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兒童與媒體學術研討會

2006.12.19-20

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慶祝臺北市立教育大學創校 111 週年系列活動

「童年之死？」兒童與媒體學術研討會

主講人 David Buckingham 簡介

David Buckingham 是英國倫敦大學教育學院的教授。他在倫敦大學教育學院的「兒童、青少年、及媒體研究中心」擔任主任的工作。Dr. Buckingham 在英國是研究媒體教育的先驅。他主要的研究是將「文化研究」的取向用來分析兒童或青少年與電子媒體的互動。在十多年的研究生涯中，Dr. Buckingham 主持過 20 多個相關的研究計畫，這些計畫都獲得外來的經費補助。這些補助單位十分多樣，如經濟和社會研究委員會，藝術和人文發展計畫，國家傳播標準委員會，英國藝術教育委員會，歐洲發展委員會等等。Dr. Buckingham 也是 UNESCO 的顧問。至今，他出版了 18 本書，和發表了 150 篇以上的文章。他的作品被翻譯成 15 種語言。他的作品如下：

- ◆ Children Talking Television (Falmer, 1993)
- ◆ Moving Images (Manchester University Press, 1996)
- ◆ The Making of Citizens (Routledge, 2000)
- ◆ After the Death of Childhood (Polity, 2000) 中譯本為童年之死
- ◆ Media Education (Polity, 2000) 中譯本為媒體教育：素養、學習與現代文化

Dr. Buckingham 曾經擔任許多地區的客座教授，如：賓州大學 School of Communication、紐約大學、及 Norwegian Center for Child Research。

時間：2006 年 12 月 19 日（二）、12 月 20 日（三）

地點：臺北市立教育大學 公誠樓二樓 第三會議室

主辦單位：