questions demand an evaluation of

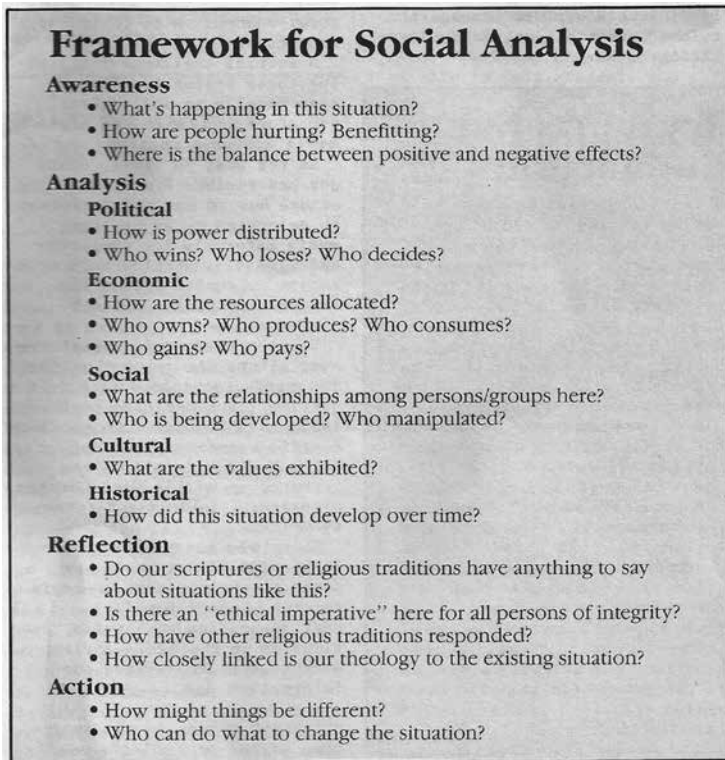


Figure 9.1 Framework for Social Analysis (Thoman, 1986).

power dynamics in a situation, “Who wins? Who loses? Who decides? ... Who owns? Who produces? Who consumes? Who gains? ... Who is being developed? Who manipulated?” (Thoman, 1986, p. 13). The use of the personal pronoun in these questions designates power as something held or enacted by people rather than as an aspect of a complex system. The reflection questions all prompt learners to relate the situation to religious authority, theology, traditions, and ethics while the action phase features only two questions—one calling on social imagination about how things might be different, and another “who” question about power asking who has the ability to make change. The questions signify an emphasis in the *M&V* approach to media literacy development on inquiry-based pedagogy, a hallmark of progressive approaches. The focus of most questions on power dynamics among social actors remains consistent with critical pedagogy while the questions of moral authority spanning religion, group tradition, and personal ethics invite both traditional and progressive approaches to values education. The article also specifies whom the editors wanted to use the magazine, “For those who are aware of the impact of media on families, young people, children, the elderly, and so on, *Media&Values* serves as a tool for doing social analysis of media issues—by pastors and parents, teachers, youth leaders, counselors, and others” (Thoman, 1986, p. 13). Thus, the magazine enacts its pedagogy via its design to afford readers in these target audiences their own media literacy development while calling attention to the magazine’s usefulness as a tool for the same readers to use in their own teaching.

The reprised version of the “Blueprint” article (entitled “How to Build Media Awareness”) appearing in 1987–1988 removed references to religious authority as the magazine began to target more secular educators. The reprinted version retains the dual purpose of the magazine design in its opening lines, “*Media&Values* is more than a magazine. It’s a tool, a catalyst, for leading you—or helping you lead others—from awareness to action on the many issues raised by today’s mass media and new technology” (Staff, 1988c, p. 17). The second paragraph emphasizes the reader’s media literacy development and includes the list of target audiences. The third and fourth paragraphs reiterate the social problems related to media and the need to address media as a complex system. The condensed version retains a reference to Freire (but not Segundo, perhaps distancing from Catholic religious connotations) and the four-step process, which leads to the reprinted bullets (quoted above) on how the magazine design follows the process of awareness/analysis/reflection/action. The box of questions does not appear, but the emphasis on inquiry remains, “What is most important is learning to question, to be suspicious, to challenge what we see and hear and to test it against our experience” (Staff, 1988c, p. 17). This emphasis on inquiry-based pedagogy

recurred beyond the six reprints of this article as most subsequent issues through the end of the production run included, at the top of each Reflection/Action section, the quote “It is more important to ask the right questions than to have all the answers,” alongside the graphic representation of the four-step empowerment spiral from awareness to action. The appearance of these articles signifies the magazine’s dedication to transparency in its design and pedagogical intentions to both support the reader’s media literacy development and offer a model of teaching and learning about media for educators. These intentions comprised a synthesis of critical pedagogy for social change and inquiry-based progressive pedagogy for both individuals and groups. However, most feature articles in the middle years did not implement either of these pedagogical intentions.

### **Expert Knowledge of Media Socialization, Ideology, and Political Economy Privileged in Feature Articles**

Although Thoman intended the magazine design to model the process of liberation theology and critical pedagogy, the bulk of the *Media&Values* content delivered expert knowledge on media issues constituting a traditional pedagogical approach of transmission in its feature articles. The awareness phase of the design involved Thoman’s editorial introduction column and the opening feature articles, which most often framed particular aspects of media experience as problematic. Thoman’s folksy tone in her introductory columns creates an impression that the focal problems of the issue arise from the observations of everyday people—parents, youth educators, and so on—rather than from media experts. For example, Thoman’s “Starting Point” from the double issue 40/41 begins with an inclusive claim about her and her peers’ experiences of television, which is a problem to be resolved by the magazine’s “expert” contributors:

Even those of us who remember times before TV have forgotten how much [it has] molded and changed our world ... For this special 10th Anniversary Issue, an expert group of writers explores how what we watch determines who we are through TV’s role as a major source of rituals, human connections and aspirations.

(Thoman, 1987e, p. 2)

The original “Blueprint” article also featured this tactic in its opening, “A friend of mine who is an elementary teacher recently commented, ‘I don’t know much about media, but I know it’s a problem.’ We can all echo her insight at one time or another” (Thoman, 1986, p. 12). Thoman portrays the teacher as affected, but unknowledgeable, the voice of uninformed common sense, which the



expert feature articles in *M&V* may enlighten. While the introductory columns often modeled deriving awareness of problems from lived experience of the world as Freire suggests, the columns and features rarely encouraged readers to engage in the problematizing phase of the process themselves. Furthermore, the feature articles, designed to comprise the analysis phase of the empowerment spiral, present research on media influence and interpretations of media culture as expert knowledge while seldom demonstrating how to analyze or construct knowledge from media experience (for numerous examples and discussion, see chapter 5). A few rare exceptions, such as a group activity for doing content analysis of ethnic representation in newspapers in “How to Monitor the News” (Staff, 1987g), appear as quarter-page companion boxes to feature articles suggesting frameworks for analysis and discussion. With the magazine’s shift to presenting its content as curricula, these feature companions became more frequent in the latter years of the run, appearing regularly as “Re:Action” boxes that featured guidelines for media inquiry or suggestions for activism. However, in the middle years, demonstrations of media analysis appeared rarely, and though the expert knowledge came from a variety of sources (including critics, researchers, educators, activists, and media professionals) addressing a common theme, the views did not contradict each other nor present counter arguments. The articles mobilize and constitute particular discourses about media socialization, ideology and political economy, as reviewed in the prior chapters, with little modeling or instruction of problematizing, analysis, dialogue, debate, or teaching strategies. In effect, the feature articles present a traditional pedagogy of knowledge (and values) transmission rather than the critical and progressive approaches intended in the editor’s statements about the *M&V* design. Half of the staff columns in the “Reflection/Action” section furthered this traditional pedagogy of informing and persuading readers, typical of the magazine genre, as contributors in “Women,” “Minorities,” “International” and “Social Justice” columns offered commentary on the issue theme from their given identity perspectives and often suggested activism in response to media issues related to race, gender, and colonialism. However, the staff writers of “Pastoring,” “Young Child,” “Family” and “Youth” columns often presented questions, discussion frameworks, and suggestions for learning activities to engage readers and facilitate their sharing media literacy development as parents, teachers, and community leaders.

### **Inquiry and Learner-Centered Tips for Parenting and Teaching by Columnists**

While *M&V* privileged experts to raise awareness and deliver analytic conclusions about media issues, several columnists regularly offered suggestions and conceptual tools to support the agency of teachers, parents and learners in applying, analyzing, and discussing various media-related issues with their

children and teens. For example, youth minister Bill Wolfe's "Youth" column regularly emphasized the importance of engaging young people in discussion about the media they find important:

There are few places where youth can learn the skills for relating faith and values to media, especially rock. Schools and families have tended to ignore its messages; print media tends to exploit rock and accept it at face value; religious groups get a lot of attention riding the fear issue. I nominate youth groups as a natural arena to examine rock messages and critique values, not for group consensus but for individual skill development.

(Wolfe, 1986, p. 15)

Wolfe lists the dominant institutions of schools, families and religion as moral authorities that try to dictate the meaning of popular media for youth rather than engaging young people in discussion and inquiry about their understandings of media messages and uses in comparison to their own ethical sense. The progressive notion that the values clarification process should work for "individual skill development" rather than "group consensus" is an important distinction that privileges the individual's agency to negotiate meanings from media texts in light of personally held beliefs and values.

While Wolfe's columns addressed youth educators about developing media awareness with teens, the "Pastoring" column often promoted the practice among ministers of using popular culture media preferred by their adult congregations to discuss social issues, for example:

As a parish priest for years, what I have found most functionally useful for preaching or counseling is what's popular. Things get popular—at the movies, or on television or in records—because they touch deep inside .... In the current glut of sexually promiscuous violence in the media and in real life ... to explore with our parishioners why we want to hear about and see promiscuous or sexually violent material—at this point in time and place—is to get in touch with the battleground of the spirit in our current culture.

(Freeman, 1985, p. 18).

The notion that ministers and counselors should "explore with" parishioners rather than *preach to* them reinforces the learner-centered inquiry pedagogy common in these recurring columns. Both examples show the tendency among *M&V* columnists to promote respect for individual tastes and pleasures in popular culture media among adults and teens—a significantly different approach from the aesthetic appreciation and taste-making models of early British cultural studies treatments of popular media by Harold Leavis and Raymond Williams who promoted the development of discriminating tastes in popular media (Storey, 2006).

For younger children, *M&V* columnists supported the parents' prerogative to dictate their family's values and tastes upon their kids. For example, Purdue University professor of child development Judith Myers-Walls often pointed out developmental limitations and needs of children while recommending that parents express their family values in response to popular media during co-viewing:

If not discussed otherwise, children will naturally assume that parents endorse the values of competition and the emphasis on winning inherent in major league sports ... Parents can control the negative effects of media sports on children by examining their own values and behavior. Ask yourself what you believe about competition. What are your feelings about violence? How do you treat your children when your healthily involved in viewing sports? Evaluate your own attitudes towards televised sports and discuss them with your family.

(Myers-Walls, 1986, p. 18)

Here, Myers-Walls uses expert knowledge of how young children psychologically process media to persuade parents (or community leaders charged with educating parents) to address values displacement by media by asserting their own evaluations of media messages in relation to their beliefs and experience. The approach supports the agency of the parent whom the columnist engages through progressive values clarification, but maintains a traditional pedagogy of direct instruction with regard to young children. While the most common parental strategy recommended in *M&V* was monitoring media use and choosing high quality media for children, Myers-Walls also recommends that parents preview, co-view, and discuss media representations, usually with encouragement for parents to intervene in their children's media experience to communicate their evaluations and interpretations. In the "Minorities in Media" *M&V* issue (38), Myers-Walls wrote:

Children need adult guidance and supervision in forming balanced portraits ... Children may need help in interpreting some classic children's programs. They need to know that occasional black-face characters in cartoons or cowboys shooting Indians without a second thought don't represent reality. Even a famous Disney movie like *Song of the South* distorts the treatment of blacks on plantations, and shows the white plantation owners treating the Uncle Remus character like an irresponsible child .... The best antidote to these dangers is adult participation. If parents and other concerned adults can screen the media that children experience and watch, and listen or read it with them, they can help to counteract stereotypes and provide needed background. Then they can: Comment on negative images of any societal group; Tell the child if they feel the image is unfair; Point out that everyone can be smart, stupid, silly, serious, helpful or in need of help at different times. Everyone is capable of good deeds and everyone makes mistakes; Use opportunities created by media to educate children about slavery, immigration and civil rights; Provide children with

positive multiethnic experiences. Firsthand experience is more powerful than any media stereotype.

(Myers-Walls, 1987, p. 21)

In this passage, Myers-Walls articulates the limits of the progressive pedagogical principle of respecting individual ethics and interpretations in *M&V* as she recommends specific readings of media representations from a liberal pluralist viewpoint. As discussed in prior chapters, the magazine promoted certain values—multiculturalism, gender equality, anti-materialism, anti-violence—that columnists often assumed as universal among readers. However, as the example above illustrates, these columns also often assumed that readers, teachers, and parents could recognize problematic media representations and effectively communicate their interpretations to young people; the columnists, and the magazine overall, especially in the middle years failed to offer much guidance in how to analyze and discuss media for teachers and parents as well as children.

Before the magazine switched its focus to offering itself as curricula in the latter years, support for readers' development of media analysis skills was limited to occasional lists of questions suggested by columnists and by staff in a few mini-articles accompanying features. A few exceptions show that staff writers were aware of the difference between suggesting that readers engage in analysis (and discussion with groups of learners) and supporting that analysis with inquiry frameworks and activity suggestions for educative practice. In the 1988 issue (43) on "Ethnic Diversity in Media," Myers-Walls suggests content analysis activities to help preschoolers from ethnically "homogenous environments" learn to recognize and appreciate diversity, and lack thereof, on television:

Children will not automatically develop positive attitudes from TV images or other media exposure. They need guidance to reach the point of understanding and appreciating diversity. Teaching children to survey the media can help them gain the most benefit from the potential provided by television, videotapes or movies, and magazines .... A preschooler can learn to survey the media by answering questions like, 'How are the people in this program (or article or advertisement) different from each other? How are they the same?' Children can look for color differences, speech patterns and variations in dress at the same time that they look for emotions, needs and situations that are common across those differences. Elementary-age children are capable of more detailed analysis of the presentation of diversity.

(Myers-Walls, 1988, p. 19).

Thus, Myers-Walls suggests that selective media exposure is not enough to ensure preferred learning outcomes, but analysis activities and questions

about representations create opportunities to shape attitudes through dialogue. The suggested activities still reserve the agency of the parent to govern interpretations with “guidance” through the process and reinforcement of preferred attitudes beyond media engagement, “A varied and empathetic media mix is no substitute for positive home attitudes about racial or ethnic groups” (Myers-Walls, 1988, p. 19). However, this column shows how *M&V* began to employ progressive pedagogies to include learners as co-creators of knowledge through inquiry and analysis frameworks, which became central to the *M&V* approach in curricula of its final years. Bill Wolfe’s “Youth” column also occasionally featured specific suggestions of teaching methods for use with teen groups, as demonstrated in his outline of how to moderate discussion of messages in music:

The same words and melody will often bring about opposite reactions in two persons. The way a youth can learn to make choices of rock will have a definite relationship to other areas ... At regular intervals, have every member of your youth group bring one record with meaning to him or her. Leaders should bring a record, too—current or past! During the sharing, there’s only one rule: no one can make a derogatory comment about anyone’s song or its meaning to the person. Relatively free from ridicule and hysteria on the one hand and defensiveness on the other, the atmosphere can allow honest exploration, even Bible study related to the lyrics. And when meaningful messages are discovered, they can be used in various ways in the life of the group to signify current positive appraisal—in wall posters, singing, program themes, newsletter mention, and definitely in worship, either sung or in a litany or prayer.

(Wolfe, 1986, p. 15)

Wolfe founds his suggested methods on the principle of polysemy in media texts and develops guidelines to ensure mutual respect of diverse interpretations and pleasures in group discussion. While encouraging creative media production follow-up activities to accentuate “positive” messages and lyrical connections to “Bible study” as a way to connect community action and values to media study, the column positions learners as co-creators of knowledge with unique, valuable understandings of media messages, which should be honored without “ridicule.” While these columns addressing pedagogy about media reflected *M&V* issue themes with focuses on representation/reality, media effects/influence, and values clarification, there was little consistency in suggested approaches beyond these themes and trends of using inquiry frameworks and balancing learner-centered activities to develop individual analysis skills with the goals of inculcating particular preferred values (and intervening to interrupt media inculcation of negative values) by parents, pastors, and teachers.

## PEDAGOGY IN TRANSITION: RE-PURPOSING M&V MAGAZINE AS CURRICULA

From its inception, *Media&Values* sought to educate its readers to develop their media awareness, later termed media literacy. The early years saw media production included through apprenticeship pedagogy in recurring magazine sections, which mostly disappeared in the middle and later years. However, the focus of feature articles on problematizing media and imparting expert knowledge of media socialization, ideology and systems in relation to social issues remained consistent throughout the magazine run. The articulation of the critical process of the awareness-analysis-reflection-action in the magazine design asserted a pedagogical transparency to the development of readers' media literacy. Still, feature articles continued to problematize media issues for the readers, and to impart expert readings of media and society rather than demonstrate the process of problematizing media experience or media analysis. This also remained constant through the entire run of the magazine with rare exceptions. The reflection and action phases of the critical pedagogy process articulated in the magazine design manifested in the "Reflection/Action" columns of the middle years along with the occasional appearance of short feature-companion pieces with ideas for engaging in media analysis activities or social justice action. While only a handful of feature articles in the early and middle years discussed the pedagogy of media literacy directly, these feature-companion pieces and columns introduced ideas for teaching and learning about media, which involved a range of traditional and progressive approaches. The later years of *M&V* saw these short pieces proliferate as *M&V* magazine shifted to become a curricular resource included in each *Media Literacy Workshop Kit*.

Thus, the magazine in its early and middle years sought to create a media literacy experience for the reader, which took on a consistent critical pedagogy process in the middle years. However, the approach privileged the *M&V* contributors and their articulations of discourses on media reform and issues of representation/reality (discussed in the previous chapters) over the agency of the readers to problematize and analyze media for themselves. Some learner-centered, progressive approaches to media literacy development emerged in the columns and feature-companion pieces, which offered tools and models for readers to apply the knowledge of media issues gleaned from feature articles into practice in various contexts—while also suggesting teaching methods for educators and parents. As demonstrated below, in the later years, the pedagogical philosophy of the Center for Media and Values professed dedication to progressive methods within a critical process, but the curricula produced in *M&V* magazine and the *Media Literacy Workshop* kits often employed traditional pedagogy as well.

*M&V* in its later years positioned media literacy as pedagogy through curricula and articles about teaching and learning practices in both the magazine and *Media Literacy Workshop Kits*. When the magazine became an independent publication of the non-profit Center for Media and Values (CMV) in 1989, the magazine purpose and target audience shifted to providing curricula resources for educators.<sup>1</sup> In the final years, *M&V* added “Re:Action” boxes suggesting activities to teach concepts from feature articles and columns as well as a two-page “Reflection/Action Resource” for use as a teaching guide or workshop handout. Beginning in 1990, editors and the newly hired *M&V* educational director designed each magazine issue to be part of a *Media Literacy Workshop Kit*, which included a “Leader’s Guide and Handout Masters” booklet with several learning modules of workshop lesson plans along with a brief general overview booklet on teaching media literacy and a copy of the *M&V* issue (see chapter 3, Tables 3.5 and 3.6, for list of workshop kit titles and magazine themes). Although fewer kits were produced than magazines (approximately 1:5, with the magazine print run averaging 10,000), the kits likely reached a larger audience as CMV encouraged schools and community organizations to share curricula among educators, tailored curricula to address “timeless” concepts (as in the magazine, see chapter 4) facilitating repeated use, and designed learning modules for groups of fifteen to thirty-five. With the exception of the *Beyond Blame* kit on media violence published in 1995 after the end of *M&V* by CMV’s reincarnation as the Center for Media Literacy (CML), each of the kits was reprinted and distributed again by CML in the mid to late 1990s. Given this extended influence and parallel publication of the magazine and kits, my analysis below focuses on articulations of media literacy pedagogy and their supporting discourses appearing across both *Media&Values* magazine and the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* from 1989 to 1993.

## **MEDIA LITERACY PEDAGOGY CENTERS ON BASIC PRINCIPLES AND INQUIRY FRAMEWORKS**

Each *Media Literacy Workshop Kit* included a section introducing the five basic principles of media literacy in the front matter of a “Leader’s Guide,” and/or in an accompanying eight-page booklet *From Awareness to Action: Media Literacy for the 90’s* (Davis, 1991). Founding editor Elizabeth Thoman and educational director Jay Davis adapted these principles from a list of eighteen principles presented by British media educator Len Masterman at the first North American Conference on Media Literacy in Ontario, Canada in 1990 (see Figure 9.2; Masterman, 1989; Thoman, 1993b). For their explanations, they also borrowed from a list of eight principles, also derived

# Media Awareness Education: Eighteen Basic Principles

By Len Masterman, University of Nottingham, 1989

1. Media Education is a serious and significant endeavor. At stake in it is the empowerment of majorities, and the strengthening of society's democratic structures.
2. The central unifying concept of Media Education is that of representation. The media mediate. They do not reflect reality but represent it. The media, that is, are symbolic or sign systems. Without this principle no media education is possible. From it, all else flows.
3. Media Education is a lifelong process. High student motivation, therefore, must become a primary objective.
4. Media Education aims to foster not simply critical intelligence, but critical autonomy.
5. Media Education is investigative. It does not seek to impose specific cultural values.
6. Media Education is topical and opportunistic. It seeks to illuminate the life-situations of the learners. In doing so it may place the "here-and-now" in the context of wider historic and ideological issues.
7. Media Education's key concepts are analytical tools rather than an alternative content.
8. Content, in Media Education, is a means to an end. That end is the development of transferable analytical tools rather than an alternative content.
9. The effectiveness of Media Education can be evaluated by just two criteria:
  - (i) the ability of students to apply their critical thinking to new situations, and
  - (ii) the amount of commitment and motivation displayed by students

*how far we will go to defend it.*  
*1989-1990*  
*2000-2001*  
*Pro-Design!*  
*Reflection!*  
*action*

10. Ideally, evaluation in Media Education means student self-evaluation, both formative and summative.
11. Media Education attempts to change the relationship between teacher and taught by offering both objects for reflection and dialogue.
12. Media Education carries out its investigations via dialogue rather than discussion.
13. Media Education is essentially active and participatory, fostering the development of more open and democratic pedagogies. It encourages students to take more responsibility for and control over their own learning, to engage in joint planning of the syllabus, and to take longer-term perspectives on their own learning. In short Media Education is as much about new ways of working as it is about the introduction of a new subject area.
14. Media Education involves collaborative learning. It is group focussed. It assumes that individual learning is enhanced not through competition but through access to the insights and resources of the whole group.
15. Media Education consists of both practical criticism and critical practice. It affirms the primacy of cultural criticism over cultural reproduction.
16. Media Education is a holistic process. Ideally it means forging relationships with parents, media professionals and teacher-colleagues.
17. Media Education is committed to the principles of continuous change. It must develop in tandem with a continuously changing reality.
18. Underpinning Media Education is a distinctive epistemology. Existing knowledge is not simply transmitted by teachers or "discovered" by students. It is not an end but a beginning. It is the subject of critical investigation and dialogue out of which new knowledge is actively created by students and teachers.

Len Masterman is the pioneering author of *Teaching the Media*, Comedia Books, 1985.

Figure 9.2 Basic Principles of Media Education (Masterman, 1989). Handout presented at the North American Conference on Media Literacy in Ontario, Canada, 1990. Handwritten notes by Media&Values founder Elizabeth Thoman.



1. **Audiences negotiate meaning.** Audiences are not simply “sitting ducks” soaking in everything that they see, read and hear. Personal experiences and conscious choices play roles in determining the effect of any media experience on a person.
2. **Media construct reality.** Television, for example, is not a window on the real world. It is a *construction* created by photographers, writers, and editors to communicate specific messages and images.
3. **Media present ideologies and value messages.** All media are created with specific ideologies and value messages. The furniture and furnishings of the Huxtable household in *The Cosby Show*, for example, idealize a version of upper middle-class lifestyle.
4. **Media use identifiable techniques.** Advertisers, for example, know how to stimulate desired reactions in audiences. Common techniques include “canting”—tilting a woman’s head to make her look seductive, or having men grasp objects tightly, making them appear more virile.
5. **Media are businesses with commercial interests.** Their primary purpose is not to entertain or inform, but to make money. This means that the media must create an environment compatible to advertising messages. Even editorial content and news must work to insure not just the largest audience, but the largest audience with “disposable” income.

Figure 9.3 “Basic Principles of Media Literacy” (Davis, 1991, p. 3).

from Masterman’s work, by the Ontario-based Association for Media Literacy (E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013; Thoman, 1992d) In addition to the exposition in the front matter of each “Leader’s Guide” (see Figure 9.3), the basic principles often appear quoted, paraphrased or adapted in the “Objectives” sections of learning modules in the workshop kits. However, *M&V* magazine did not reinforce this consistent set of basic principles in this explicit, focused manner. In the magazine, the principles first appeared formally in a Reflection Resource for issue 57 (Davis, 1992c), in the same form reproduced for the *Living in the Image Culture* kit (Davis, 1992e), and reiterated with slight variations in all other kits. Several other pedagogy-focused magazine articles propose different principles for media literacy, each of which could be nested as subtopics under the five basic principles consistently reiterated in the workshop kits.

ML pedagogy connects to five basic principles of media literacy: 1) *audiences negotiate meanings*; 2) *media construct reality*; 3) *media present ideologies and values messages*; 4) *media use identifiable techniques*; and 5) *media are businesses with commercial interests*. Although not cited in the media literacy workshop kits or the magazine, each principle proceeds from a theoretical basis in media studies. The first principle borrows from Stuart Hall’s *Encoding/Decoding* (1980) the concept of how people produce preferred, negotiated, and oppositional meanings from media texts. A critical cultural studies foundation is also clear in the third principle focused on the role of media in reinforcing ideology and values messages. The second and fourth principles, on constructed reality and techniques, articulate fundamental

concepts of semiotics (Barthes, 1968), focusing on the textual elements and production choices that become naturalized or taken for granted as reflecting reality, universal sentiment, or normality. The last principle uses a lens from critical studies of political economy of media to focus on the commercial interests of media producers and providers (e.g., Schiller, 1969). In addition to the clear conceptual connections to these media studies discourses, a paper by *M&V* educational director Jay Davis (1992d) presented at the US National Leadership Conference in Media Literacy Education confirms awareness among the CMV staff of these theoretical foundations. However, the media studies theoretical orientation of each principle did not determine the pedagogical discourses and constructions of teacher and learner identities articulated in the curricula of *M&V* magazine and the workshop kits.

Despite the power relations and focus suggested by each media theory (privileging the power of media over people or vice versa, focusing on media texts or economic structures or users, and so on; see chapter 2 for review), methods varied for teaching and learning media literacy principles with basis in each theory, creating a complex layering of power/knowledge and identity positions constructed in the CMV curricula, as discussed in the sections below. For example, a lesson in the *News for the 90s* workshop kit (Davis, 1990c) about political economy of media on the allocation of time and money for developing particular news stories suggests teaching through direct instruction in one lesson, privileging expert knowledge of media structures, and facilitating learning through a role-playing activity in another lesson, foregrounding the learner's experience. The goals of both lessons relate to the basic principles of how news constructs reality and media involve business interests, each founded in critical theory of political economy of media positioning corporate media producers and markets as shaping people's worldviews. The former lesson using direct instruction methods reflects the top-down power relations of the media theory, but the latter pedagogy of a role-playing simulation positions the learner as decision-maker, which subsequent lessons further complicate using critical approaches calling on the learner to imagine how the media system might be different and how to change it in real life. Thus, it is important to note the interaction of media studies and pedagogy discourses as positioning relations among teachers, learners, texts, technology, knowledge, and media systems throughout the following analysis of CMV's media literacy curricula.

### **ML Pedagogy Transforms Its Basic Principles into Inquiry Frameworks**

*Media&Values* magazine and the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* consistently articulated key principles of media literacy in the form of open-ended questions. Most learning modules present discussion and analysis questions for addressing media texts, and 30 percent of the pedagogy-related articles

(twenty-eight in total) in *M&V* over the last five years include sets of questions for practicing media literacy. Many of the questions in the workshop kits relate directly to the basic principles of media literacy. For example, in the *Living in the Image Culture* kit, learning module B9 suggests asking students to look at images of historical beauty ideals alongside current beauty magazine models and to consider, “What would people in other cultures and historical periods think of today’s models? ... Where do you get your standards of beauty—from images like this or from somewhere else?” (Davis, 1992e, p. 26). These questions create student-centered frameworks for critical thinking about the principles *media construct reality* and *media present ideologies and values messages*, but leave the learners to co-construct knowledge about ideological representation through group analysis and discussion rather than prescribing readings of media text and culture. The module also asks about techniques, “How did the image achieve its impact?” and includes a handout of common magazine photo techniques (p. 26). Although inquiry-based learning is a hallmark of student-centered progressive educational approaches, the latter question is an example of a text-centered inquiry, where students match prescribed knowledge of production techniques with evidence in the media text. Other inquiry frameworks transform the basic media literacy principles into exercises in applying particular established knowledge to a media text, as in most questions listed in the “Activity Page” of issue 47, “Money and the Media,” transforming the principle, *media are businesses with commercial interests*, into a knowledge/text-based exercise framed by the following questions:

What kind of business/economic stories make the front page? What kind of stories are reported in the business section? ... How much of national/international stories are written by local reporters? By wire services? ... What advertisers advertise in the business section? Throughout the newspaper? Do you think the presence of these ads influence the amount or kind of stories on the same page or in other sections? ... measure the number of column inches for advertising and for news stories ... measure the time allotted to business or economic reports during local or national news. What portion of the overall newscast does this represent?

(Sparr, 1989, p. 22)

Although the questions engage the learner in analysis, categories for organizing thought are mostly predetermined, and many of the answers are simply measures of the text (with the exception of the question about your opinion on whether ads influence the story selection and length, which is a leading question with an obvious preferred response given in the preceding short reading on political economy of news—yes). Such approaches fall to the traditional side of the progressive pedagogy continuum, with text-based and pre-established knowledge-based activities on one end, and student-centered, co-constructed knowledge at the “more” progressive other end. Likewise, several

sets of questions appear in the context of lessons that impose certain ethical perspectives or values systems as delimiting inquiry and possible responses. For example, in the workshop kit *Break the Lies that Bind: Sexism in the Media* (Davis, 1990b), a newspaper content analysis activity prompting participants to count references to men and women in news articles asks, “What do you suppose accounts for the differences? Institutional sexism?” (Davis, 1990b, p. 22). The learning module imposes a lens of sexism, imparted by direct instruction via a reading on institutional sexism, through which to appraise differences in gender representation. Thus, the posing of questions within constructivist or progressive approaches to experiential learning with co-construction of knowledge among participants may be circumscribed within particular ideological perspectives (here, a feminist or liberal pluralist viewpoint), suggesting the traditional pedagogical goal of values inculcation.

The range of these examples, as with the basic principles, shows that inquiry frameworks as a curricular feature do not predict pedagogical discourse nor the degree of agency afforded the teacher and learner. The design of the inquiry frameworks and basic principles of media literacy allows for adaptation to a wide range of teaching and learning methods as well as application to a variety of media texts and experiences. However, trends in particular methodologies and curricula organization featured in *M&V* magazine and the accompanying workshop kits constructed media literacy pedagogy with implications for the identities of teachers and learners and their relationships to media.

## MEDIA LITERACY PEDAGOGY AS CRITICAL PROCESS

Just as editors organized *Media&Values* magazine by the social analysis process of critical pedagogy with sections designed to promote and model awareness, analysis, reflection, and action in relation to media experience, the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* featured learning modules organized by sections with the same labels, constituting what the kits referred to as their “Active Learning Model” (Osborn, 1993c, p. 5).<sup>2</sup> However, the sorts of content associated with each step in the process were less consistent in the kits than the magazine. The kits were more consistent in articulating other aspects of critical pedagogy including an emphasis on group dialogue for addressing problems, the practice of reading the world, and a focus on enacting change for social justice.

### **ML Pedagogy Follows an “Active Learning Model,” A Process of Awareness, Analysis, Reflection and Action, in Each Educational Session**

The front matter of each workshop kit and the included *Media Literacy for the 90s* (Davis, 1991) booklet featured a description of the critical pedagogy

process alongside the *Media&Values* graphic for the process with each step connected by arrows in a circle on a television screen. In the 1993 *Global Questions* and *TV Alert* kits, “Leader’s Guide” author Barbara Osborn summarized, “The method can be explained in a few words: ‘Oh!’ (*Awareness*), ‘How?’ (*Analysis*). ‘So?’ (*Reflection*), and ‘Go!’ (*Action*)” (p. 5). The section goes on to elaborate using the same description of each step that appeared in all of the kits. This repeated description framing every workshop kit differed slightly from Thoman’s explication in the oft reprinted “*Blueprint to Response-Ability*” (1986) article in *M&V* magazine discussed in the prior chapter. The kits then divided each learning module into sections with mini-lessons beside labels for each step in the process,<sup>3</sup> but the sorts of activities varied greatly and overlapped between steps.

In the front matter of the kits, Davis describes the *awareness* phase as “the exploration step. Participants explore a theme, discovering points of tension between personal values and media” (1991, p. 4). The purpose of the *awareness* phase in the learning modules was consistent with this description as the lessons most often sought to problematize media experience with “points of tension.” However, the methods for problematizing media ranged widely including direct instruction of expert knowledge about a media-related social issue, activating knowledge of prior personal media experiences, and role-playing ethical dilemmas of media policy makers or producers. For example, in the *Sexism in the Media* kit (Davis, 1990b), module two begins the awareness phase with direct instruction advising workshop leaders to “Introduce participants to the ideas about sexist values in advertising in Jean Kilbourne’s article, ‘Beauty and the Beast of Advertising,’” followed by review of a handout explicating sexist advertising techniques (p. 13). In contrast, the *awareness* phase of the first module in the *News for the 90’s* kit (Davis, 1990c) begins with a large group discussion of participants’ opinions of newsworthy stories and feelings about of what is usually covered in the news and what is not, and moves to an activity for small groups to role-play as copy editors writing headlines of various lengths for a common news story followed by reflection on the experience and differences in how the headlines frame the story. Both examples point to tensions between values and media representations, but the former dictates the problem through lecture while the latter activates participant’s knowledge and creates a production simulation experience for identifying tensions between personal notions of what the public needs to know, what needs to be covered, and the limitations of news format. Many modules also begin the *awareness* phase with discussion of the participants’ experiences in carrying out the activities of the phase *action* from the prior module, thus reflecting the claim that “In practice, the four steps are much more fluid than this description suggests. The process is, in fact, one of continual new awareness leading to new action, which leads again to newer and deeper awareness” (Davis, 1991, p. 4).

Davis describes the *analysis* phase as “the process of searching for political, economic, social, cultural and personal contexts in which to think about the theme” (1991, p. 4). The most common lessons in this phase involve reading or viewing models of media analysis or analyzing media texts selected by the leader or participants for purpose, techniques, values messages, and/or omissions. Again, the pedagogical approaches suggested span the full gamut described in the examples above, as some modules suggest watching a documentary video that analyzes various examples of news, entertainment or advertising media that use particular production techniques or contribute to particular cultural myths (e.g., Davis, 1990b, p. 13; Davis, 1990c, p. 12; Barnes et al., 1992), while others involve participants analyzing media texts in search of patterns in techniques, messages and representations from which to synthesize more general concepts and knowledge (e.g., Davis, 1990b, p. 10; Davis, 1992c, p. 21). Direct instruction about media’s political economy, as well as role-playing simulations and reflective discussion of media production activities, also occasionally appear in the analysis phase (e.g., Osborn & Davis, 1991, pp. 9–10).

In the *reflection* phase, “The goal is identification of what’s right or wrong in light of one’s personal values, imagining what ought to be” (Davis, 1991, p. 4). The most common lessons in this phase involve production simulation or role-playing activities where participants make ethical decisions as media producers, activists, or policy makers. Sometimes, the decisions are left to the participants to draw on group discussion of individual values systems. However, many modules use direct instruction to circumscribe options for ethical evaluation, as in module one of the *Selling Addiction* kit where participants role-play a policy debate after considering predetermined options for restricting tobacco advertisements without any prompts for inquiry or discussion about first amendment issues (Barnes et al., 1992, p. 9).

The description of the *action* phase in the front matter of the workshop kits is summarized simply as “something done as a result of the first three steps” (Davis, 1991, p. 4). Just as *M&V* magazine shifted its notion of media literacy as reform from action for predominantly institutional change in media policy and industries to individual change in media use and skills (see chapter 5 for discussion), the learning modules (and magazine curricula) in the 1990s most often propose personal and interpersonal skill development and knowledge-sharing activities as constituting *action*. For example, most *action* sections in the kits include suggestions to practice analysis skills with other media of the learner’s choice and to engage family and friends in the practice, as illustrated in this typical suggestion from the *Sexism in Media* kit, “Plan a news-watching session in which you take time after two or three news stories to critique the coverage of the news, particularly the gender issues raised (or make it a regular weekly activity with a group of friends)” (Davis, 1990b, p. 23).

Thus, the *action* phase involves repeated practice of other phases in new contexts with other people. Many learning modules suggest putting ideas co-constructed by the group into practice about managing personal or family media use, or making media analysis discussion a part of regular media experience; for example, after a *reflection* activity brainstorming “ways to encourage friends family or co-workers to pay more attention to alternative images of men and women in the media,” the first suggestion in the *action* section is “Organize one of the events brainstormed earlier” (Davis, 1990b, p. 11). Such examples represent extensions of student-centered critical pedagogy. However, several modules make the techniques of effective activism itself the central learning activity, as in a lesson appearing in *M&V* issue 58 and in the *Citizenship in a Media Age* kit on practicing particular techniques for delivering messages through phone calls to talk radio shows (Osborn, 1992b), or a lesson appearing in three kits that prescribes practical guidelines for writing letters to media executives and legislators (e.g., Davis, 1990b, p. 17). Rather than helping to develop critical thinking and the articulation of messages, these lessons directly train particular performance skills. Despite many lessons in other phases involving simulations for policy and media production decision-making and discussions to propose systemic media reform, the latter example represents one of only a few instances where the *action* sections of the workshop kits suggested political activism for institutional change.<sup>4</sup>

Clearly, the CMV authors did not consider the steps in the critical process as firm conceptual boundaries nor as imposing particular methods for teaching and learning. Yet, the workshop kits and magazine reiterate both the explication of the process and the process-as-organizing-principle for curricula more prominently and overtly than any other pedagogical idea.

### **ML Pedagogy Involves “Reading the World” By Examining Learners’ Media Experiences and Comparing to Other Lived Experiences Beyond the Classroom**

In the *Living in the Image Culture* workshop kit (Davis, 1992e), which CMV advertised as their “introductory primer to media literacy education” and Thoman recommended in editorial correspondences to prospective organizational members, Jay Davis emphasizes the everyday application of media literacy skills, “Media literacy skills are not designed to be used in the classroom only, but in everyday interaction with media. Media literacy education is not successful otherwise” (1992e, p. 5). In this consistent attention to participants’ media experience beyond the classroom, CMV echoes Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy principle of “reading the world,” which he articulated in his view of “authentic education” as carried on by group dialogue “mediated by the world—a world which impresses and challenges

both parties [teachers and students], giving rise to views or opinions about it” (Freire, 1970, p. 93). In about half of the lessons in the workshop kits, the pedagogy involves problematizing media experience based on discussion of participants’ opinions of their own experience beyond the classroom, and application of ideas and skills arising from group activities to media experiences in the participants’ lives. For example, the first module in the *Images of Conflict: Learning from Media Coverage of the Gulf War* kit, participants describe “their normal routine and how the routine was affected by the Gulf War,” and then compare their discussion to their experiences with Vietnam War coverage asking, “How did those images affect your attitudes about the war?” before reading and debating opinions about whether press censorship affects public support for war efforts and the conflict itself (Osborn & Davis, 1991, p. 7). In the context of a learning process aimed at social change, generating themes from participants’ views of the real world is a genuine articulation of a key component of Freire’s critical pedagogy approach.

### **ML Pedagogy Uses Group Work and Dialogue to Problematize Media Experience, Seek Possible Solutions, and Determine Courses of Action**

A majority of the activities in *Media&Values* magazine curricula and workshop kits involves group work and dialogue.<sup>5</sup> Most exceptions involve direct instruction from teachers or texts although many such activities are followed by group dialogue to share reactions, opinions, and syntheses of the knowledge shared with participants’ own experiences. Group experience, dialogue and action are key features of critical pedagogy that seeks to create “generative themes” from sharing perspectives on the world in order to decide how to shape it (Freire, 1970, p. 99). Several learning modules use group work as means to problematize media, as in the fourth module in the *Parenting in the Media Age* kit where participants brainstorm ideas in relation to the clause in the Children’s Television Act of 1990 about how broadcast licenses are subject to review of how well they meet “entertainment and informational needs of children,” discussing, “What issues are important in defining the educational and informational needs of children? ... What age-groupings should programming address? What *can* TV teach effectively? ... What subjects should children’s TV address?” (Davis et al., 1991, p. 21). Through dialogue, a collaborative writing activity, and applied analysis of sample children’s TV programming, the group develops their own definition of children’s entertainment and informational needs, and then decides who to engage in sharing their ideas to put into action—local TV stations, PTA meetings, newspapers, and so on. Most other workshop kits contain modules that involve analogous group work to problematize media, seek solutions, or determine courses of



action (although *M&V* magazine curricula usually articulated problems with media as well as possible solutions and courses of action for the reader, employing group work primarily for co-construction of knowledge in media analysis activities, discussed below under *ML Pedagogy as Student-Centered Approaches*).

CMV curricula recognized that conducting collaborative learning in group work was not a skill set employed by every teacher or potential workshop leader, which is especially noteworthy given the resurgence of traditional pedagogy in the 1980s (Ravitch, 2000; see chapter 2 for discussion). The *Media Literacy for the 90s* booklet included in each workshop kit included a section on “Group Dynamics” which suggests very specific methods for ensuring equal opportunity group participation, including the following:

*Arrange seating so that all group members can make eye contact ... Don't fish for what you've determined is the right answer ... count to 30 before prodding ... model answers ... encourage inclusion of all .... However, don't pressure or force participants .... Include yourself ... on newsprint/board [for discussion notes], list exact phrases in participants own words ... Participants will feel their ideas are being taken seriously when you use their phrases. Also, avoid numbering as this gives the inadvertent impression of prioritizing. Use a dash or dot.*

(Italics in original to begin bullet points; Davis, 1991, p. 6)

The lack of such guidelines for conducting discussion of media themes and topics in *M&V* magazine may have prompted Davis to include this list as one of the eight pages in the booklet, just as the absence of specifics for parent-child conversations about media in several *M&V* columns (with comments like, “Point out stereotypical representations”—Myers-Walls, 1989b, p. 20) prompted Davis to write his feature article “But What Do I Say?” with detailed guidelines and examples of co-viewing conversations. The guidelines for maintaining “Group Dynamics” clearly seek to address issues of power in the workshop, striving for inclusion of all students and the teacher as equal participants.

## **ML Pedagogy Promotes Addressing Social Justice Issues**

The variety of teaching and learning methods in CMV publications most often seek to promote critical awareness, understanding and action to address issues of sexism (*Break the Lies that Bind: Sexism in the Media*), materialism (*Living in the Image Culture*), youth exploitation (*Selling Addiction*), militarism (*Images of Conflict*), racism (*TV Alert*) and cultural imperialism (*Global Questions*) in media and society. Regardless of teaching method, in addressing

these social justice issues, CMV curricula positions learners to identify with the oppressed or dominated point of view, or to act on their behalf to change personal and systemic media practices that support oppressive ideology. For example, an activity proposed in a column of *Media&Values* issue 48 (Junck, 1989), reproduced in the *Sexism in the Media* and *Living in the Image Culture* kits, has participants “strike up poses of women in ads and describe how they feel in that position. Repeat for men in ads,” followed by discussion imagining how the ad models might have felt and how they may have been directed (Davis, 1990b, p. 13). The follow-up activity, which is also repeated in the context of other social issues in other kits, involves selecting one ad and “re-do it so that the product might be promoted without the ad being sexist,” and “decide on a few ways to use sexual images to promote the product without being sexist” (p. 14). Although many modules include activities where participants role-play as media executives, producers, and policy makers, most do so in order to solve a social issue that affects an oppressed group. For example, in the *Global Questions* kit, a simulated debate between US media producers and foreign culture ministers about how much US media that other countries should allow for local broadcast assumes problems of cultural imperialism (such as displacing local cultural values), as evident in the discussion question, “How might you determine when television imports are hurting a local culture?” (Osborn, 1993c, p. 14).

Textual analysis activities also often involve looking for how disadvantaged groups are unfairly represented, targeted or manipulated with questions like, “How do these [tobacco] ads try to appeal to women? Latinos? African-Americans? Youth?” (Barnes, Gallo, & Osborn, 1992, p. 9). This focus lies at the heart of critical pedagogy, as CMV curricula seeks to raise consciousness of media’s roles in perpetuating oppression from the perspective or on behalf of the victim in order to transform the system and “liberate” the self (Freire, 1970, p. 56).

## **MEDIA LITERACY PEDAGOGY AS STUDENT-CENTERED APPROACHES**

Student-centered pedagogy privileges the learner’s active role in co-constructing knowledge from experience, prior knowledge, and reflective practice (Dewey, 1938). In the front matter of all *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* generalizing how to teach media literacy (Davis, 1991, p. 5), and in the few *Media&Values* articles that actually discuss pedagogical philosophy for teaching about and with media, CMV consistently professes a progressive pedagogy of student-centered<sup>6</sup> approaches. However, the actual teaching and learning methods represented in suggested learning activities of magazine

curricula and workshop kit modules feature progressive pedagogy less often. From 1989 to 1993, student-centered approaches comprised over 40 percent of the lessons in the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* and appeared in about 25 percent of pedagogy-related *M&V* articles.<sup>7</sup>

## **ML Pedagogy Respects and Values Diverse Tastes and Pleasures**

In *Media & Values* magazine, the feature articles and columns appearing in the middle years (1985–1989) by youth radio minister Jeff Kellham and youth media educator Bill Wolfe initiated discussion of the importance in media education of respecting diverse media tastes and pleasures (see, e.g., Wolfe, 1986; Kellham, 1985). CMV education director Jay Davis included this emphasis in his *M&V* feature articles on parenting and teaching methods for media literacy (Davis, 1990/1991; Davis, 1992c), and elaborated the pedagogical philosophy behind the approach in the *Media Literacy Workshop* kits. In the front matter of *Living in the Image Culture Kit: An Introductory Primer to Media Literacy Education*, with the usual pedagogy discussion of the basic principles and reflection/action process, Davis adds a section on “Media Literacy Education: What it Is, What it’s Not” beginning with the declaration:

Media literacy education is not a way of bringing “culture” to those who love television but hate opera. Nor is it a training ground for teaching that television is “low culture,” or that *Roseanne* is basically a waste of time while *National Geographic Specials* are at least worth looking at.

(Davis, 1992e, p. 6)

Davis refers to this media education pedagogy as *discriminating media*, an approach common in early British cultural studies of media by Raymond Williams (1961) and Harold Leavis (1933), which made its way into mainstream British media studies as a pedagogy in the late twentieth century and persists today (Buckingham & Sefton-Green, 1994; MacDougall, 2014). Davis claims that discriminating responses to media are unavoidable, but problematic for pedagogy because of “a lack of objective standards against which to compare media content such as violence, sex or commercialism,” and thus, “training viewers to avoid these bad media is not the goal of media literacy education” (Davis, 1992e, p. 6). Davis reduces the problem to relative tastes among individuals, and proposes that media literacy education begins with recognizing diverse pleasures and values:

Usually, media discrimination ends up based upon the individual likes and dislikes. In the process, everyone gets their feelings stepped on because programming one individual enjoys is labeled boring, stupid or immoral by someone

else. To avoid this, media education often begins with the recognition that everyone gets pleasure from media. For example, you might begin by asking “What do you like to watch on TV and why?” Don’t criticize others’ tastes in media—rather, explore the way favorite shows or music are constructed, why they are constructed in those ways, and their impact. It’s okay to say, “I don’t like that,” but be willing to take others’ media choices seriously anyway.

(Davis, 1992e, p. 7)

Davis suggests welcoming all tastes into discussion as a means for moving on to the heart of media literacy practice, which he identifies as analyzing media construction and impacts. The approach recommends a respect for the autonomy of individual pleasures, but retains the teacher’s prerogative to share personal opinions as well, albeit without expressing as “critique” of others’ tastes.

Many learning modules across the various workshop kits repeat this suggestion to open discussion to welcome diverse tastes. Even in learning modules where lessons clearly aim to assert particular ways of recognizing and evaluating media representations as problematic or harmful, the pedagogy frames this as a “tension” between pleasure and other values. For example, in the first learning module of the *Sexism in Media* kit, discussion prompts include these questions:

If the inequality in the roles is offensive, is the movie still entertaining? How? ... share something about it they like .... Name a movie in which you were aware of sexism, yet still liked the movie .... The tension we sometimes feel when watching movies is an example of how we are always “negotiating” meaning—the movie and our personal experiences clash and make a new meaning.

(Davis, 1990b, p. 10)

Thus, media literacy pedagogy respects diverse media tastes and pleasures by inviting them into non-judgmental discussion, but does not shy away from challenging learner’s tastes with their own values. The CMV curricula itself embodies this tension, projected here into the individual’s meaning-making process, as the workshop kits negotiate the tensions between promoting student-centered pedagogy, critical pedagogy with a focus on social justice issues identifying with the oppressed (discussed in the previous section), and traditional approaches that dictate particular values (discussed below).

### **ML Teachers Invite Learners to Evaluate Media Based on Their Own Values.**

The progressive approach to values clarification pedagogy articulated in the middle years of *Media&Values* also appeared in many of the workshop kits

and magazine curricula from 1989–1993. A typical example from the *Global Questions* kit, also appearing in *M&V* issue 61, asks “Who gains and who loses when the public does not have the guaranteed right of access to media channels? ... Based on your own personal values and beliefs, what do you think ought to be done? Why?” (Osborn, 1993c, p. 19). Various techniques for managing discussion in the workshop kits aim to ensure space for the expression of diverse views in response to media texts, as discussed in *M&V* issue 49 by pioneering Canadian documentary film producer Kathleen Shannon, “Asking people to pair off and take turns talking and listening can help clarify and formulate their reactions and ensure that all viewpoints are aired” (Shannon, 1989, p. 14). Shannon’s techniques, referenced in several workshop kits, also address class, gender and race diversity among participants through strategic variations in pairings, groupings, and turn-taking for discussion, which all aim to create safe spaces for exchange of perspectives from diverse cultural values systems. *M&V*’s commitment to promoting progressive values clarification in pedagogy-related articles is most striking in the context of magazine issues (and workshop kits) heavily biased to particular values perspectives. For example, as with most other social issues, *M&V* articles clearly take a position on media violence; in issues 62 and 63, the majority of articles declare that exposure to violent media representations has negative individual and cultural effects, and that media violence is a health issue. However, the pedagogy-related articles maintain a balance of student-centered approaches with activities such as a content analysis exercise in issue 62 where students are asked to “Define Media Violence for Yourself” in an exercise to articulate the values each student uses to develop their coding (Staff, 1993, p. 15). Student-centered pedagogy around clarifying and expressing values in relation to media appears just as often in *M&V* magazine as pedagogy inculcating particular values (nine articles to eight, respectively, from 1989 to 1993). However, it is important to keep in mind that progressive pedagogy in both the magazine and the workshop kits appears in the context of clear values positions on social justice issues articulated by most magazine contributors and by the curricular goals of the critical pedagogy process.

### **ML Teachers Activate Students’ Prior Knowledge**

Although few pedagogy-related *Media & Values* articles suggest activities and questions to activate learners’ prior knowledge, every workshop kit features multiple instances of the method, most often in the awareness phase of the process.<sup>8</sup> Rather than simply presenting information for the learner to assimilate, workshop kit curricula often begins with asking students to share their experiences and opinions on a topic. For example, in the *Living in the Image*

*Culture* kit, before reviewing an article on TV as a new religion, students discuss “What needs do you see television meeting in your life? In the lives of others you know well?” (Davis, 1992e, p. 11). When introducing learning modules on analyzing stereotypical representations, lessons include asking students to think of common ways to describe “bad guys” (*Images of Conflict*, Osborn & Davis, 1991, p. 17), or occupations associated with men and women (*Sexism in the Media*, Davis, 1990b, p. 10), then connecting those ideas with learners’ memories of media representations in movies, television, and news. Sometimes, participants’ prior knowledge becomes the content of the lesson inquiry, as in a *Parenting in the Media Age* module that asks learners to share their various uses of media and control exerted over technology by different members of their households, and then strategize ways to address imbalances. These methods mobilize the student-centered pedagogical philosophy professed in the “How does one teach media literacy?” section of the *Media Literacy for the 90s* booklet:

Because students of all ages often know more than the teacher or leader about topics such as rock music, advertising or sex on television, the best learning happens when leaders recognize, “teachable moments,” capitalizing on participants’ own knowledge and interests. Teachers and group leaders should see themselves as “learning facilitators” rather than funnels who siphon facts and knowledge into hinged heads. Teachers may in fact learn more than students.

(Davis, 1991, p. 4)

Here, we see the student’s knowledge and interests elevated to direct the course of learning and the teacher positioned as “learning facilitator” rather than expert. This notion of teacher as facilitator coincides with progressive pedagogy discourse, which seeks to lend students agency in the learning process. The CMV philosophy goes further to suggest that the teacher or workshop leader need not possess any expert knowledge or experience with media study to facilitate learning:

You do not even have to watch a lot of television or be familiar with classic movies to teach media literacy. An inquiring mind, an enthusiasm for life and a respect for other people’s feelings, beliefs and experiences are the best requirements for being a leader.

(Davis, 1991, p. 4)

By positioning the workshop leader as such, the CMV approach seeks to overcome the typical power imbalance between teacher and student. The tactic is reminiscent of Freire’s concept of the teacher-student and

student-teachers (Freire, 1970), wherein the teacher facilitates group reflection on practical experience and becomes a learner benefiting from student experiences. A quote from Freire runs alongside the section on how to teach media literacy, which reads, “Education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously teacher and student” (quoted in Davis, 1991, p. 4). The CMV curricula works toward this goal in lessons where students co-construct knowledge from their experiences.

### **ML Teachers and Learners Negotiate Meanings and Co-Construct Knowledge from Dialogue about Media Messages**

As an introduction to the basic principles of media literacy, the *Media&Values* issue 57 Reflection Resource pullout page, “Living in a Media World: A Four-Step Survival Guide” (Davis, 1992c), declares “We are very active when we watch, read or listen, and the media we experience have little meaning without what we bring to them. Media teachers express this by saying that audiences negotiate meaning” (Davis, 1992c, p. 21). The preamble, reprinted in the front matter and in a media literacy principles handout for the *Living in the Image Culture* workshop kit, portrays the process of negotiating meaning as a “wrestling match” wherein “personal experiences and conscious choices play a role in determining the effects of any media experience” (p. 21). The passage emphasizes the active role of media users in the meaning-making process, as “active partners . . . we can filter and change what media present to us by the way we react to their messages. We can question, challenge, and contradict—or support and reinforce—what we see and hear” (p. 21). By using word choices like *wrestling* and *struggling* as well as the term *negotiate* itself, CMV positions audiences in an adversarial relationship with media, and media literacy pedagogy presents frameworks for more agency on the audience side of the negotiation.

The most common method for negotiating meaning in CMV curricula and *M&V* magazine involves class dialogue around open-ended discussion questions about media texts, systems and experiences. For example, a lesson about selective news reporting in relation to public information needs begins with the following questions, “What did they learn from what was reported in the broadcast? Did they learn enough to form an opinion? What information would be helpful to them in order to develop a well-informed opinion about the issues discussed?” (Osborn, 1992b, p. 9). The questions do not assume a correct answer, and necessitate that the participants negotiate their prior knowledge, the perceived messages of the media text, and their opinions

of the issues, as well as their beliefs about informed opinions. The ensuing dialogue works to help participants shape their notions of informed opinion and citizens' information needs from sharing their perspectives, thus co-constructing new knowledge. The discussion of the news clip proceeds to relate production techniques and political economy to constraints on news with another open-ended question, "What characteristics of TV news programs conspire against making sense of the issues?" (Osborn, 1992b, p. 9). Although the question frames the inquiry to consider constraints on news representations of issues, the possible responses require the same negotiation of evidence from the media text, prior experience, and personal beliefs about informed opinion. CMV also connects the co-construction of knowledge to taking action in response to media texts, as seen in the next discussion question in the current example, "Did the experience of watching the news make participants feel as if they could have an impact on any of the issues raised?" (p. 9).

Unlike in the magazine where feature articles delivered expert knowledge about meaning and culture, CMV designed lessons in the workshop kits to develop media analysis skills and habits of questioning media messages. Even in lessons with more traditional approaches, discussion questions usually appear to allow participants to co-construct new knowledge and negotiate meanings. For example, several workshop kits include view-and-discuss lessons involving videos with very clear ideological views on how to read media messages, such as Jean Kilbourne's *Killing Us Softly* on sexism in advertising or the *Lines in the Sand* CMV video on censorship in the Gulf War; however, discussion prompts ask participants to evaluate the point of view in the video in addition to questions checking for comprehension of the preferred message.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, lessons that prescribe specific techniques to identify in media texts as an analysis activity often include open-ended prompts about finding additional techniques and imagining the effects of alternative techniques, and most ask participants to evaluate effects of various techniques for meaning-making and emotion based on their own responses (see, e.g., Davis, 1992e, pp. 18–19). In addition to drawing on prior experience and existing values or beliefs, CMV curricula helped create new media experiences and ethical dilemmas from which participants construct new knowledge through role-playing activities.

### **ML Pedagogy Involves Simulation and Production Activities with Reflective Practice**

Most workshop kits and several pedagogy-related *Media&Values* articles included activities where participants take up roles as media makers,



executives, legislators, or activists. Few of the media production activities involved producing an actual media product, but rather focused on phases of the pre-production process or simulated editorial or executive decision-making. Many of these activities involved reflection discussion where participants shared their thoughts and feelings on the experience, and generalized their lessons learned into new knowledge and concepts. The front matter of most workshop kits emphasizes the latter focus as a way to distinguish CMV's preference for progressive pedagogy in media education involving production, as opposed to traditional apprenticeship models.

In a section addressing "The Question of Cost" of media production as potentially prohibitive, Davis claims, "Media literacy education can be done with no new equipment at all. Even without a VCR and monitor .... But teaching production is very useful in demystifying the techniques used by media makers to construct media" (Davis, 1992e, p. 7). By positioning the goal of media literacy production pedagogy as *demystifying techniques*, Davis intends to clarify the "misconception about the meaning of media literacy education that it is primarily a process of teaching production skills," citing typical college journalism and broadcasting programs as the source of the confusion (Davis, 1992e, p. 8). Davis goes on to mention storyboarding and script-writing as activities for teaching about production techniques without equipment, and suggests groups with the technological means could learn from full productions of public service announcements or news interviews for cable access or public radio. However, Davis recommends that media production activities occupy no more than 30 percent of class time, since "teaching production itself is not the goal of media literacy education ... the goal of production activities is *increased awareness* of the ways that media construct reality, not the ability to produce the best professional-quality media" (p. 9). The method of reflective practice included with simulation and production activities in the workshop kits ensures that "production activities also include a significant critical thinking element that analyzes the impact of how media are produced" (p. 9).

The *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* assert an alternative to the dominant pedagogy of college level media production approaches by emphasizing analysis skills and reflective practice as the key learning goals for production activities, rather than the normative approaches of developing technical skills and entre to professional discourses in mass media production. The emerging emphasis on debriefing and reflection as key components of media production activities developed variously in the CMV workshop curricula. Workshop kits propose simulations and production activities to engage participants in learning about a variety of aspects of media and cultural production through direct or simulated experience. In the *Citizenship in a Media Age*, a production activity has participants plan and produce a photo opportunity for a politician

(with participants role-playing the PR staff and the photo subjects) as a lesson on how news constructs reality followed by discussion of “what they noticed about setting up photo opportunities” (Osborn, 1992b, p. 13). A learning module from the *Selling Addiction* kit engages participants as legislators considering regulations for tobacco advertising in which they judge existing ads against their own criteria for appropriateness (Barnes, Gallo & Osborn, 1992, p. 8). Reflective discussion prompts participants to discuss how they negotiated the discourses of business interests, First Amendment principles, public health, and parental values in their legislative decision-making process. However, several production activities offer the workshop leader little guidance on how to conduct discussion about the production experience or the newly created media products, as in the two lessons focused on practicing production techniques for an audio essay and a radio news interview in *Living in the Image Culture*, which simply follow the production steps with a suggestion to “then listen to the tapes and discuss them together” (Davis, 1992e, p. 41). By contrast, the *Images of Conflict* kit contains an activity where participants identify a news story on a local issue that dramatizes a conflict, then attempt to create a more balanced view without “combative portrayal” by interviewing constituents and representing a range of voices (Osborn & Davis, 1991, p. 18). The debriefing process is extensively outlined, prompting participants to discuss:

What do you think would happen if community groups like yours sent out their own citizen reporter teams to gather information about local problems? How would the information gathered be different from that seen on TV? Why do you suppose the information gathered by a community group might be different from the information presented on a local TV news program? Why don't community groups do this kind of information-gathering more often?

(Osborn & Davis, 1991, p. 18)

These questions connect participant experience with basic media literacy principles of constructed reality, business interests, and techniques through reflective discussion. As in many lessons in CMV curricula, this production activity connects directly to action for social (and media) reform, the course of which participants decide for themselves.

### **ML Pedagogy Involves Group Brainstorms to Determine Action for Personal, Group and Institutional Reform**

*Media&Values* magazine tended to present specific suggestions for taking action (for example, Dover, 1993; Osborn, 1993), but workshop kits sometimes included student-centered brainstorming sessions where

participants came up with ideas to mobilize what they learned for social change. For example, the *Images of Conflict* kit includes a news reporting simulation activity where groups write a news lead about the same story from different sources and then list their concerns about the implications of differences between versions they produce discussing, “What constitutional or ethical guidelines affect your concerns?” (Osborn & Davis, 1991, p. 9). After listing the concerns and their ethical/legal bases on poster paper, the following lesson prompts individuals to do the following:

Choose one of the concerns listed above, then gather with others who choose to work on the same question. Each group will brainstorm and list possible action steps that members can accomplish before the next session to address the concern its members selected .... Encourage participants to think of action steps as personal, not merely political. For example, as a personal action participants might seek out alternative news sources .... On a more active level, group members might write a letter to the editor or meet with managers at a local television station. After brainstorming groups have listed several ideas, tape lists of possible activities on walls so that everyone can see them. Then ask participants to choose one action step to carry out before the next session and write their action steps down on an index card to remind themselves.

(Osborn & Davis, 1991, p. 10).

In this example, the specific suggestions are meant to provoke participants to think of their own ideas, or as a brainstorming lesson in *Parenting in a TV Age* phrases it, “To get them started, you may need to prompt them with suggestions” (Davis et al., 1991, p. 18). Most of these activities refer to specific “*Rules for brainstorming*” listed under the “Group Dynamics” section of the *Media Literacy for the 90s* booklet, which include the directives, “1) Anything goes. Any idea will be recorded. 2) No discussion allowed. Discussion will take place afterwards. 3) No making fun of others’ ideas” (Davis, 1991, p. 6). The commitment to student-centered pedagogy is clear in these directives as individual participation of all students willing to contribute precedes and supersedes both group discussion and expert knowledge.

## **MEDIA LITERACY PEDAGOGY INVOLVES DIRECT TEACHING METHODS**

In addition to the progressive, student-centered focus of the pedagogical philosophy professed in the *Media Literacy for the 90s* booklet and front matter of each *Media Literacy Workshop Kit*, as well as in the few articles in *Media & Values* magazine explicating media literacy pedagogy as such (Davis, 1990/1991; Davis, 1992c; Anderson, 1992), a majority of CMV curricula in the kits and

magazine also employ traditional teaching and learning methods with a focus on established knowledge or prescribed skills. Methods include direct instruction and search-and-find exercises, which reflect the way *M&V* prescribes expert knowledge and particular values perspectives to teachers as magazine readers.

### **ML Teachers Learn Expert Knowledge of Media and Pedagogy from *M&V* Directly**

The magazine and workshop curricula seldom involved participants in actually reading *Media&Values* feature articles or columns. At most, learning modules asked workshop participants to read a one to two-page handout with a condensed version of an *M&V* article, or a reproduction of an *M&V* “Reflection Resource.” However, every learning module included a “Leader Preparation” section on the first page listing *M&V* articles that teachers and workshop leaders should read before leading sessions. For example, the first module in the *Sexism in the Media* kit suggests that the workshop leaders read two feature articles and four columns from issues 48 and 49 included in the kit (Davis, 1990b, p. 9). The “Leader’s Guide” booklets in the workshop kits also contain an introductory essay on the central theme woven together with references to articles in the featured *M&V* issue. Thus, the CMV curriculum encourages the teacher to learn expert knowledge and pedagogical approaches through direct instruction from the magazine and front matter of the workshop kit.

The *M&V* staff recognized a need to engage teachers in other ways, but was unable to do so. In 1988, *M&V* assembled a “Speakers Team” to run media literacy workshops for educators, but demand for this service was not great enough to sustain the effort, and CMV decided to allocate resources for curricula design and production (Staff, 1988; E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013). At the October 1993 CMV staff meeting where the organization and magazine ended and resolved to restructure as the CML, among the proposals for the focus of the new organization was a halt in production of new curricula in favor of a “Training and Demonstration” program that would give educators their own learning experience from the range of pedagogy featured in the workshop kits (“Reinventing the Center for Media and Values,” 1993). However, during the production of the workshop kits from 1990 to 1993, the magazine and kits presented teachers with direct instruction of both expert information about media and methods of how to teach media literacy.

### **ML Teachers Pass on Expert Knowledge to Learners through Direct Instruction**

Learning modules in the workshop kits often directed workshop leaders to lecture about the content of *Media&Values* articles listed in the “Leader Preparation” section. For example, in the *Sexism in the Media* kit, the second

module begins, “Introduce the participants to the ideas about sexist values in advertising in Jean Kilbourne’s article, ‘Beauty and the Beast of Advertising’ .... You might want to write these ideas on the chalkboard or large tablet” (Davis, 1990b, p. 13). Likewise, handouts routinely introduce production techniques or common “media myths” through explication as modules instruct leaders to distribute the material, allow time for reading, and review for comprehension. For example, following the lecture above, the workshop leader distributes the “How to See through the Soft Sell” handout explicating Ervin Goffman’s common sexist techniques for representing women in advertising. After minimal discussion of “Which method caught your attention?” the module directs the workshop leader to “Introduce the concept of ‘sexist values.’ Inform the group that there are at least five recurring themes in depictions of women in advertising and uncover the pre-written list of sexist values. Use concepts from articles in *Redesigning Women* to discuss/explain” (p. 13). Reflecting the approach in *M&V* magazine, all workshop kits feature examples of direct instruction of expert knowledge of media production techniques, media myths, and media-related social issues.

### **ML Teachers Use Search-And-Find Methods with Predetermined Interpretation Categories to Structure Analysis Exercises**

A common follow-up activity to lectures and handouts on production techniques or media myths in CMV workshop kits involved exercises to find examples of the explicated concepts in media texts. For example, the next lesson in the example above from *Sexism in the Media* directs participants to do the following:

1. Find examples of soft sell techniques and sexist values in their own samples of magazine ads ....
2. Choose a particularly strong [sexist] ad ....
3. Appoint one person to list a summary of the soft sell techniques and evidence of sexist values in their ad samples on newsprint.
4. Report their group’s analysis of the sexist aspects of one ad to the entire group.

(Davis, 1990b, p. 13)

Similar lessons for applying dictated knowledge in prescribed analytic categories to media texts appear for analyzing news elements in *News for the 90s* and *Living in the Image Culture*, for myths about media violence in *TV Alert* and *Parenting in the Media Age*, and for ad techniques in *Selling Addiction*. *Media&Values* magazine also proposed content and textual analysis activities with prescribed coding or analytic categories, as in the Re:Action article, “How to Conduct a Gender Study of Your Local Newspaper,” accompanying

a featured report of content analysis research on gender in national news (Staff, 1989c, p. 13).<sup>10</sup> In such content analysis exercises, learners count instances of textual features, like news reporter's gender or the gender of news sources and story subjects, according to the suggested coding categories and criteria, in order to learn about the relative frequency of occurrences. Although these activities require an active engagement on the part of the learner, they are text-centered and skill-centered exercises that dictate the practice of prescribed knowledge.

### **ML Teachers Impose Particular Values to Govern Analysis, Discussion, and Action**

Although *Media&Values* often professes a pedagogical preference for progressive values clarification and learner-directed action, most CMV curricula dictate or assume particular values positions on social issues. Some learning modules inculcate values positions through direct instruction, as in the opening lessons of the *Sexism in the Media* kit, which has the workshop leader read a piece describing “institutionalized sexism” as the source of gender differences in cultural participation, lecture on the topic, and then, at several points in various lessons, ask participants to consider how various media representations reinforce the ideology (Davis, 1990b). For example, in module five, the workshop leader selects and records “a video clip from a TV newscast to help identify sexism in the news,” directs participants to analyze gender representation of anchors/reporters, sources, and topics, and asks, “How do these observations reveal (or contradict) what you know about sexism in the media? How do they support the idea that our society is somehow structured to keep men in positions of influence and power (institutionalized sexism?)” (Davis, 1990b, p. 22). Even though the analysis and inquiry include open-ended questions, the design circumscribes the range of answers within a particular ideological lens, in this case a liberal pluralist, feminist perspective consistent with views in *M&V* magazine.

Often, lessons include a range of teaching methods, including student-centered approaches, but limit or assume the values perspectives that may participate. For example, in the *Parenting in a TV Age* kit, a module on cartoon violence imposes Gerbner's definition of violence for an activity counting violent representations, which includes participants evaluating their personal responses on a scale from “troublesome” to “not-so-troublesome” (Davis et al., 1991, p. 16). The lesson frames the first activity within a cultivation theory perspective on media violence, but also includes the opportunity for participants to evaluate based on their own feelings within that frame. Likewise, the subsequent analysis activity asks participants to review an outline of typical violent cartoon plots from *The World is a Dangerous Place* curriculum by the Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age, then to view

a cartoon and discuss how it fits the outline. The discussion proceeds to ask participants about other cartoons that fit the plot, and then to compare their children's fears with the cartoon, and to consider how the cartoon represents conflict resolution. The latter discussion focuses on learner experiences, but frames them within the media effects perspective that cartoons influence children's fears and worldviews, which the concluding mini-lecture reinforces by having the workshop leader share cultivation researcher Nancy Signorelli's findings from an *M&V* article to end the lesson.

Similarly, simulation activities that use progressive methods of experiential learning, most often offer roles with a limited range of choices within an ideological perspective, as in the lesson described above from *Selling Addiction* that engages participants as legislators deciding on tobacco advertising regulations without considering arguments against such regulation based on free speech (or powerful audience) principles (Barnes, Gallo, & Osborn, 1992). Such lessons assume that the participants share, or will take up, political discourses framing media effects as a public health issue to enact government regulation or parental regulation, without including a focus on arguments from free speech, free market, and powerful audience perspectives. While participants construct their own parental regulations or choose between regulatory legislation options, these learner-centered methods operate within discourses of regulating media effects and public health, which constitutes a traditional pedagogy of values inculcation.

## MEDIA LITERACY AS PARENTING PEDAGOGIES

*Media&Values* magazine specifically targets parents in nearly one-third of articles related to media literacy pedagogy,<sup>11</sup> and, in addition to being listed as potential workshop participants in every *Media Literacy Workshop Kit*, the *Parenting in the Media Age* (Davis et al., 1991) is the only kit to specify an exclusive target audience—parents. The curricula target parents both as learners in need of their own media literacy development, and as teachers of their children, which results in approaches significantly different from how CMV addresses other media literacy learners and teachers. CMV curricula on parenting balance traditional methods of knowledge transmission and values inculcation with progressive approaches of co-constructed knowledge inquiry and values clarification activities. The curricula feature a few primary parental teaching methods, including restricting media exposure, selecting media, co-viewing with commentary, posing discussion questions on media representations and purposes, and engaging in structured activities with kids around media literacy principles.

The CMV curricula address parents as learners with the same range of practices for media literacy development recommended for other workshop participants, but show more deference to their authority when addressing parents as teachers of their children. Just as all other workshop participants, parents as learners engage in the critical process of awareness, analysis, reflection and action with emphases on reading the world, problematizing media experience, and group dialogue. However, the CMV curricula do not overtly integrate steps of the critical process into suggested parenting strategies for teaching children. On the other hand, basic media literacy principles and inquiry frameworks are central to both parents' learning about media and the suggested strategies for teaching their children in the CMV curricula, just as they are for other teachers and learners. Lessons for parents focus on social justice issues as in other CMV curricula, assuming shared values with parent learners, but they do not include the emphasis on teachers respecting diverse tastes and pleasures among learners when it comes to parents teaching children. Likewise, while the CMV media literacy kits encourage all workshop participants including parents to evaluate media based on their own values, strategies in both the magazine and kits support parents in asserting and communicating their family values to children in response to media messages. Thus, parents as teachers do not receive the same specific recommendations as workshop leaders for conducting discussion to level the power dynamic between teacher and learner; this allows parents more agency to enact direct instruction of knowledge and inculcation of values through modeling media interpretation with their children as opposed to the focus on progressive pedagogy for workshop leaders. Still, progressive approaches of activating prior knowledge, and negotiating meanings from media texts by focusing on tensions between personal values and media representations, appear as strategies for parents to engage with children, albeit not with as great a frequency as such approaches appear for other teachers and learners in CMV curricula. Parents as learners engage in simulation of media production and policy-making to develop their media literacy, as in lessons for other learners, but curricula seldom include recommendations for parents to involve their children in such activities. Thus, the parent participates in discourses of media production and reform through workshop practices, but not in discourses of teaching about production and reform for their children. While the workshop kits sometimes encourage teachers to pass on expert knowledge about media issues gleaned from *M&V* magazine through direct instruction, lessons encourage parents to pass on their knowledge and values by talking back to television. Just as workshop kits and lessons therein circumscribe co-construction of knowledge and other progressive approaches within particular ideological and values positions on social justice issues, CMV curricula offer strategies for parents to restrict and manage their children's media exposure within their family's



notions of acceptability for discussion and learning. Thus, parents experience the full range and balance of progressive, traditional, and critical pedagogies as other workshop participants for their own media literacy development, but the CMV curricula encourages more traditional pedagogies for parents as teachers of their own children.

### EXAMINING OMISSIONS: STRANDS OF MLE PRACTICE MISSING FROM CMV CURRICULA

To understand the legacy of the Center for Media and Values, understanding omissions in approaches to media education is just as important as analyzing the pedagogies included in their curricula. While CMV pedagogy sought to facilitate norms of particular identity discourses by distancing from certain MLE approaches, such as protectionist media reform efforts promoting overtly political institutional activism that was problematic for many educators and parents, it is unclear why CMV curricula omitted other prominent MLE approaches, which seemed consonant with their own educational goals and audiences. Most conspicuous among the omissions were pedagogies of youth media production, student journalism, computer literacy, and information literacy.

Information literacy emerged in education discourses through library sciences in the 1970s, developing through the 1980s and 1990s through the present (Behrens, 1994; Gilton, 2014). Practices centered on public access to information, navigating multiple sources, evaluating source credibility, and info reliability, discerning fact and opinion, and issues of attribution and intellectual property. CMV curricula and *Media&Values* articles touch on all of these practices, and spend considerable space on public access issues, seeking alternative sources, and evaluating credibility. Furthermore, libraries and librarians in communities and schools were primary targets of magazine and workshop kit distribution, and scholars in library sciences contributed a few articles to *M&V* over the years.<sup>12</sup> So, Thoman and the CMV staff were aware of the information literacy discipline; why did the magazine and workshop kits fail to connect with the work of information literacy educators? Perhaps the lack of a critical agenda and the absence of inquiry about political economy of media as normative practices in information literacy inhibited collaboration. Perhaps the library sciences focus on navigating academic and “high culture” information contrasted too greatly from the media literacy focus on popular culture. However, these differences seem less significant than the common practices. Other disconnects are more understandable.

The association of computer literacy with back-to-basics education as a tool-based, direct instruction oriented pedagogy may have kept CMV from connecting with it. However, an *M&V* article on “Computers in

the Classroom” from 1984 presents a debate over traditional and progressive pedagogies around the use of computers in education (McKay, 1985), with which one might expect *M&V* to engage in its own pedagogy, but the magazine did not return to the discussion. The topic of computers and computer networks featured often in early *M&V* issues with predictions about how they might displace or enhance social practices in workplaces and the home, but the magazine stopped addressing computer use in relation to media literacy as it evolved into an educational resource in the late 1980s. Perhaps a perception that personal computers were machines for the upper classes, or for businesses, prevented the focus along with the relative lack of video games as objects of study (appearing in only one learning module in a workshop kit). Perhaps computer users, and video game players, appeared to already be active media users, using media for conscious goals and employing various discourses for making decisions about their use (Molnar, 1997). Certainly, the uncritical discourse of participatory empowerment through job-readiness around computer literacy clashed with the critical discourses of transformative and emancipatory empowerment central to CMV curricula (Belshaw, 2009). The discourse of transformation for learners from passive to active user in CMV pedagogy may also have inhibited the integration of well-developed media production pedagogies.

After the emergence of youth film production in connection with social movements of the 1960s and 1970s (Halleck, 2002), the proliferation of camcorders and video cassette players, and the expansion of public access cable channels in the 1980s saw youth media production programs continue to emphasize youth voice and authentic expression in the United States (Goldfarb, 2002). By the late 1980s, pioneers in youth media production for media literacy development in the United States were well known to the *M&V* editors, such as Kathleen Tyner whose newsletter *Strategies for Media Literacy* was cited as a resource in *M&V* and an inspiration in the *Living in the Image Culture* kit (Thoman in Davis, 1992e, p. 5). However, CMV curricula seldom included participatory media production activities to support self-esteem, voice and social development of youth. The focus on participatory production in youth media may have clashed with the critical approach of CMV pedagogy. *M&V* begins with problematizing media experience, messages, and systems, while youth media may begin with production skills for cultural participation rather than media-related problems. It is also possible that the fragmented nature of youth media education was overwhelming or incoherent to *M&V* staff, with competing focuses on job-readiness, poverty-reduction, personal development, civic engagement, and artistic expression within a media arts framework. Critical approaches to youth media production pedagogy, such as those of New York City’s Educational Video Center (EVC) founded in 1984 (Goodman, 2003), were not included by CMV curricula

developers. Likewise, *M&V* did not access the deep history of student journalism pedagogy in the United States, despite Thoman's brief experience as a high school journalism teacher in the early 1970s. The perception of journalism classes as inculcating established mainstream news values and professional skills, rather than fostering critical thinking may have inhibited the connection. In our 2013 interview, I asked Thoman about the omission of youth media production pedagogy from *CMV* curricula:

*Thoman:* I think you could approach media literacy in two ways—one is through production and the other is through analysis. So, I did not know anything about production, as a person. I mean I knew how to take pictures, but I was not a photographer. I was not a videographer .... I would not feel comfortable in leading kids .... I knew basically the principles of editing and whatever, but actually for me to organize a learning experience or a project for kids to do their own video or something. I couldn't do that and this too.

*RobbGrieco:* Did you know people doing youth media at the time?

*Thoman:* Of course, yes. It was happening all over. And at first, I thought that analysis was enough. Actually, it was Kathleen Tyner who got me to understand—either from a book, or from a conference we were at in Chicago, and I was in the back of the room and she was speaking, and it was a panel ... in the early 90's. And I had steadfastly refused to get into production [education] because it would have been a lot of information that we would have had to learn that we didn't know, and I didn't have time to go do it myself and learn by doing it. She said something about how it's a two-sided coin—analysis informs the production, and production provides the application of the analysis. And that made sense to me. And that's when I said, "Oops. We missed the boat." But at the time, I couldn't stop on this train—doing another issue and kit and another issue and kit—the train was going pretty fast .... And Canadians were always talking about production as part of media literacy. But I didn't know how—I mean what would you do, write an article about it? .... We didn't know how to approach it.

*RobbGrieco:* But you had media analysis experts from all over contributing .... So why weren't any of the youth media production experts you knew called up?

*Thoman:* I don't know.

*RobbGrieco:* Was it political?

*Thoman:* No. It was not conscious. It was just—we were overwhelmed. We just had to let things go. Most of these things that are omissions were, we just didn't see it, or we didn't make the connection, or we were just overwhelmed.

(E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013)

Thoman's recollections underscore the importance of thinking about the historical context of *CMV* as a small organization engaged in field building, magazine publishing, curriculum development, and teacher education in an emerging field. While some conflicts between education and media studies

discourses may have played a role in shaping CMV's development of media literacy as pedagogy, personal experience and what Foucault calls the "accidents" of history (Foucault, 1977, p. 146)—here, in how *M&V* "just didn't see it" or were "overwhelmed"—also played a significant part.

Other than the *Parenting* workshop kit, most CMV curricula did not develop lessons sensitive to developmental differences in learners. Most curricula gave age ranges of adult, high school to adult, or junior high school to adult, but offered few guidelines for adjusting learning modules for different groups of participants, and no workshop curricula targeted children under eleven years old. Thus, the CMV approach relied on workshop leaders to adapt and choose lessons appropriate for their constituents.

The absence of models for parents and teachers, as well as the lack of articles of media literacy practitioner reflection in *M&V*, are conspicuous omissions in the magazine and workshop kits. Beginning in 1988 at the latest, Thoman and the *M&V* staff collaborated with and borrowed from the Canadian Association for Media Literacy (AML) who, by 1989, succeeded in their efforts to pass a mandate to institute media literacy as 30 percent of English curricula in Ontario, Canada. *M&V* enlisted the AML's leading curriculum developer Barry Duncan in their "Speakers Team" (albeit, an unrealized project), and AML leader Neil Anderson contributed a feature article on media literacy in the classroom (1992); so, *M&V* staff had access to contributors with plenty of experience with classroom practice. In our 2013 interview, when asked Thoman why *M&V* magazine never included articles with case studies or teacher reflections on actual practice to provide models for teachers and parents, she responded, "I don't know," and attributed the omission to the reasons quoted from the interview above. Case studies and reflective writing on media education practice had yet to emerge in the United States where CMV began to build the first substantial professional network of US media educators. The realities of "messy engagement" still seldom appear in discussions of media education, an issue that researchers David Cooper Moore and Renee Hobbs have begun to address in their case studies for teacher education related to their "Powerful Voices for Kids" project on MLE for elementary school children (Hobbs & Moore, 2013).

Noting omissions in the historical example of *M&V*'s efforts to promote a media literacy movement should sensitize contemporary MLE advocates to the possibilities of disconnects between current strands practices and between MLE pedagogical philosophies and discourses of teachers and parents in classroom and home contexts. The complex mix of pedagogical approaches in *M&V* magazine and curricula poses useful examples for today's media educators to consider, as key concepts of media literacy integrate with alternating lessons of traditional and progressive approaches all within a critical pedagogy process and framework (awareness-analysis-reflection-action).

In the following chapter, I discuss how these historical developments inform debates on best practices in teaching and learning in the current field of media literacy education.

## NOTES

1. From 1989 to 1993, the final five years of *M&V* and *CMV*, 93 articles relate directly to pedagogy about media, either by offering learning activity suggestions or discussing teaching methods (including parenting). This is three times the occurrence of such articles from the early years, 1977–1983, and half as many more than appear in the middle years 1984–1988. The final years also saw a much greater occurrence of longer articles with a significant focus on pedagogy (multiple paragraphs on curricula or teaching methods in articles over one page); such articles doubled (22) compared with their occurrence in the middle years (11). Along with the 40–60 pages in each *Media Literacy Workshop Kit* devoted to media literacy pedagogy and lesson plans related to each issue from 1990 to 1993, this increase in frequency of pedagogy-focused articles in the magazine reflects the explicit goals of the Center for Media and Values to shift the purpose of the magazine and organization to produce media literacy curricula for educators.

2. The four-step process bore various names in the magazine and workshop kits. “Active Learning Model” emerged in 1993 in the *TV Alert* and *Global Questions* kits and remained the term used through the 1990s in reprints by the Center for Media Literacy. Earlier kits called the process the “Reflection/Action Model” except for the “Catholic Connections to Media Literacy” kit, which used the term “Pastoral Circle” referring to derivatives of the Catholic adaptations of critical pedagogy in liberation theology and social justice ministry. The *Media Literacy for the 90s* booklet included in all kits and used as a calling card by the Center for Media & Values did not give a proper name to the process in the section describing each step, “How does one teach media literacy?” Instead, the booklet referred to the process as a “co-learning model” (Davis, 1991, p. 4). The basic description of each step and the overall process remained mostly consistent despite the various labels.

3. A slight variation appeared in the organization of learning modules in, *Living in the Image Culture* and *Catholic Connections to Media Literacy*. These two introductory media literacy workshop kits organized several learning modules for each phase of the awareness-analysis-reflection-action process rather than dividing each module into mini-lessons for each phase. The *Citizenship in a Media Age* workshop kit also used this format.

4. However, almost every workshop kit included a paragraph on “Establishing a Monitoring Group” to offer feedback to media industry in the recurring final section “Follow-up Sessions, Resources and Action Ideas,” albeit without connecting to particular learning sessions.

5. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the magazine articles mentioning media literacy curricula or pedagogy are a small portion of the content in the magazine; even in the last four years when editors intended the magazine to be a curricular resource,

less than a third of all articles referred to pedagogy. However, all of the content in the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* was pedagogy-related. Thus, the majority of pedagogy-related articles with group-work activities appears much more profoundly in the kits than the magazine.

6. Most often, the workshop kits and magazine referred to media literacy learners as “participants” or “students,” and sometimes as “your” “group,” “children,” “teens” or “youth”—with the “your” addressing parents or educators who would implement proposed curricula.

7. In *M&V* magazine, 21 of the 93 pedagogy-related articles suggested student-centered approaches while they comprised 80 of the 187 mini-lessons in the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* (excluding *Catholic Connections*, which reprised lessons from other kits, and *Beyond Blame*, which was published in 1995 two years after the end of the magazine). My methods included keeping spreadsheet notes with a line for each pedagogy-related *M&V* article and each lesson in each learning module of the workshop kits. I kept a column with notes on whether the article or lesson was participant-, knowledge/skill-, text-, or activism- centered. I also kept columns with labels or descriptions for each of the following: media studies discourses employed; teaching methods; central concepts and learning goals; and other notes. I counted instances of repeated entries in each column to get a sense of prominent trends, which I discuss in this chapter along with the particular methods that constitute each approach.

8. The few *M&V* magazine exceptions tended to activate prior knowledge of the real world in order to evaluate stereotypical or distorted media representations, as in the parenting tips in “Can TV Characters Pay their Bills?” (DeVries, 1989), and in “But What do I say?” (Davis, 1990/1991), which suggest prompting kids to compare characters’ actions to their real life experiences. In workshop kits, the teaching method is used to invite learners’ experience into a much wider range of inquiry topics, appearing in over a quarter of student-centered lessons (25 of 80).

9. Every workshop kit includes instructions on using video in educational settings recommending techniques to counter habits of passive viewing including assigning note taking or cognitive activities during viewing, using short clips, discussing for more time than viewing, and pausing frequently to discuss (Davis, 1991, p. 7). A few kits included CMV produced videos for use with the kits (*Images of Conflict*, *Catholic Connections to Media*, *Beyond Blame*), but every kit included learning modules directing workshop leaders to video-record broadcast television shows (news, ads, movies or shows) for class analysis, and every kit included documentary video suggestions on media topics and issues as additional resources.

10. Fifteen *M&V* articles from 1989 to 1993 contained textual analysis activities with prescribed concepts, eight of which were content analysis exercises asking learners to count textual elements in suggested categories.

11. Twenty-seven of ninety-three pedagogy-related *M&V* articles from 1989 to 1993 address parents specifically.

12. For example, UCLA professor of Library and Information Sciences, Jorge Reine Schement (1984) contributed a discussion in *M&V* magazine of how the policies of the Reagan administration challenge “the invisible infrastructure of the information society,” which he says “depends on the ideology of publicly accessible

information,” arguing that “by promoting an ideology of private property and free enterprise as moral good, the administration has transferred massive amounts of information to the private sector for resale by corporations ... [and has] placed libraries on the front lines” (p. 7). An *M&V* article on computers in the classroom from 1985 refers directly to information literacy, “Students and adults of the information society need to focus on concepts and skills of information management .... One of the best preparations for the future would be to focus on information literacy” (McKay, 1985, p. 7).

## Chapter 10

# Situating Historical Debates and Contemporary Praxis

In this chapter, I draw together the various ways *Media&Values (M&V)* magazine and workshop kit curricula position media literacy as pedagogy to discuss how the various articulated goals for media literacy education relate to a few prominent themes in media education discourse. With attention to contexts of publishing institution as well as academic and popular discourses, I examine how the balancing, synthesizing and alternating of traditional and progressive pedagogies in the magazine and kits parallels historic tensions in media education pedagogy that persist in contemporary practice. The historical example of CMV curricula's balanced and alternating pedagogies presents a challenge to the polarization of pedagogical approaches in the current field. I review how *M&V* magazine and Center for Media and Values (CMV) curricula address power relationships between teachers and learners in comparison to both historical debates in media education and current strands of media literacy education (MLE) practice, including the contrast between CMV's construction of the teacher as facilitator who sometimes imparts expert knowledge and current trends in positioning the teacher as designer of learning environments. Finally, I discuss CMV curricula's construction of the media literacy teacher as provocateur, instigating tensions between media users' values and media representations by way of reflective practice using basic principles of media literacy, which derive from academic theory and discourses of social reform in contrast to more audience-centered approaches in contemporary media literacy education.



## M&V'S VARIOUS GOALS OF MEDIA LITERACY EDUCATION AND PEDAGOGY

*Media&Values* magazine, the *M&V* magazine curricula, the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* curricula, and the *Media Literacy for the '90's* booklet along with the workshop kit front matter, all suggest different goals for media literacy education. The early years of the magazine employed apprenticeship pedagogy for basic media production skills and knowledge of media technology, which mostly disappeared by the middle years. The early years of *M&V* also established a traditional approach to raising awareness of media issues by imparting expert knowledge problematizing media experience and suggesting solutions through institutional reform. The magazine proclaimed the importance of media education for participating in social reform with sporadic coverage of various programs while consistently promoting the study of media for values education from both traditional (inculcation) and progressive (clarification) approaches. In the middle years, the magazine design implemented a critical pedagogy process, organizing sections to give readers a media literacy experience moving from awareness to analysis in feature articles, to reflection and action in staff columns, which modeled ways to apply knowledge for problematizing media experience in ideas for teaching, learning and activism from perspectives of families, educators, minorities, and pastors. Through the entire production run, the magazine retained its traditional approach to problematizing media based predominantly on discourses of media effects and critical media studies, with expert views on how media influence audiences and reinforce oppressive ideology. Magazine curricula appearing in the middle years, and expanding in the final years, sought to help readers and their constituents demystify media ideology and mitigate media effects through media analysis practice organized by basic media literacy principles and inquiry frameworks. As *M&V* became primarily a curricular resource in the later years, the pedagogy professed in the *Media Literacy for the '90's* booklet and front matter of workshop kits drew on critical cultural studies notions of media audiences negotiating meanings to recommend progressive approaches to student-centered learning within the critical pedagogy process. The front matter introduced basic concepts of media literacy based on cultural studies, semiotics, and critical studies of political economy, which aimed to demystify media's construction of reality and contributions to ideology. The professed pedagogy eschewed goals of mitigating media effects, media production apprenticeship, and discriminating between good and bad media based on personal values, in favor of co-constructing knowledge and analysis to demystify media texts and systems, and of deciding through group dynamics how to take action to address media-related social justice issues discovered through inquiry. However, each of these goals, both the eschewed

and embraced, remained targets of various workshop kit curricula, which dictated knowledge and circumscribed values discourse as often as they offered opportunities to co-construct and discover knowledge through experience and group dialogue. Each of these different goals for media literacy education assumes and constructs different power relations and identity positions among media users (or audiences, consumers), texts, technologies, makers (or producers, owners, executives), policies and systems.

In the early years of *M&V*, the magazine's apprenticeship pedagogy aimed to support the growth of fledgling communications professionals among Catholic religious as part of a communications ministry. The inclusion of media education alongside skills for media production and public relations, fit well with professional discourses of religious vocations, especially for women for whom teaching offered the most employment opportunities. In this sense, the apprenticeship pedagogy, though using traditional methods of direct instruction, sought to offer support for entry-level skills to empower participation in the professional discourse. In this case, the discourse in question was an emerging one inside religious communities and the Catholic Church. Thus, the magazine, as a newsletter for networking among emerging communications professionals, offered sisters, and later other aspiring religious communications professionals, a chance to shape the emerging discourse through their own publications, often showcased or listed in the pages of *M&V*. So, the goal of apprenticeship pedagogy was to discipline readers for participation in established discourses of communications professionalism, but also to offer opportunities to shape or transform emerging discourses in religious communication; a dual purpose of participatory and transformative empowerment. The typical apprenticeship pedagogy practiced in broadcasting and journalism schools at the college level, and replicated in TV production and media arts classes in high schools, may benefit from the historical perspective of *M&V*'s apprenticeship approach. While a critical perspective sees traditional pedagogy as teaching students to reproduce an oppressive status quo that represses women and ethnic minority participation, education scholars such as Lisa Delpit (1995) have argued that direct instruction of dominant discourses associated with economic prosperity are necessary for minorities who have little personal experience or fluency in the culture of power, and grow up with direct communications styles from working class parents. However, the inclusion of the transformative goal in early *M&V* apprenticeship pedagogy presents the possibility of a critical dimension to the participatory discipline,<sup>1</sup> encouraging a sort of change from within the dominant discourse by new participants through the juxtaposition of their other discourses—in this case the social justice missions of Catholic religious and religious feminist discourses mingling with dominant professional media production discourse.

The early magazine also sought to introduce readers to expert knowledge of media-related social issues, which fit well with liberal Catholic religious discourses of social reform. Founding editor Elizabeth Thoman's participation in workshops for social reform based on liberation theology in the late 1970s and early 1980s coincided with the magazine's shift to serving thought leaders of multi-denominational religious communities. Thoman focused the magazine design to offer readers a learning experience through the critical pedagogy process from awareness to analysis, and reflection to action, as inspired by her social analysis experiences in the liberation theology workshops. The concept of *media awareness*, which later evolved into *M&V's* notion of *media literacy*, became the learning target encompassing knowledge of both media-related problems and avenues for reform. The apprenticeship model for media production mostly disappeared in the middle years, but direct instruction of expert knowledge remained a staple of *M&V's* approach in its feature articles, following a typical magazine style of informing readers.

Since the early 1980s, media education scholars have debated whether this traditional approach should be employed for critical empowerment. In the British journal *Screen Education*, Judith Williamson (1981/1982) questioned her own teaching about sexist ideology in comic strips, which may have silenced her student who resembled the female protagonist represented in the comic and analyzed as stereotypical by the class. David Buckingham critiques this phenomenon in critical pedagogy as disturbing students' pleasures in order to assert conventional critical discourses on media representation, which, rather than empowering students, teaches "good" students to mimic the teacher's preferred ways of speaking about popular media while other students shut down (Buckingham & Sefton-Green, 1994; Buckingham, 2003). Buckingham refers to this approach as a sort of "political protectionism...the notion of media education as an ideological inoculation or demystification, which was prevalent [in Britain] in the 1970s and 1980s" (1998, p. 37). Conversely, Henry Giroux champions the notion of *Disturbing Pleasures* (1994) in his book of the same name, which asserts that imposing critical media theories as lenses for learners with which to experiment is empowering so long as the teacher makes explicit her or his agenda and the political views of various theorists while encouraging reflection on personal experience and feelings as means for evaluation. Turnbull (1998) doubts the ease of Giroux's claims based on self-reports of success in his graduate studies teaching experiences as "too good to be true" (p. 91), revisiting Williamson's quandary to examine her own teaching experiences.

Apparently, Giroux has only to deconstruct his own authoritative position as teacher, present his students with the appropriate readings in orientalism,

difference, multiculturalism, postcolonialism, race, feminism, nationalism and the politics of speaking for Others, and ask them to write how such theory intersects with their own experience of the world, in order to achieve instant success. Students willingly present their thoughts to the rest of the class in the safe space created by teacherly fiat .... Ironically, Giroux would appear to see no contradiction between the theory he advocates and the practice he embraces in speaking on behalf of his students about the unmitigated success of this exemplary exercise in liberatory pedagogy for them. Meanwhile back in the less exemplary (but much more familiar) classrooms. Although Giroux may believe he has solved the problem of how to teach in an emancipatory way, there are some of us still struggling with what appear to be the insurmountable problems when dealing with our own messy realities.

(Turnbull, 1998, p. 91).

The majority of *M&V* feature articles present “appropriate readings” of culture, which staff columnists follow with ideas for applying to “their own experiences of the world,” and the magazine always maintained transparency about its goals and design, but questions of power dynamics in educational settings remained unaddressed in the middle years of the magazine. The “insurmountable problems” to which Turnbull refers revolve around the issue of how “critical pedagogy would actually go about teaching students who are racist, sexist or otherwise unwilling to embrace the enlightenment offered them by their well-meaning teachers” (p. 89). Turnbull explores cases of her “otherwise unwilling” female students for whom media representations, deemed sexist under critical analysis, provide pleasures and identity options that help them to resist more restrictive family discourses. As a step toward a solution to this dilemma of well-intentioned critical pedagogy backfiring by disabling student resistance, Turnbull suggests a progressive approach within the critical process:

Rather than being intent on teaching our students what to think about the media, I believe we should be intent on teaching them *how* to think. In other words, rather than being intent on working towards agreed upon answers, I think we should be intent on devising the significant *questions* we should all be asking about the role of the media in our lives.

(Turnbull, 1998, p. 101)

*M&V* pedagogy introduced this tactic in their staff columns suggesting inquiry frameworks and short articles based on key principles with activity suggestions. In these articles, the magazine balanced learner-centered approaches with teacher- or parent-centered traditional pedagogy—a balance that remained consistent in the Center for Media and Values curricula

produced in (and accompanying) the magazine in its last five years. However, the professed pedagogical philosophy of CMV leaned much more toward progressive approaches than the curricula bore out while maintaining dedication to a critical process for empowerment.

In addition to reviewing the critical process manifest in both magazine design and learning module organization with sections for awareness, analysis, reflection and action, the front matter of the workshop kits professed a learner-centered pedagogy based on constructions of powerful media users and egalitarian group dynamics. The essays reprinted in each workshop kit positioned learners as already knowledgeable about media and engaged in negotiating meanings between producer's intentions and their own experiences—ideas supported by both British critical cultural studies and American cultural studies discourses on media audiences of the late 1980s and early 1990s. However, the essays also assume that learners lack knowledge of contexts of media production and effects, as well as skills for analyzing techniques of media representation, "We all participate actively in the media 'wrestling match.' But for those not trained in media literacy the contest is unconscious and therefore unequal" (Osborn, 1993d, p. 2). The approach assumes the uninitiated learner's relationship with media to be "unconscious," as "readers and listeners *negotiate* the meaning of any 'text' depending on their age, sex, ethnic background or personal history" (p. 2). The handout on the basic principles reiterates this notion, "That is, who we are, our sex, ethnic background, age character and personal history, determines what the media mean to us" (Davis, 1992e, p. 28). While the CMV essays position the learner's unconscious identity discourses and personal experiences as engaging in a "struggle" over meaning making, they cast media makers as adversaries with an advantage over unskilled media users, "But for those unaware of some basic concepts of media literacy, media makers have the upper hand. Media makers know the tricks of the trade—and they use these to manipulate everything—intentionally or unintentionally" (Davis, 1990b, p. 7). Thus, media makers appear as "manipulative," using "tricks" to gain an "upper hand" over media users. The kits each introduce the basic principles of media literacy as central concepts from which to address these deficiencies, "With skilled practice young people (and their elders!) can filter and change what all media present by questioning, challenging and contradicting—or supporting and reinforcing—what they see and hear" (Osborn, 1993d, p. 2). Thus, the kits position media literacy skills as intervening in the learners' unconscious processing of media meanings, asserting an agency of conscious choice around how to respond to media makers' messages using their awareness of media literacy principles along with active engagement of knowledge and values from their various identity discourses and lived history. In order to activate the learner's prior knowledge and values, the CMV front matter,

and many learning module activities, impose specific methods for group discussion, which aim to draw out the personal views of each learner in a safe space. This focus on discussing personal media experiences often appears in the beginning of lessons before practice with media literacy principles or particular critical theory perspectives are introduced. Subsequent inquiry and discussion frameworks asserting ML principles and critical perspectives also encourage reflection upon personal media experience and taste in relation to the asserted lenses. However, the section of the *Media Literacy for the 90's* booklet on how to teach media literacy ends with an assertion of the need to balance inquiry between discussions of participants' interests/experiences, expert knowledge, and analytic lenses,

Thus, it is essential to address the ideas, concerns and interests of participants. But don't avoid economic, political, cultural and historical analysis because it seems 'heavy' for your group. These are precisely the issues that need to be addressed in order to empower participants.

(Davis, 1991, p. 4)

The traditional methods of direct instruction and skill-and-drill activities throughout the workshop curricula assert this balance of expert knowledge and prescribed analytic lenses against the personal experience focus of progressive pedagogy methods in other lessons and the philosophy professed in the front matter.

Apparently, CMV was untroubled by the contradictions between its professed progressive pedagogical philosophy and the traditional methods it often utilized within the critical learning process model. Perhaps the use of traditional methods facilitated the practice of teachers in the context of resurgent traditional approaches to education reform in the 1980s with back-to-basics initiatives focused on skill-and-drill methods and direct instruction of prescribed content (Ravitch, 2000). Perhaps the assertion of expert knowledge and analytic techniques from critical perspectives using traditional methods in CMV curricula addresses the critical pedagogy concern that solely student-centered inquiry often leads to reproduction of oppressive ideology. If we take seriously the CMV claims about honoring the prior knowledge, experiences and values of individual participants, it is possible to see the balance of progressive and traditional methods as a sign of respect for the learner's resilience in making active, personal choices among discourses of their own identities/experience, the shared discourses of the group, and the critical discourses of theoretical perspectives on media introduced by the curricula. As shown throughout the prior chapter, CMV curricula certainly balanced traditional and progressive methods within the critical pedagogy process. The curricula also included a variety of

goals for media literacy education despite the professed philosophy favoring pedagogy for supporting learners' negotiation of meanings from media texts and contexts.

The primary goal of media literacy education reiterated in the front matter of the CMV workshop kits is empowerment through personal skill development in contextual media analysis:

This approach suggests by understanding the political, social and economic influence of the media, media users can gain the power to change the mass media themselves by changing the way they respond to it and interact with it. This kind of empowerment is the essence of democracy.

(Davis, 1991, p. 3).

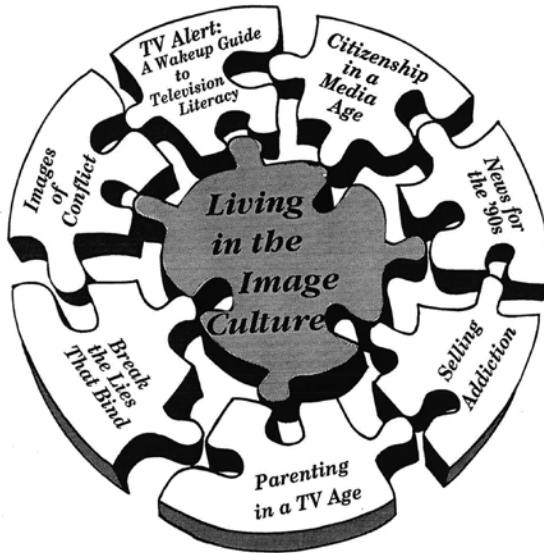
Here, media literacy appears as a component of democratic citizenship as a way to develop a well-informed, deliberative public resistant to media manipulation. A block quote from founding *M&V* editor and CMV executive director Elizabeth Thoman on the front page of the *Media Literacy for the 90's* booklet situates personal media literacy development as a step toward wider social change, "If audiences begin to choose their media less automatically and more intentionally, those cumulative acts of choice will ultimately change the nature of our media environment" (E. Thoman quoted in Davis, 1991, p. 1). These statements position media literacy as a matter of raising the consciousness of individuals and empowering them to change their own engagement with media, which cumulatively precipitates widespread change, "rather than demand the mass media itself protect us from allegedly 'immoral' or 'undemocratic' influences" (Davis, 1991, p. 3). However, the workshop kits contain many lessons engaging participants in activism (actual and simulated) for institutional change, often with explicit protectionist goals, as in the *Selling Addiction* kit, as well as the many recommendations in both the magazine and workshop kits to monitor mass media for gender and ethnic representations followed by suggestions to share feedback with media producers or legislators to incite change. In such lessons, the goals of media literacy include the articulation of opinions on media policy and active political participation—a classic media reform agenda. Despite the rhetoric in the front matter of workshop kits distancing CMV pedagogy from the goal of mitigating media effects, the *Selling Addiction* and *TV Alert* kits contain lessons seeking to do just that with respect to cumulative effects of media violence and direct effects of tobacco and alcohol advertising. Likewise, despite explicitly stating in their pedagogical philosophy that training professional production skills is not a goal of MLE, several learning modules in workshop kits employ apprenticeship pedagogy for a variety of ends, such as learning to

effectively construct video or audio messages, to write letters to media executives or legislators, to perform well on talk radio, and to conduct news interviews. These lessons position particular ways of using technology as means for political and cultural participation, rather than transforming institutions or seeking emancipation from “automatic” or “unconscious” engagement and “manipulative” media influences. While the political action encouraged in apprenticeship-style media production lessons may target social change, the learning itself does not include a transformative or emancipatory goal, but rather a participatory agency via the preferred uses of the medium for effective communication. The *Citizenship in a Media Age* and *Global Questions* kits both contain lessons encouraging democratic participation by way of seeking alternative media for information and cultural enrichment. Finally, many lessons related to parenting in the magazines and workshop kits suggest strategies for asserting family values in response to media and managing children’s media choices without involving the development of the child’s media literacy. These protectionist strategies often appear adjacent to learner-centered lessons for critical (emancipatory and transformative) or progressive (participatory) empowerment.<sup>2</sup> So, how are we to understand this mix of MLE goals and philosophical contradictions in *M&V* and *CMV* curricula?

The variety of educational goals and methods coexisting despite their contradictions in *CMV* curricula suggests either an internal struggle to develop a clear vision for the US “media literacy movement,” or a comfort with offering teachers and learners a wide range of ways to address media issues—or perhaps both. Figure 10.1 shows a handout from a 1993 *CMV* board meeting with a vision of how the various workshop kits fit together as a puzzle around the *Living in the Image Culture* centerpiece (Thoman, 1993f). Although each kit included lessons targeting each basic principle of media literacy, and each phase of the critical process, each kit also relies on a different media problem articulated by the magazine issue included. The teaching methods in *CMV* curricula balance asserting media issues directly with deriving problems from participants’ experiences, but each kit has a clear agenda of practicing particular ways of problematizing media and seeking solutions in personal, social and institutional action. *CMV* curricula designers referred to their MLE strategies as “empowerment” approaches, which they distinguished from earlier “protectionist” goals (Davis, 1991), but contemporary media literacy scholars would likely view the *CMV* approaches as protectionist since they assert the need to address media issues and learner deficiencies determined for the learner by the curricula (see, for example, Buckingham, 1998b; 2003; Tyner, 1998; Hobbs, 1998; 2008; 2011). However, the discussion above shows that *CMV* curricula may be too various in methods and goals to summarize on one side or the other of an empowerment/protectionism



## Puzzled by Media Literacy?



## Put it together with the Center for Media and Values

**Figure 10.1** “Puzzled by Media Literacy?” (Thoman, 1993f). Graphic of how Media Literacy Workshop Kits fit like puzzle pieces, included in promotional materials discussed at CMV Board of Directors meeting, May 1993.

paradigm dichotomy. Contemporary strands of practice in media literacy tend to articulate more focused goals for MLE—critical media literacy primarily addresses social justice issues of identity representations; news literacy focuses on citizenship skills; MLE for media and public health focus on mitigating media effects; digital literacy focuses on job and consumer skills with technology; and so on. CMV curricula took on all these goals. The historical example of CMV’s curricular goals poses the question for contemporary MLE educators in the United States: What is gained and lost in dividing the media literacy goals among various silos of practice? For learners? For educators? For the politics of promoting MLE programs? Before returning to these questions in the final chapter, I will discuss the effects of the most consistently articulated methods and goals in CMV curricula—uses of basic media literacy principles, and positioning teachers as co-learners—as well as

the conspicuous omissions of prevalent media education approaches ignored in the development of CMV pedagogy.

## ML BASIC PRINCIPLES AND INQUIRY FRAMEWORKS AS TECHNOLOGIES OF THE SELF

CMV curricula intend the basic principles of media literacy to empower, but they do so by disciplining thinking and expression. Although employing the basic principles in inquiry frameworks provides flexibility for application to various media experiences in coordination with discourses of various identity positions, it does not make them “neutral” conceptual tools. They impose a conceptual framework for media experience, and thereby discipline learners as subjects who think about their media use in particular ways, which they might otherwise choose not to do. In claiming that “The key concepts are *critical reflection* and *active engagement*” (Davis, 1990b, p. 7), CMV pedagogical philosophy positions media literacy as a means for privileging a rational, de-centered perspective to supplant immersive, “automatic” or “unconscious” media use. Furthermore, the basic principles derive from scholarly discourses of media studies theories, rather than popular discourses. Such principles, called *scientific concepts* in Vygotskian learning theory, rarely emerge naturally from lived experience as *spontaneous concepts*, but require support or “scaffolding” from teachers skilled in their use (Vygotsky, 1978). As scientific concepts, the media literacy principles and inquiry frameworks reiterated in CMV curricula aim to destabilize dominant meanings and messages to open meaning-making possibilities from a wide array of value systems, experiences and conceptual schema. As shown in this chapter, sometimes CMV curricula imposes or suggests preferred values systems (usually from a liberal, social justice perspective), and sometimes lessons encourage individual reflection or group collaboration to bring various discourses into conversation for evaluating media texts. In either case, the ways of knowing imposed by media literacy principles and inquiry frameworks are not purely emancipatory; they are also productive. The practice of media literacy in CMV’s way produces, or seeks to produce, subjects who privilege the following habits of mind in media use: 1) challenging spontaneous understandings and affective experiences from media with rational discourses from a variety of critical perspectives and their own ethical experiences (*audiences negotiate meanings*); 2) rejecting verisimilitude of media representations and questioning the purposes of constructed messages (*media are constructions*); 3) recognizing production techniques and textual features that produce meanings and feelings (*media use identifiable techniques*); 4) assuming a profit-motive or political interest in media production and

questioning its effects and influence (*media are businesses with commercial interests*); 5) recognizing all media as representing particular values and evaluating representations in relation to ideological positions (*media contain ideological/values messages*). The flexibility of the conceptual design with the use of inquiry frameworks encourages learners to apply these disciplines within various social contexts, merging media literacy discipline with their various identities in the home, at work, in the community, and at school.

The CMV pedagogical philosophy professes the need to recognize that all media users negotiate meanings regardless of media literacy practice; however, the basic principles present particular scientific concepts, or particular ways of knowing, for negotiating meanings and responding to media experience. The core principles model of media literacy education persists in the United States with current national organizations adapting and adding to the model employed by CMV (National Association of Media Literacy Education, 2007; Action Coalition for Media Education, 2007), but some education and media scholars challenge the approach for subjugating or ignoring the pleasures and practices developed by media users and learners in their own contexts outside formal educational settings. Such approaches privilege the spontaneous concepts derived from contextualized practice, and derive from discourses of powerful audiences in media studies as well as new literacies studies in education. The New London Group (1996) reframes the concept of literacy with the plural *literacies* in order to emphasize the notion that groups of people develop different sets of skills for using texts in different social contexts. The term “new literacies” refers to the skills and competencies emerging around digital media use and new information communication technologies in various online communities and social contexts (Lankshear & Knobel, 2007). New literacies and new media literacies research and theory in the past decade have derived new sets of competencies (remixing, transmedia navigation, distributed intelligence, etc.) from case studies of participants in digital media communities who learn informally from peers in affinity groups based on shared interests (Jenkins et al., 2006; Lankshear & Knobel, 2008). From these perspectives, traditional literacy serves a centralized notion of power as the academic discourse on textual interactions dominates popular discourses, subjugating local knowledge and practices. From a multi- or new literacies point of view, the basic media literacy principles represent one such set of centralized academic literacy concepts (culled from academic theories of media studies), which seek to colonize popular, local ways of interacting with media. Pedagogy of the digital media and learning (DML) strand of media education, developed in recent years from new media literacies approaches, seeks to privilege the practices and identities of learners’ own engagements with texts by privileging highly localized and contextual sets of literacy

skills rather than imposing a centralized set of concepts to apply to various situations (Digital Media and Learning Research Hub, 2014). However, CMV curricula also sought to bring the localized meaning-making practices and prior knowledge of learners into classroom practice through progressive pedagogical methods. CMV pedagogy encouraged bringing localized popular discourses of participants into conversation with basic media literacy principles, positioning the latter as conceptual tools to add to any identity kit. The historical example of CMV curricula balancing informal and formal ways of knowing in the classroom poses a question to contemporary education scholars as to whether the argument needs to be dichotomized in terms of *either* a centralized literacy practiced for wide application *or* a distributed notion of literacies supported by diversified learning in applied contexts. The CMV media literacy pedagogy attempts to balance both the various identity discourses of participants (including their informal literacies and spontaneous concepts used for understanding media), and academic media literacy practice.

### MEDIA LITERACY PEDAGOGY AS NEGOTIATING POWER IN THE CLASSROOM AND HOME

The media literacy pedagogy of the Center for Media and Values endeavors to resolve the power imbalance between teacher and learner agency—a central project in both progressive and critical approaches to education reform. The CMV workshop kits downplay the importance of expert knowledge and skills of media educators, positioning workshop leaders as *co-learners* facilitating group activities. By positioning the workshop leader as needing no expertise in media studies, CMV opens the possibility of integrating media literacy into any educators' repertoire with a low learning curve. For CMV, the skill set needed to teach media literacy consists of the ability to facilitate student inquiry and reflection on tensions between media experience, real life experience, and personal values. The rote directions for group facilitation outlined in the front matter of each kits (e.g., "Rules for Brainstorming"—Davis, 1991, p. 6) discount the importance of professional skills for managing group learning that teachers develop through sustained study and practice, in teacher education and professional development as well as in field experience, as CMV promotes the notion that "anyone can do it" by following their guidelines. Thus, the anti-intellectual editorial tone of *M&V* extends to the workshop curricula devaluing the professionalism of teachers in an attempt to reconfigure the traditional balance of power in the classroom in favor of the learners. In efforts to reconcile "the poles of contradiction so that both are simultaneously teacher and student" (Freire quoted in Davis, 1991, p. 4),

CMV pedagogy does not, however, completely silence the teacher; the guidelines for managing group dynamics reposition teachers as co-learners by encouraging them to share their own opinions, observations and comments when discussion stalls: “count to 30 before prodding the group or even answering the question yourself .... Model answers .... Include yourself. Say ‘Let’s try this activity,’ not ‘Why don’t you try this’” (Davis, 1991, p. 6). While the CMV pedagogical philosophy subjugates teacher expertise and authority, the workshop and *M&V* magazine curricula reinforce parental authority over children’s media use in the home.

Most CMV curricula addressing parents recommends strategies for parents managing their children’s media use (by monitoring, selecting, and restricting) and asserting their family values in the meaning making process. However, many co-viewing tips for parents include discussion questions to engage children in sharing their own feelings and thoughts, in analyzing media techniques, and in comparing representation to reality. While the CMV curricula is very specific in its guidelines for workshop leaders methods of managing discussion to ensure that participants’ ideas get heard with minimal inhibition, no such guidance appears for parents. Thus, CMV pedagogy defers to parental authority over their own pedagogical style while offering inquiry frameworks and activities with progressive methods without imposing them as necessary parenting strategies. Although the *Parenting* workshop kit features lessons where parents simulate parent-child discussion to develop strategies, only one model of how to manage parenting discussion appears in CMV curricula—Davis’s article “But what do I say: Five Important Things to Teach Your Kids about Media” (1990/1991). Ironically, the CMV curricula leave parents with little educational expertise to develop their own pedagogy of discussion management while strongly asserting methods for teachers. Thus, CMV positions media literacy pedagogy to support parents in intervening in their children’s media use to mobilize their own discourses in the home, and to challenge traditional educational discourses in the classroom.

### **CMV Curricula Encourage Assessment of Learning Processes by Participants Rather Than Learning Outcomes by Teachers**

Another way that CMV curricula challenges traditional educational discourses is the manner of evaluation recommended in the workshop kits. Each kit included standard evaluation forms for participants to offer feedback (e.g., Davis, 1990b, pp. 38–39), which included a 5-point scale for rating clarity of session purpose, structure of lessons, relevance of topics, effect on personal media use (“I will watch, read or listen to media differently because of today’s session”), leader facilitation, personal discussion participation, handout adequacy, general expectation fulfillment, and overall impression.

The evaluation form also included open-ended questions about the participant's favorite part of the session, new awareness gleaned, likely action to be taken, and ideas for what else might have helped the learning process. No other forms of feedback or assessment appear in the CMV curricula.<sup>3</sup> Thus, learning modules do not offer means to assess individual student learning goals, but rather seek feedback on the learner and group's opinion of the curricula and teaching performance. This may have inhibited the use of the curricula in most schools where individual student assessment on various competencies was (and continues to be) normative. This approach eschews the reality of power dynamics in most classroom situations in the United States where teachers assess students and report their progress to students (often weekly), parents (at least quarterly), and to the school and state in grades that become part of their permanent record each year. By omitting the prospect of individual assessment, the approach may allow for more genuinely learner-directed inquiry as participants may be less inclined to try to please the teacher by mastering the preferred concepts and language to "talk posh" about media, as Buckingham calls such behavior in his critique of teacher and curriculum centered pedagogy (2003). However, the approach also sacrifices the educator's ability to measure individual learning, to assess the pedagogical effectiveness of the curricula for individual learners, and thus to adjust the approach to learner's individual needs.

### **CMV Curricula Position the Media Literacy Teacher as Provocateur**

CMV curricula position the media literacy teacher as provocateur, bringing internal tensions between participants' values, identity discourses, and pleasures into conflict around experiences with media. While the pedagogical philosophy in the front matter of the workshop kits positions teachers as co-learners, the curricula in the kits and magazine positions the teacher to deliver expert knowledge from the magazine and pose critical questions to challenge participants' to re-evaluate their own media use, media experiences, and meaning making processes. This approach of instigating "tensions" between values exercised in media experience and values from other modes of experience emerged in British media education discourses on critical pedagogy in the 1980s:

So I would say that students learn best to see the 'invisible,' ideology, when it becomes in their own interest to—when they are actually caught in a contradiction, believing things which are directly hindering their own well being or wishes, or which conflict with a change in experience.

(Williamson, 1981/1982, p. 85)

Decades later, education scholars still struggle with this role of inciting internal conflicts in students, as evident in Sue Turnbull's case studies (1998; discussed above), presented in conversation with Williamson's article, about students silenced by critical analysis of oppressive ideology in the media they like. As a solution, Turnbull suggests:

The kinds of open-ended exploration of self and media which characterize a progressive rather than a radical form of pedagogy: a pedagogy which allows the students to explore the contradictions in their own experience of specific social contexts and the media, rather than seeking to overlay a template of critical theory imported from other times and other places.

(Turnbull, 1998, p. 102)

However, Turnbull questions whether this progressive approach would be empowering, reasoning that since her working class, minority, female students' experiences were confined within subjugated cultural spheres, then their free exploration of personal experience would not likely lead beyond disadvantaged discourses. CMV curricula address this dilemma of critical pedagogy by alternating and balancing progressive and traditional teaching methods, as well as shifting between the various MLE goals discussed above.

Contemporary thought leaders in media literacy education continue to fashion media literacy pedagogy to address issues of power between teachers, students, schools and homes. The digital media and learning (DML) strand of practice emphasizes learning from peers in affinity groups based on shared interest with the teacher positioned as facilitator of exploration and reflective practice, rather than gatekeeper of knowledge—much like CMV pedagogical philosophy recommended. A recent DML collaboration of U.S and British scholars calls for re-conceptualizing formal educational settings as “connected classrooms,” which, beyond using the Internet and networked mobile technology to engage with the home and other learning settings, encourages educators to use technology to understand and integrate practices from other applied settings into classroom practice in order to facilitate more highly contextualized learning (Ito et al., 2013). This idea capitalizes on new technology to enhance the approach of bringing learner's own media experiences into classroom conversation, which CMV encouraged in curricula asking participants to bring in their own media texts to share. The connected classroom approach also extends the reach of peer learning from the group dynamics emphasized in CMV pedagogy to the authentic contexts of practice in digital spaces involving peers beyond the classroom or workshop environment. However, connected classroom approaches do not include the role of teacher as provocateur, “teachers today are environmental: We craft the educational ecosystems in which we mutually learn and build with students during the

hours of 9 to 3” (Garcia, 2014). The case studies from the US National Writing Project of teachers implementing connected classroom approaches share the CMV pedagogical philosophy of positioning teachers as co-learners encouraging participation alongside students in digital media projects, but they do not include interrupting immersive experiences or interjecting critical lenses into peer learning interactions (Garcia, 2014). Conversely, the latter practices persist as a central focus in contemporary strands of MLE in critical media literacy (Kellner & Share, 2005), media and public health (e.g., Drug Free Pennsylvania Project, 2013), and media reform (e.g., Media Literacy Project, 2012). British media education scholar Julian MacDougall recommends that, as a field, media literacy education should narrow its goals to focus exclusively on the problem of power in the classroom between the formal expert knowledge/skills of teachers/curricula and the informal popular knowledge/skills of students (MacDougall, 2014). He suggests that rather than overreaching to include goals of citizenship, mitigating media effects, ideological emancipation, media reform, aesthetic appreciation, or moral instruction, MLE should concentrate on a progressive approach of supporting learners in reflective media practice to articulate their own ethics, uses, problems and learning needs. CMV curricula offers an historical example for contemporary educators to consider as an alternative to these narrowing, either/or approaches with the possibilities of integrating or alternating various approaches to balance the educational agendas of learners, teachers, curricula and various communities.

## NOTES

1. Delpit (1995) and other scholars who advocate the inclusion of traditional pedagogy for participating in dominant cultural discourses also emphasize the importance of critical thinking; that is, while they see many students benefitting from direct instruction of how to speak, think and act in ways that demonstrate cultural capital, they also believe that questioning the validity and ethicality of dominant forms of knowledge is essential for learners.

2. From the perspective of parents and researchers who believe children are a particularly vulnerable audience for media influence, and who see mass media as full of potential for harmful influence, such protectionist approaches to family media management may be seen as a sort of emancipatory empowerment for children, sparing them traumatic or harmful exposure to dubious media representations—though the parent becomes the emancipatory agent.

3. CMV also never engaged in formal program evaluation for their curricula, which not only may have limited their curricula development, but also prevented relationships with funders who expected the use of some measures to demonstrate media literacy effectiveness.





## Chapter 11

# Drawing Conclusions

## *On Legacy and Agency*

This history of *Media&Values* (*M&V*) magazine through the analysis of discourses around media literacy provides perspective on today's articulations of media literacy as some ideas and practices persist in new contexts made clear in comparison, and other ideas lost to time have been recovered for contemporary consideration. My analysis has shown how *M&V* positioned media literacy as reform, as understanding representation and reality, and as pedagogy in relation to discourses of media studies and education reform as well as other popular and political historical contexts of the period. These findings suggest that *M&V* constructed media literacy in its various articulations as interventions in power, which appear at different levels of engagement—individual, group, and institutional. These interventions in power relations seek to promote the agency of various constituents (media users, makers, teachers, learners, etc.). With special attention to tensions and debates among different strands of contemporary media education, in this concluding chapter, I highlight the relevance for current practice of the primary discursive themes in *M&V*, including problematizing media experience, suggesting reform solutions, studying media stereotypes, engaging in values education, dealing with news biases, and addressing the teacher-student relationship. Finally, I evaluate *M&V*'s effort toward building a media literacy movement by speaking across discourse communities of scholars, activists, and educators in the United States, and by shifting purposes to reach different target audiences of thought leaders and practitioners.

## MEDIA LITERACY AS INTERVENTIONS IN POWER: AGENCY IN *MEDIA&VALUES*

For the past two decades, media literacy scholars, including myself, have discussed the field of media literacy in terms of the paradigms of protectionism and empowerment (e.g., Buckingham, 1998b; Kellner & Share, 2005; Livingstone, 2010; RobbGrieco & Hobbs, 2012; Grizzle et al., 2014). These paradigmatic designations are problematic because practitioners in all strands of media literacy see their work as a form of empowerment (Livingstone, 2010). Also, notions of what constitutes protectionism have changed over time; some of the media literacy practices that *M&V* touted as empowerment approaches are commonly seen as protectionism in the current field. In the *Media Literacy for the '90s* booklet, Davis (1991) describes the Center for Media and Values (CMV) version of media literacy as moving toward an empowerment model and away from earlier models of protectionism and discrimination. For Davis, protectionism referred to media reform efforts to censor and regulate mass media at institutional levels of government and media industry, along with teaching about how to discriminate between good and bad media in order to monitor one's own exposure. However, by the standards of many contemporary media literacy scholars, Davis' version of media literacy empowerment itself appears as protectionist. Davis summarizes media literacy empowerment as enabling the media user "in determining the impact of media.... By understanding the political, social and economic influence of the media ... changing the way they respond to it and interact with it" (p. 3). Here, Davis casts the skills of negotiating meanings as a defense against mass media influence, which assumes a "deficit model" of the learner (Tyner, 1998) often associated with protectionism. Notions of protectionism and empowerment through media literacy remain unsophisticated and under-theorized in most of the MLE field today, and scholars have failed to provide adequate language for comparing notions of empowerment across our various strands of practice (Livingstone, 2004). My analysis of *Media&Values* has led me to think of empowerment in more descriptive terms as functioning in emancipatory, transformative, and participatory modes—terms which I believe MLE practitioners might effectively use to think about empowerment in their own work. While it is beyond the scope of historical research to propose developed theories of empowerment via media literacy, a review of the ways *M&V* constructed agency through media literacy offers some useful starting places for this much needed discussion.

Each of the various articulations of media awareness and media literacy in *M&V* magazine constructs a different sort of agency afforded by media literacy practice. *M&V*'s constructions of agency through media awareness/literacy occur at different levels of individual, group, and institutional instantiation (or personal, social, and cultural levels of analysis). The magazine's conceptions of media awareness/literacy each suggest different power

relations among media users, makers, texts, technology, teachers, learners, parents, and children. Throughout the preceding chapters, I have discussed the implications for power relations among these constituents of *M&V*'s conceptions of media awareness/literacy. Here, I will synthesize my analyses to provide a schema for thinking about power implications in media literacy practices with relevance to the current field. Figure 11.1 shows each type of media literacy practice prominent in *M&V* with corresponding assumptions about identities of media users lacking media literacy, projections of identities<sup>1</sup> of media users transformed by media literacy practice, manifestations of agency in the practice (what this media literacy practice enables one to do), modes of that agency (emancipatory, transformative, or participatory), and the primary level of agency efficacy (individual, group, or institutional).

### Agency through Media Reform

When *Media&Values* positioned media literacy as engaging readers or workshop participants in media reform, the concept operated on the assumption that media users would be victims of, or apathetic about, the influence of mainstream mass media without the awareness afforded by media literacy. By sharing knowledge about media issues (from media effects and critical media studies discourses) and information about how to join collective action, *M&V*'s positioning of media literacy as reform constructed agency around changing media industry practices and regulatory policies. Primarily, media reform involved addressing institutions in a transformative mode, initiating cultural change by influencing industry practices or legislative action. However, many of the changes suggested in *M&V* also take on emancipatory functions, seeking to minimize or regulate (allegedly) harmful media representations, such as sexual violence in film or advertising addictive products. Although many label such approaches to media reform *protectionist*, proponents see these measures as freeing vulnerable audiences from unhealthy media exposure, which *M&V* often referred to using the metaphor of a polluted media environment. Furthermore, the media literacy practice of media reform in *M&V* often involved educating for activism, which included problematizing one's own media experiences and working toward collective solutions after careful analysis and reflection. To reduce the critical process to the notion of protectionism only accounts for the end product of the transformative action, which was indeed often aimed at protecting audiences assumed vulnerable. However, such a reduction ignores the agency afforded the media reformer through this articulation of media literacy practice. Furthermore, engaging people in media reform through media literacy involves a participatory agency in a political sense, as media reformers quite literally engage in democratic participation and market politics. From this first example, we can see that the types of agency—transformative, emancipatory, and participatory—overlap quite a bit. Figure 11.2 is a concept map

Media Literacy Practice/Goal	Identity-Assumed	Identity-Transformed	Agency	Type of Agency	Level of Agency
Media reform	Victim, disenfranchised or apathetic citizen	Crusader, activist; active citizen	Change media institutions, policy; influence industry	Transformative (culture), emancipatory, participatory (politics)	Institutional
Mitigating media effects	Exploited victim, vulnerable user	Savvy, discriminating user	Change processing, avoid harm, make healthy choices	Emancipatory, transformative (self)	Individual
Demystifying media	Passive dupe	Active critic, resistor	Negotiate meanings, resist oppressive ideology, discern constructed reality, assert personal ethics, problematize	Emancipatory (ideology), transformative (self)	Individual, group
Civic engagement (informed, democratic)	Apathetic, mainstream news consumer	Active citizen, diverse news consumer	Discern biases, fact and opinion; seek diverse news sources	Participatory (political), emancipatory (ideology)	Individual
Apprenticeship in media production	Consumer, novice media maker	Producer, effective communicator, creator	Construct powerful messages, disseminate	Participatory (cultural, social, political, economic)	Individual, group, institutional
Discriminating media use: values clarification	Influenced, confused or thoughtless media user	Thoughtful, ethical user	Distinguish media values from personal values; discriminate good/bad media	Transformative	Individual, group
Discriminating media use: values inculcation	Vulnerable media user	Well-instructed individual	Recognize, assimilate, and apply good messages; avoid bad	Participatory (social, cultural, political)	Group, institutional

Figure 11.1 Construction of Agency through Media Literacy in *Media&Values*.

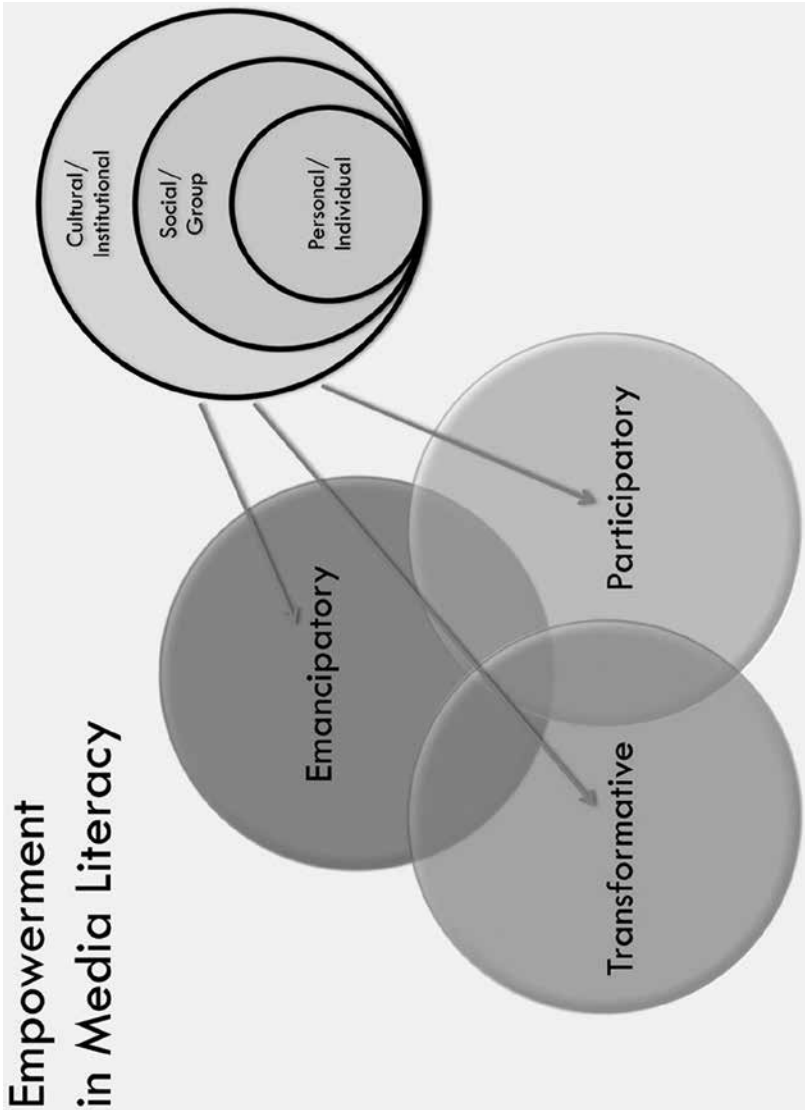


Figure 11.2 Concept map of three overlapping modes of empowerment each with three levels of engagement.

expressing how these three modes of agency overlap. Rather than expound on each of these concepts and their interactions in the abstract, it is more effective to demonstrate their usefulness through discussion of the other articulations of media literacy practice in *M&V* and their constructions of agency.

### Agency in Mitigating Media Effects

*Media & Values* often positions media literacy practice as a means to mitigate media effects. In doing so, there is an assumption that media users are vulnerable, exploited victims of harmful media exposure (negatively affecting behavior, attitudes and beliefs), an identity which media literacy practice transforms into savvy, discriminating users. This identity transformation occurs through the agency to manage one's own cognitive processing through media literacy practice, and to use awareness of negative media influence to avoid harm by making healthy media choices. The latter construction of agency posits an emancipatory empowerment, freeing the media user from harmful exposure by activating knowledge of media effects and one's own media habits to actively monitor and manage media "diet." Here, protectionism manifests through the user's own agency, protecting one's self through informed choices in media use, not as a paternal action of reform on others' behalf—although, in practice, who determines what is harmful by what reasoning remain important questions. The agency of changing one's cognitive processing involves developing and mobilizing one's knowledge of the real-world, personal experience, personally held values, media techniques in message construction, and media's political economy to recognize, preempt, and counter effects of dubious media representations. This is a transformative mode of empowerment at the level of the individual, which, as Davis (1991) suggests, supports the media user in "determining the impact of the media" (p. 3). Potter's cognitive theory of media literacy (2004) developed this discourse of mitigating media effects through notions of understanding one's own psychological drives and using knowledge of media to modulate influence. Although much empirical research, drawing on media effects discourse in its design, has since supported the notion of media literacy development as an intervention in negative media effects (Primack et al., 2006; Scharrer, 2006; Bergsma & Carney, 2008; Chen, 2013), little evidence existed to support the claim during the run of *M&V*. Contributors reiterated the potential of media literacy practice to mitigate media effects, and editors sometimes claimed that "research shows" the efficacy of media awareness/literacy in this regard, but they only referenced one study supporting the claim—from an interview with Neil Malamuth on his research on education about media representations of sexual violence perpetuating rape myths, which resulted in attitude changes about sexual mores in men (Staff, 1985f). Recent research on the implementation of the Center for Media Literacy

(CML) *Beyond Blame* curricula, originally developed from *M&V* issues 62 and 63, shows evidence for the efficacy of CML approaches to media literacy practice in reducing aggressive behavior of participants as well as in affecting their choices to consume less violent media (Fingar & Jolls, 2014).

### Agency in Demystifying Media

In positioning media literacy as the practice of *demystifying media* through understanding message construction techniques, media's political economy, and ideological effects, *Media & Values* assumed that the identities of media users without ML development were those of passive dupes dominated by the culture industries of mass media. In *M&V*, this view of mass media audiences from Frankfurt School critical media studies discourse could be transformed through media literacy practice, producing active media critics and resisters of dominant culture with the agency to negotiate meanings from media, resist oppressive ideological messages, discern constructed realities in media representations, assert personal (or group) ethics, and problematize personal media experience. This type of empowerment is emancipatory at the individual and group levels of practice, as participants gain awareness of how media representations reinforce oppressive ideologies affecting themselves or other social groups. Through this awareness, the individual gains the opportunity for transformative empowerment with the option to resist dominant or preferred meanings imposed by media makers in favor of negotiated or oppositional meanings derived from other discourses accessible through one's identity or acquired in group practice. *M&V*'s well developed discourses of media literacy as understanding representation and reality in terms of deconstructing stereotypes, clarifying values, and addressing news bias, all contribute to this construction of agency, as do the magazine's sustained efforts in problematizing media and asserting the critical process of media pedagogy. This emancipatory and transformative agency occurs primarily at individual or group levels of practice in media analysis and discussion, but *M&V* often connected the critical analysis practice of demystifying media with action for media reform or other social justice reform movements, thus extending the agency to the institutional levels of engagement. Current practitioners in the critical media literacy strand continue to conceive agency in similar ways to *M&V*, as emancipatory and transformative, with the added participatory dimensions afforded by participation in digital cultures addressing social justice issues in media (Kellner & Share, 2007). However, the critical pedagogy dilemmas of disturbing pleasures and inculcating or assuming shared values around social justice (in ways that may displace some learners' existing empowerment or privilege) persist in contemporary critical media literacy (Buckingham, 2003; Bach, 2010; Bindig & Castonguay, 2014).



## Agency in Civic Engagement

*Media & Values* articulation of media literacy as understanding representation and reality in terms of addressing news bias involved constructing agency primarily as civic engagement through informed democratic participation. In this instance, media literacy practice transforms apathetic, mainstream news consumers into active citizens who get their news from diverse sources. Agency consists of the ability to discern news biases, distinguish fact and opinion, and to seek alternative news outlets in order to understand civic issues well enough to effectively participate in democracy to support one's interests. These media analysis skills and information-seeking habits constitute a participatory empowerment with respect to effective democratic citizenship as media literate agents re-construct their own views of reality and civic issues from multiple perspectives while evaluating the various limitations and possible biases of each news source. This participatory empowerment occurs primarily for individuals who become motivated to involve themselves in the democratic process through their ability to understand how news coverage relates to the real-world and in turn to civic issues. The assumption that media literacy practices of critical analysis and information-seeking provide motivation for democratic participation runs parallel to the assumption that without media literacy, democratic participation will either be lacking or misguided. These assumptions also imply an emancipatory function, as media literacy lends the agency to free oneself from the "myth of objectivity" perpetuated by mainstream news. This construction of agency as civic engagement through media literacy persists in current practice, particularly in news literacy and digital literacy strands, where the participatory dimensions of civic engagement expand through citizen journalism and the distribution of information by media users in social networks—with the added possibility of transformative empowerment by shaping emerging norms in digital news production and consumption.

## Agency of Apprenticeship in Media Production

In the early years of *Media & Values*, the magazine routinely employed apprenticeship pedagogy to encourage the development of novice media makers into effective communicators participating in a professional community of media producers. In positioning media literacy (in part) as an apprenticeship in media production, at least for emerging communications professionals, *M&V* constructed agency as the ability to create and disseminate powerful and effective messages in various media and through public relations and organizational communications strategies. Asserting notions of professional standards, *M&V* conveyed a participatory mode of empowerment for peers in their network who, by taking up the professional discourse, could become more effective communicators disseminating influential

messages personally, on behalf and among their communities, and in relation to a wider culture through mass media (thus, at individual, group, and institutional levels). This construction of agency through media literacy as apprenticeship in media production persisted in occasional instances through the later years of *M&V* despite the efforts in the pedagogical philosophy of the workshop kits to distinguish media literacy education from professional media production training. Several *M&V* articles and workshop kit learning modules involved tips and activities for training effective media use for activism, including how to write to legislators or media executives, how to express persuasive opinions on talk radio, and how to advertise social justice causes. The apprenticeship in such examples involved gaining media production and performance skills in activist discourses rather than as communications ministry professionals, but the participatory empowerment model and identity transformation remained the same. The dominant paradigm in media production education remains apprenticeship pedagogy for aspiring professionals, and for younger learners. However, digital media and learning strands of MLE practice suggest informal versions of apprenticeship that may allow for more transformative dimensions of empowerment through near peer interaction in affinity groups and less rigid discursive norms in emerging digital cultures (Jenkins et al., 2006). *M&V* magazine originally intended to support such transformative agency for readers in shaping the emerging communications ministry in the Catholic Church. However, most articles adopted norms of professional mass media production discourse and traditional transmission pedagogy in discussing techniques and communications strategies. Case study research in new media literacies shows evidence of learners manifesting transformative agency in online communities, shaping the norms through their participation (Jenkins et al., 2006; Rheingold, 2008), but other researchers worry that apprenticeship without critical reflection will result in the reproduction of oppressive ideology (Buckingham, 2003; Bach, 2010). This concern was a component of the CMV rationale of focusing primarily on media analysis activities in the workshop kits, and should continue to play a role in the development of MLE research and pedagogy as media production has become central to most media education curricula in the past two decades.

### Agency in Discriminating Media Use

Finally, *Media&Values* constructs agency through media literacy in practices of discriminating media use in two approaches—values clarification and values inculcation. Agency in both cases consists of distinguishing values messages in media from personally held values and thereby evaluating good and bad media. Values clarification focuses on the inquiry process, prioritizing the questions that allow one to identify values messages in media and activate any ethical reasoning available in one's experience. This conception of

agency assumes most media users to be influenced, thoughtless or confused by dubious media representations that may be taken for norms. Media literacy as values clarification transforms people into thoughtful, ethical media users. This is a transformative practice with regard to individuals who use media to clarify their own beliefs and make decisions to act on their discoveries, either to address the media messages or avoid them. When practiced with others, the social process of values clarification discussion extends the agency to the group level as participants debate ethical issues and may develop collective action strategies. Agency through values inculcation involves recognizing “correct” readings of media messages as good or bad according to a preferred values discourse (religious, aesthetic, etc.), which assumes vulnerable media users can become well-instructed, morally upstanding members of society with training to know what is good and bad. The person engaged in media literacy practice of values inculcation gains agency on the group or institutional level through participatory empowerment in the shared values discourse. The latter approach was often promoted for children in relation to parental pedagogy in *M&V* curricula, but as shown in chapter 9, *M&V* balanced and alternated recommending values clarification and inculcation approaches for teaching and learning in the home as well as in workshops and classrooms.

### **Promoting Multiple Avenues for Agency through Media Literacy**

From the perspective of our current field of media literacy education in the United States where strands of practice are becoming more distinct and isolated in their own silos, the historical example of *Media&Values* developing so many coinciding notions of agency through media literacy practice is remarkable. At the 2014 Media Literacy Research Symposium in Fairfield, Connecticut, British media education scholar Julian McDougall began his presentation by listing the many forms of agency which media literacy education seeks to afford across various strands of practice in the contemporary field, suggesting that we are plainly too ambitious and need to focus on resolving teacher-student, expert-novice power dynamic (McDougall, 2014b). The inclusive pedagogy of *M&V* offers an historical example of how these educational goals (including addressing the teacher-learner power relation) overlap and may be integrated or simultaneously implemented without overwhelming or discounting each other. This is not to say that institutional discourses in education will support or welcome any combination of these goals and their supporting pedagogical approaches and media studies orientations, or that a more focused educational agenda for media literacy might not be more successful in changing institutional discourse. However, I feel that the historical example of *M&V* challenges the idea that media literacy educational goals are spread too thin. I value the potential for a variety of teachers,

learners and institutional settings to adapt diverse pedagogy and curricula (like *CMV*'s) to their personal, community and organizational goals, all under the purview of media literacy education. While it is beyond the scope of this research to assess how *M&V* curricula was implemented in practice, the presence of a range of articulations of agency, through the variety of theoretical foundations in media studies and education discourses, at the very least presented the opportunity for media educators to consider different approaches as possibilities. By developing discussions, like the one I have begun here, of how the different articulations of agency through media literacy relate to each other, to the discourses that produced them, and to the identity positions they produced, we facilitate conversations across strands of practice that may lead to better understandings of differences as well as opportunities for synergy. In pursuit of this goal, the next section discusses how the various articulations of media awareness and media literacy developed in *Media&Values* provide perspective for current media literacy education practice.

### IMPLICATIONS OF *MEDIA&VALUES* DISCOURSES FOR CURRENT MEDIA LITERACY PRACTICE

What lessons may we learn from examining how *Media&Values* magazine positioned media literacy? The historical examples of *M&V*'s articulations of media literacy in various discursive contexts allow us to consider how current practices are situated among contemporary discourses as we see traces of the past in the contrasting present. Despite significant changes in communication technologies and media use, developments in media theories (e.g., powerful audiences, hybridity, convergence culture), and recent shifts in education reform, discourses of media literacy developed in *M&V* persist in current practice. Where contemporary discourses have moved beyond *M&V*'s notions of media literacy, my findings allow us to consider the value of recovering past concepts to inform or clarify current practice.

#### Problematizing Media to Link Media Literacy with Reform

*Media&Values* consistently portrayed media as overwhelming people, displacing traditional socializing institutions, and disrupting social relationships. Do we recognize these problems as the purview of media literacy today? Certainly most US media literacy scholars and advocates cite the ubiquitous, often constant media use among the majority of Americans as part of their rationale for teaching and learning about media, and for studying how people employ their media skills and knowledge. However, the growth of participatory culture in digital media has re-contextualized socializing institutions and social relationships within media use, rather than positioning media as a disruption

or displacement of social practices. In most striking contrast to *M&V*'s positioning of media literacy as a means to recognize problematic media use and influences, today's MLE discourses more often problematize barriers to media access that inhibit participation in the social, cultural, political, and economic opportunities of digital media. Beyond simple technology access and threshold skills, contemporary media education responds to information overload issues, expanding unabated since the days of *M&V*, with support for development of Internet navigation and critical analysis skills, the needs for which compound socio-economic barriers for participation in digital cultures (Ito, 2014).

Developed over the past two decades alongside policy discourses of wired classrooms and universal broadband as well as the expansion of media studies theories of powerful media users and participatory media cultures, the MLE emphasis on access and improved participation in digital media presents a challenge to problematizing issues of disruptive or unhealthy media use and of media effects. It is difficult to promote media literacy for both improved access/ participation and as a way to protect against adverse effects and harmful uses, which seem to present risks only because of increased media use. This tension may help explain the persistence of divisiveness between so-called protectionist and empowerment strands of media literacy practice, with the former focused on problematizing media in terms of harmful behaviors, negative effects and oppressive ideologies, and the latter problematizing in terms of barriers to the potential benefits of digital cultures. Recent developments of media literacy concepts around digital citizenship and digital ethics bring the possibility of a problematizing dimension to participatory-focused strands of MLE, as learners confront issues of digital rights and responsibilities in digital information exchange (e.g., privacy, surveillance, piracy, copyright) as well as issues with transgressive online behavior (e.g., cyberbullying, harassment, discrimination, pornography, predation). However, approaches in strands of digital media and learning, news literacy, and information literacy practice rarely cross professional paths with strands of media literacy for public health and critical media literacy, which have continued the legacy of *Media&Values* in connecting media literacy with mitigating harmful media effects and addressing social justice issues.

Most of the specific issues problematized by *Media&Values* continue to receive attention in various strands of current media literacy education practice. However, current practice seldom engages the problematization of media inculcating values of materialism and consumerism, which was a focus of *M&V*. Future research may explore how and why media literacy discourse has moved away from problematizing materialism, which may include influences of neoliberal economics embraced by both primary US political parties as well as the proliferation of personalized information and communication technologies and devices. The historical example recovers the ways *M&V* addressed media-constructed consumerism and materialism for contemporary media literacy practitioners to consider.

It is worth noting that the best funded US strands of current MLE practice—digital media and learning (MacArthur Foundation), digital literacy and broadband adoption (federal government), and news literacy (Knight Foundation)—tend not to problematize media experience and media systems in favor of a participatory empowerment focus (without emancipatory rhetoric, and tertiary talk of transformative agency at best). On the other hand, public health initiatives for media literacy education sometimes receive National Institute of Health (NIH) grants or state funding, but media reform and critical media literacy programs tend to rely on grassroots support for local programs. These economic issues may play a role in shaping tensions between different strands, just as the audiences for *M&V* along with its consistent goal to partner with media industry shaped its various articulations of media literacy and agency. Perhaps the consistent focus on media's role in public health and social justice issues contributed to the magazine's ultimate failure to attract media companies as partners in building the field of media literacy. The "shoestring budget" (E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013) that *M&V* operated on throughout its publication run may have facilitated its critical edge by freeing the magazine from conflicts of interest in problematizing media for reinforcing oppressive ideologies, creating harmful effects on behavior and attitudes, and perpetuating discrimination in the industry.

Although all states include media literacy competencies in their curricula guidelines (Yates, 2004), and many educators see strong media literacy connections to the recently instituted Common Core State Standards (CCSS), the first bills to support media literacy implementation in the United States have recently been passed in Rhode Island (2017), Washington (2016), Connecticut (2015), Utah (2015) and New Jersey (2014). Media Literacy Now, the non-profit organization promoting bills with political support in seventeen states, justifies proposed statutes based on the need to address harmful media effects, materialism, racism, sexism, and dubious online behavior issues (Media Literacy Now, 2017; 2014). While small, well-funded media literacy programs innovate best practices for participatory agency in emerging digital cultures, the approach of problematizing mass media issues gains traction for media literacy implementation from the state level. Addressing the question of media literacy education implementation policies, former International Communication Association president and British media literacy scholar Sonia Livingstone claimed,

We often think about what are the benefits of media literacy, and I think we don't think enough about the costs; if we don't promote media literacy, what will consumers and citizens lack? What problems will they encounter? And I would like us all to give more attention to seeing really how many things can go wrong, how many misunderstandings can occur, how many forms of exploitation or detriment might result if we don't promote media literacy. And I think that might give a greater sense of urgency to the importance of promoting media literacy for all. (Sonia Livingstone, quoted in EMODUS, 2014)

Problematizing media remains an effective way to mobilize public and political support for media literacy, lending urgency for implementation. However, doing so requires proposing media literacy solutions.

### **Suggesting Solutions to Social Issues through Media Literacy**

Most of the media literacy solutions to social issues posited in *Media & Values* involved joining collective action for institutional reform and policy change. The shift in the latter years of *M&V* to greater emphasis on developing individual media literacy skills of critical analysis came as the magazine targeted educators directly with curricula resources, and as contributors expressed disillusionment with institutional reform efforts in the face of deregulatory trends under the Reagan and Bush administrations. From today's perspective, the *M&V* efforts to affect change by linking media awareness and media literacy to giving feedback to media industry, assailing injustice in media practices, regulating harmful media, and promoting public interest media requirements may seem like lost causes, quite literally. However, it is important to note that many of the solutions with which *M&V* hoped to engage people through media literacy as reform involved intervention into institutions where they only had stake as consumers and concerned citizens, not as producers and users whose practice actually created and constituted the media environment.

The problems of digital rights and responsibility may be much more tangible today than movements for public and cable access television allocations in the 1980s, and certainly more immediate to the average citizen than satellite and broadcast spectrum issues around cultural imperialism. Generating grassroots support among digital media users for shaping media policy today may have greater potential than ever before given the obvious and immediate stakes everyone has in the game, if only everyone understood its rules, consequences, and possible moves. In *M&V*, the move away from media reform, and other media-related social reforms at the institutional level, coincided with greater focus on personal media literacy development. That focus remains, perhaps for some of the same reasons—reluctance in education discourses to engage in volatile political issues, the repeal and failure of regulatory measures in mass media policy, and the positioning of media literacy as a set of individual competencies. Ironically, mainstream media literacy in the United States has struck a policy-neutral stance at precisely the time when participatory politics through media and about media policy seem most likely to succeed. Policy decisions regarding intellectual property, surveillance and privacy, net neutrality, and freedom of information—to name just a few—directly impact the emerging practices of digital and mobile media users. Critical media literacy proponents may contend that no stance can be neutral, but surely it is possible for contemporary media literacy to engage learners in debates about current policy issues that affect them while representing

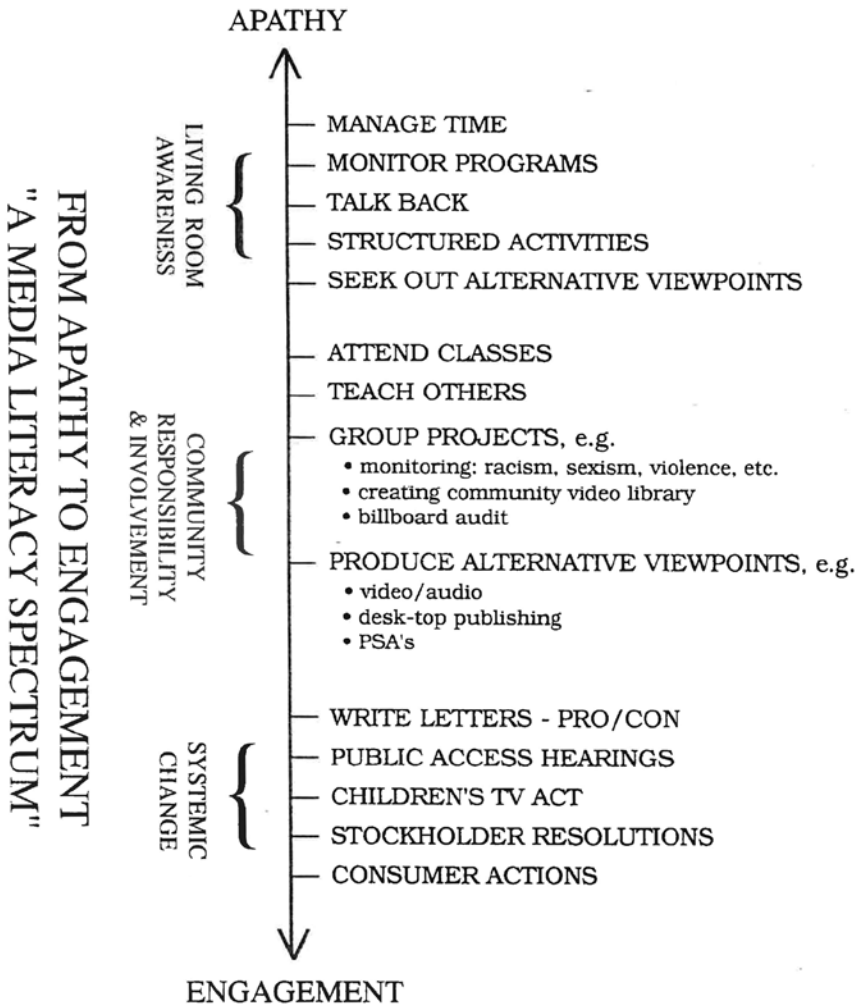


Figure 11.3 The Media Literacy Spectrum (Center for Media and Values, 1993).

multiple sides of issues, and encouraging informed action—as demonstrated by current communication professors like Joseph Trurow at the University of Pennsylvania (NPR, 2012), and Becky Lentz at McGill University (Lentz, 2009). Couching such MLE approaches as civic education for informed democratic participation, rather than as political activism, may help MLE implementation in the United States where public education maintains an inclusive, non-partisan, neutral stance regarding political issues and beliefs.

Contemporary articulations of media literacy as key to civic engagement in news literacy, information literacy, youth media, critical media literacy and digital media and learning strands of MLE practice may be able to recover the



ability to connect learners with opportunities to address institutions to make social change. Small groups of media literacy advocates, such as the Action Coalition for Media Education (ACME), continue to promote anti-corporate power and pro-community media efforts in regulatory policy of mass media and digital media as core media literacy practices for “democratizing our media system through education and activism” (ACME, 2014). Some leaders in critical media literacy promote approaches that actively engage learners in addressing sexism (Pozner, 2010), racism (Bellamy, 2012), and corporate influence on media policy (Lentz, 2014) through media reform activism. However, the National Association for Media Literacy Education (NAMLE) core principles rejects aligning MLE with partisan and political efforts, “As a literacy, MLE may have political consequences, but it is not a political movement; it is an educational discipline ... MLE is not partisan,” while maintaining the goal of civic engagement, “Media Literacy Education develops informed, reflective and engaged participants essential for a democratic society,” (NAMLE, 2007, pp. 3–4). *Media&Values* envisioned media literacy as engaging learners in taking action at different stages of development across a “media literacy spectrum” (see Figure 11.3): 1) in the home with “Living Room Awareness,” 2) in “Community Responsibility and Involvement” through local media reform and MLE promotion; and 3) through “Systemic Change” (Center for Media and Values, 1993). This continuum of personal, group, and institutional engagement in reform through media literacy presents a useful template for contemporary MLE to consider for framing new articulations of civic engagement in digital media environments. The historical example of *M&V*’s efforts to link media literacy with institutional reform show that today’s contexts of widespread participatory digital media culture and effective grassroots reform efforts in digital media offer greater opportunity for successful civic engagement through media literacy than the predominantly one-way, corporation-dominated mass media culture and deregulatory policy trends of the 1980s and early 1990s.

### **Demystifying Stereotypes Still Central to Media Literacy in Digital Media Environments**

The practice of deconstructing representations of social identities remains at the heart of critical media literacy practice, and may be even more important for today’s learners who produce and share media texts on a daily basis. Recent ethnographic research on youth media production spaces finds that “where ‘youth voice’ is not critically examined, young people may at times create media texts that reproduce sexist, homophobic, and other marginalizing perspectives” (Bach, 2010, p. 1). *Media&Values*’ construction of media literacy as understanding representation and reality in terms of deconstructing stereotypes sought to raise awareness about how media reinforces such oppressive ideologies. With particular attention to youth and other vulnerable audiences, contributors using critical media studies and media effects

discourses emphasized how media stereotypes shape the self-esteem of individuals and their attitudes toward others while contributing to systemic effects of institutionalized discrimination and political enmity. Experts sought to restore historicity to stereotypical representations to counter such effects, but also emphasized the complex range of factors resulting in media's reiteration of stereotypes. *M&V* featured the voices of media makers who struggled with market demands and portraying the reality of stereotypical attitudes, and lauded efforts to represent diversity and transcend stereotypical portrayals. Thus, *M&V* discouraged reactionary reforms, and reform directed at industry alone, in favor of expert-led collective reform of makers and audiences through sustained education for all, which editors proposed as the only way for all to take the responsibility for the collective mess, and to strategize around such a complex set of issues and phenomena.

Although *M&V* magazine primarily delivered expert knowledge from articles by media researchers and critics describing the implications of their findings on stereotypical media representations without demonstrating the textual or cultural analysis processes, curricula in the magazine and workshop kits over the last years of publication supported analysis practice for critiquing media stereotypes with a mix of pedagogical approaches. The ML workshop kits challenged normative viewing pedagogy in showing videos about ideological media constructions by suggesting that the leader stop frequently for discussion with participants asking questions about producers' points of view and techniques. This teaching method innovation has become best practice in MLE and should be applied to all films (Hobbs, 2006), including those produced for media education purposes like the Media Education Foundation videos often used by media educators to teach about media's construction of race and gender stereotypes and deliver expert analyses of the cultural influence of news and entertainment media without analyzing the producer's purposes and techniques or consulting other sources to verify facts or compare interpretations.

For pedagogy, *M&V* presented expert knowledge of recurring media stereotypes to facilitate reader recognition of such representations as a distortion of reality, sharing research findings on social groups, or anecdotes of personal experience, that contradict stereotypes as representing norms. While *M&V* staff columnists offered advice for avoiding media with stereotypical representations, and for choosing media with well-rounded and diverse portrayals, columns and curricula also presented frameworks for inquiry to support stereotype recognition and textual analysis. By situating analytic practice within a critical pedagogy process that included taking action to share analytic practice with others or to present findings in feedback to media industry or policy makers, *M&V* curricula sought to balance emphasis on understanding the complexity of issues with constructing personal agency for learners, as evident in the use of personal pronouns in inquiry frameworks around political economy of media—"How is power distributed?; Who wins? Who loses? Who decides? ... How are the resources allocated?; Who owns?

Who produces? Who consumes?; Who gains? Who pays?” (Thoman, 1986, p. 13). By personalizing inquiry and connecting analysis with action, *M&V* sought to counter cynicism with constructions of agency, “It is all too easy to be paralyzed by problems that are bigger than we can personally solve and to become victims rather than agents of change” (p. 12). Recent research on college media education shows that media literacy classes emphasizing critical textual analysis and cultural critique of media’s political economy and history without practicing civic engagement to mobilize knowledge, risk fostering cynicism in learners (Mihaïlidis, 2009). Today’s digital media environment makes the connection between analysis and action that *M&V* used to counter such cynicism more accessible to contemporary teachers and learners. Studies of contemporary media literacy practice show analysis of stereotypes connected to civic engagement, cross cultural exchange, and attitude change through the use of digital media in media literacy education (Berman & White, 2013; Bloom & Johnston, 2013; Clark, 2013; Walsh et al., 2013; Hobbs et al., 2011). With the ability to share analyses, counter-messages, and critiques alongside media texts, as well as to engage in discussions of representations in contexts of fan communities offering effective and direct feedback to media makers, learners today experience their critical analysis of stereotypes as a cultural production of their views on representation and reality.

### **Recovering a Varied Approach to Values Education through Media Literacy Practice**

While church groups have continued to identify media literacy with values education (Schwartz, 2005), most MLE discourse in the United States since *Media&Values* ended its publication has moved away from talking about values, as such, in relation to media literacy practice. However, a renewed focus on digital ethics in many strands of contemporary MLE may benefit from considering how *M&V* negotiated values education for media literacy development. A few contemporary religious media literacy scholars work to integrate faith development with media literacy using varied approaches to discussing values in popular culture media (Pacatte, 2011; Hess, 2004), and in digital media production in response to pedagogies of new media literacies (Hess, 2014; Hess et al., 2014). Further research on religious education<sup>2</sup> might investigate the legacy of *M&V*’s innovations in applying values clarification methods to media education in relation to the dominant paradigm of values inculcation asserting the authority of religious texts and interpretations by leaders as the keys to correct readings and evaluations of media.

By emphasizing the unconscious assimilation of values messages from ritualized media use, *M&V* constructed media literacy as understanding representation and reality through practice in distinguishing ideological messages from the realities of personal experience, scientific or journalistic knowledge, and collective worldviews. In *M&V*, media literacy development for values

education involved the following: 1) acquiring knowledge about mass media influence and dominant values messages; 2) reflecting on personal and shared beliefs from experience; 3) developing skills for recognizing and analyzing values messages in media representations; and 4) participating in dialogues exploring and comparing values-laden media representations with real-world, shared, and personal articulations of values. For pedagogy, *M&V* emphasized values clarification methods, supporting learners in activating their own values discourses in relation to media messages, while also supporting parents in using traditional approaches of direct instruction of their family values to their children. This balanced approach of including and alternating voices of the individual, parents, the community, moral/religious authorities, and media studies experts in the process of values education around media experience provides a useful model for today's MLE practitioners to build upon. Updating *M&V* approaches for today's media environment may afford opportunities to bridge tensions between participatory approaches to confronting the "ethics challenge" presented by emerging digital cultures (Jenkins et al., 2006), public health initiatives for countering harmful online behaviors (cyberbullying, sexual harassment, etc.), civic education around legal issues in new media (privacy, copyright, etc.), and emancipatory critical media literacy practices for demystifying ideological messages.

### **Addressing News Bias Remains Crucial for Democratic Citizenship**

Discourses around educating people to become informed citizens taking deliberative democratic action through savvy use of mass media date back to the early twentieth century (e.g., Dewey, 1927). Within this tradition of linking news with civic engagement and a democratic public sphere, *Media&Values* positioned media literacy as understanding representation and reality in terms of addressing news bias to challenge the notion of news offering a window or mirror on the world beyond personal experience. *M&V* called attention to limitations of news production, emphasizing the constructed-ness of news, and insisting that objectivity in reporting is a myth that must be dispelled through critical analysis. *M&V* also urged readers to seek out and share alternative news sources in order to evaluate reality from multiple points of view and access stories or perspectives excluded from mainstream news—especially with regard to foreign affairs and news about issues facing poor people, women, minorities, the elderly, and other marginalized populations. Today, while corporate control of mainstream news has become even more consolidated, cable television and the Internet have expanded most citizens' access to news outlets exponentially. Contemporary media literacy in the United States continues to connect civic engagement with news, retaining an emphasis on discerning biases through critical analysis, but expanding participatory elements beyond informing citizens to mobilizing learners to take action in shaping news.

*M&V* constructed agency through media literacy addressing news bias as participatory in preparing learners for effective democratic civic engagement, but also often linked with transformative agency through media reform in monitoring news and offering feedback to news outlets. Today's news literacy strands of media literacy emphasize the transformative potential of learners in promoting quality news stories through sharing in social media, engaging in public critique and conversation of issues in news in website comments or forums, and creating news with mobile digital media from their own experience as well as adapting information from reliable sources in their own journalism on blogs. Some contemporary news literacy approaches position learners as responsible for holding newsmakers accountable to traditional journalistic standards of accuracy, fairness, balanced perspectives, timeliness and relevance by recognizing and sharing good reporting, and practicing these standards in their own information production: "The Stony Brook [news literacy] course boils down to one indispensable acronym: VIA for Verification, Independence, and Accountability.... Students are taught that if an item they are examining does not have all three of those qualities, it is not journalism" (Klurfield & Schneider, 2014, p. 9). Others recognize that the roles of the blogosphere and citizen journalism in social media platforms like Twitter in shaping public perceptions of reality have changed journalism norms, which opens opportunities for learners to participate in shaping emerging practices around producing and spreading news stories, as well as in evaluating quality information: "Through a collaborative, ground-up approach to teaching and learning about global [news] media, the [Salzburg] Academy [on Media and Global Change] ... involves thinking beyond borders and beyond specific media to understand the unique ways media defines civil society across the globe" (Mihailidis, 2011, p. 10). A recent panel study shows evidence supporting a link between digital media literacy education experience and online civic engagement (Kahne et al., 2012). Addressing news bias is a given for contemporary media literacy practice, but *M&V*'s focus on seeking out and sharing information marginalized by mainstream media remains a challenge made more accessible by digital media for today's ML teachers and learners.

### **Negotiating Pedagogical Tensions between Knowledge and Process, Teachers and Learners, And Personal, Social, and Cultural Levels Of Agency**

*Media&Values* curricula emphasized progressive education philosophy while employing traditional knowledge transmission and behavior modeling, in addition to student-centered constructivist methods, within a critical pedagogy process. Teaching methods recommended in the *Media Literacy Workshop Kits* privilege the learner's prior knowledge and experience of media over expert knowledge from texts and teachers. However, the CMV approach preserves

the teacher's expertise as cultivated by reading the magazine to acquire knowledge of media issues that may be used to supplement constructivist learning. The integration of approaches is often a matter of sequence, beginning with the learner's reflection and discovery, and then informing the process with assertions of expert knowledge or preferred views and interpretations. As learner-centered pedagogy becomes normative best practice in contemporary US media literacy discourses (Aspen Institute Task Force on Learning on the Internet, 2014), and MLE thought leaders recast teachers as learning facilitators or "designers" of learning environments (Ito, Gutiérrez, Livingstone, Penuel, Rhodes, Salen, Schor, Sefton-Green & Watkins, 2013; Garcia, 2014), the historical example of *M&V*'s integration of the teachers expertise, asserting expert knowledge and community values into the student-led learning process, recovers a compelling alternative to consider for today's MLE practitioners.

Similarly, *M&V*'s construction of the teacher as provocateur, instigating reflection on tensions between conflicting discourses within students' own identities, presents a pertinent model for addressing the persistent critical pedagogy dilemma around disturbing or honoring learners' pleasures, privilege, and complex sources of power (Buckingham & Sefton-Green, 1994; Buckingham, 1998c, 2003). Allowing the teacher to occupy a range of roles, and to support a range of student agencies, fits well with recent postmodern and post-structural theories of identity that conceive of people as trying on and shifting between identities and codes of communication in different social and technological contexts (Jenkins, 1992; 2006b). While today's media literacy education thought leaders promote media production practice to balance (Hobbs, 2008) or supersede (Buckingham, 2003) analysis activities, the emphasis on reflective practice in media production in *M&V* remains important, allowing the teacher and students an opportunity to construct knowledge from experience and to bring more identity discourses into conversation. While immersive participation in interactive media texts like videogames and in digital cultures may promote fluency and efficacy in some discourses, reflective practice through group discussion and teacher provocation allows the opportunity to convert knowledge construction from experience into strategic praxis (Squire, 2005). In other words, reflective media practice allows learners to evaluate the texts, messages, and discourses in which they participate from a variety of perspectives, and to develop ideas about how to act to either transform the discursive norms or strengthen their own position within the discourse through subsequent participation. *M&V* supported both (1) the use of the basic media literacy concepts and inquiry frameworks derived from media studies theory; and (2) the use of knowledge derived from personal experience of media derived from reflection and group dialogue. The *M&V* construction of agency as fluidly moving between personal, group, and institutional levels of engagement is key to this process, and may not occur through immersive media use alone.

With the learning goals of workshop kits revolving around media analysis practice using key concepts and inquiry frameworks, and linking analysis to action, *M&V* curricula centered on constructivist methods that have become recognized as best practices in media literacy education today (Hobbs & Jensen, 2009). Recent perspectives from advocates of multi- or new literacies, and connected classroom approaches derive concepts for new media literacies from contextualized digital media practice—a grounded, decentralized approach (Jenkins et al., 2006; Ito et al., 2013). The swing toward a distributed literacies approach in recent years coincides with the rise of participatory media culture where digital technology facilitating mass communication has become ubiquitous, and more people contribute individually and through collaboration to the shape of the media and information landscape than ever before. By contrast, *M&V* published during a time of media industry dominance of the public sphere through mostly one-way mass communication when media construction practices, motives, policies, and systems were relatively opaque and distant from common public knowledge. From this perspective, the fact that CMV pedagogy valued the learner's informal literacies—prioritizing their prior knowledge and practices with media—as an integral part of media literacy education is quite remarkable.

The centralized concepts of ML derive from expert discourses of media studies, and attempt to destabilize dominant meanings, knowledge and ways of knowing by lending tools for conceptualizing and observing power relations manifest in media texts, use, and production. This approach assumes that the use of these conceptual tools will be empowering (in the various ways discussed above), but we must also consider and weigh the possibilities of disrupting, disturbing and otherwise disempowering learners' identity positions in their extra-curricular discourses by imposing academic discourses. The core concepts and inquiry frameworks of MLE impose a particular rational episteme on learners, often disrupting immersive media use. To be consistent with the MLE goal of understanding (and using or transforming) power relations in communication, teachers should own this intervention, and make transparent to learners the sorts of agency and constructions of power relations inherent in their own practices—just as *M&V* magazine sought to make its own methods for developing its readers' media literacy transparent in its magazine design and editorial articles explaining the critical pedagogy process, as well as in its curricula balancing progressive, student-centered pedagogy and traditional teaching methods within the critical process.

## EVALUATING THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF *MEDIA&VALUES* FOR MEDIA LITERACY

My study of *Media&Values* shows several significant contributions that the magazine made to the field of media literacy during its time, from which the current field of media literacy education may benefit. With contemporary

media literacy education in the United States struggling to cohere as a field from its many strands of practice, *M&V* offers a historical example of speaking across discourse communities to build a media literacy movement. Though it is beyond the scope of this research to investigate how readers may have implemented ideas and curricula from *M&V*, evidence shows that the magazine engaged thought leaders in US media literacy education precipitating growth in the field. *M&V* editor Elizabeth Thoman developed important intellectual innovations in applying the critical pedagogy process to media experience, and manifesting it in the magazine design. And, as discussed above, the magazine and workshop curricula established a legacy of constructing media literacy education as interventions to democratize power relations in media use and pedagogy.

### **Speaking Across Discourse Communities to Build a Media Literacy Movement**

*Media&Values* was a leader in building professional networks around the notion of media education in the United States. No such networks existed in the United States before *M&V*,<sup>3</sup> as the various federally funded and independent media education programs of the 1970s operated in isolation and focused on *television literacy* rather than an expanded set of competencies across all media (Brown, 1991). The *M&V* vision included a wide range of participants as stakeholders in realizing a US media literacy movement, including teachers, parents, youth group workers, social justice advocates, pastors, global missionaries, social scientific researchers, cultural critics, political economists, media makers, media industry executives, and politicians. The magazine preserved the notion of expert knowledge about media issues for communications professionals as community leaders, and later for media educators, by introducing these practitioners to discussions of media scholars, activists, industry executives, and policy makers. Youth themselves were notably absent from this vision, as youth voice and examples of youth media work did not appear in *Media&Values*. Current US professional organizations for media educators (e.g., NAMLE, ACME, DML, NCA, etc.) convene the same stakeholders at their conferences, often with the addition of youth now that youth media literacy education is more widespread in schools, libraries, and community programs.

For a publication with readers across North America, *M&V* achieved modest distribution, reaching publishing runs of near 15,000 at its peak in the final years (including workshop kits). However, the magazine targeted thought leaders, and had attracted over 2,000 members of the Center for Media and Values by 1992, including 600 organizational memberships. The magazine and organization achieved enough success to convince the Aspen Institute to sponsor the first National Leadership Conference on Media Literacy in the United States in 1992, for which *M&V* founding editor Elizabeth Thoman



drafted the guest list (E. Thoman, personal communication, September 21, 2013), and helped organize the proceedings with Kathleen Tyner, Executive Director of Strategies for Media Literacy, and Marieli Rowe, executive director of the National Telemedia Council (Firestone, 1992). The conference report featured the definition of media literacy developed by attendees, which has become the most cited in the United States over the past two decades, “the ability to access, analyze, and produce information for specific outcomes” (Firestone, 1992, p. 6).<sup>4</sup> Attendees sought to create “a national framework or blueprint in which individual groups find their respective places, and from which funders, policy makers or critics can also assess individual or collaborative efforts and outcomes” (p. 6). The following years saw consistent growth in national conferences and coordination of program implementation (Tigga, 2009).

The ambitious scope of *Media&Values* vision for engaging stakeholders from diverse discourse communities and developing core concepts and practices for application in any learning setting may have limited the appeal of the magazine for educators bound to adapting new ideas to their specific contexts of practice. Likewise, including parties often in opposition to one another—media industry executives and media reformers, critical media scholars and entertainment media producers, highbrow professors, and rank-and-file teachers—into the movement to promote media literacy may have alienated many members of targeted groups. However, the insistence on employing flexible frameworks has both invited disparate groups to shape media literacy practice and resulted in a lasting relevance across time. Further historical research on the implementation of media literacy practices developed by thought leaders in *Media&Values* or other venues would lend valuable insight into the strengths and weaknesses of the efforts to develop notions of media literacy for all.

### **Applying the Critical Pedagogy Process to Media Experience, and Manifesting It in the Magazine Design**

By arranging *Media&Values* to raise *awareness* of media’s role in social issues in introductory articles, to share *analyses* of media and society in features from a variety of discourses, and to model *reflections* and suggest *action* in staff columns to apply ideas from features in a variety of activist and educational settings, *M&V* editors designed the magazine to reinforce critical pedagogy process and structure the reader’s media literacy development. The two-tiered approach to developing the reader’s own media literacy while also modeling and suggesting pedagogy for teaching others remains an important innovation, especially given the fact that most educators in the United States today will not have experienced much media literacy education

as students prior to encountering MLE in professional development or teacher education programs. Thoman's innovative approach turned the MLE goal of making the constructed-ness of media transparent onto her own work as design elements and expository essays described the magazine and workshop kits' pedagogical purposes, which sets an enduring example of reflective practice for educators, media makers, and researchers alike.

### **Constructing Media Literacy Education as Interventions to Democratize Power Relations in Media Use and Pedagogy**

The many articulations of agency through media literacy developed in *Media&Values* all seek to democratize forms of power. In positioning media literacy as reform, *M&V* problematized media use, systems and policies with special attention to vulnerable groups, and suggested solutions for joining grassroots collective action to change media industry practices and regulatory policies. In positioning media literacy as understanding representation and reality, *M&V* offered knowledge, models, and conceptual tools to demystify ideology through critical analysis by deconstructing stereotypes of group identities, clarifying personal and group values, and addressing inevitable news bias. In positioning media literacy as pedagogy, *M&V* promoted the practice of negotiating identities in the classroom in an effort to transform teacher-student power dynamics by privileging inquiry and learner experience, but retaining discourses of media studies knowledge and preferred values through the lead educator's expertise and role as provocateur. With an alternating and overlapping mix of traditional and progressive methods within a critical process, *M&V* curricula balanced media literacy lessons for emancipatory, transformative, and participatory empowerment at personal, social, and cultural levels of engagement. Perhaps the balance and variety of goals, articulations of agency, pedagogical approaches, and media studies discourses employed in *M&V* are an artifact of a young field trying to find its way. The specialization of particular strands of media literacy practice may be a sign of positive growth in the field, but only if different strands can understand how and why each other's practices diverge and where they overlap. This study offers a great many examples of how *Media&Values* developed media literacy concepts and practices from the synthesis of divergent media studies and educational discourses to offer teachers, parents, citizens, and learners a range of avenues for agency. The examples provide perspective from which to fruitfully argue for particular ways to conceptualize media literacy in contemporary media discourse with special attention to the effects of our practice on power relations among constituents. This project represents a step in constructing historical perspectives on the field of media literacy so that it may grow in conversation with its past.

## NOTES

1. In Figure 11.1 and for this section, I use the term “identity” in the sense of constructed identities, or identity positions, which the various ways *Media&Values* positioned media literacy assume and offer. This usage is consistent with the analytic term “subject positions” that I borrow from Foucault and use in my second research question. This usage should not be confused with an essentialized, modernist sense of the term identity. My use here reflects the use of the term *identity* by a range of scholars, influential in media literacy education, who favor discussing identity as disciplined and practiced (by discourses or modes of participation), and complex or multiple (e.g., Hall, 1996; Jenkins, 1992; Buckingham, 2003; Gee, 1998; MacDougall, 2014).

2. Further research may also investigate the contribution of Catholic discourses to the development of media literacy concepts and practices. The history in my study details the progressive Catholic influences on Thoman’s early thinking, but since *M&V* magazine moves away from religious themes after 1983 in favor of discussing universal human values, this history does not pursue investigation of Catholic discourses that may have played a role in this part of US media literacy history. In particular, the story of the *Media Literacy Workshop Kit, Catholic Connections to Media Literacy*, may allow interested scholars to recover how Catholic discourses interacted with the development of media literacy. This study omits this story since that kit was not promoted in relation to *M&V* magazine, and no issue of *M&V* was produced specifically for the kit (it borrowed lessons from other kits). Thoman’s identity as a Catholic nun (which she did not emphasize in the magazine nor in most of her editorial correspondences after 1983), and her use of specifically religious discourses for speaking to particular religious audiences, were likely to have played roles in developing the *Catholic Connections* kit.

3. The report from the first National Leadership Conference on Media Literacy in the United States in 1992 described the field in the following way: “The U.S. experience until recently has been that of a blizzard of idiosyncratic projects, typically driven by the passion of individual organizers” (Aufderheide & Firestone, 1992, p. 10).

4. However, this definition is most often misquoted as “the ability to access, analyze, evaluate and create media in a variety of forms,” and attributed to Aufderheide and Firestone (1992).

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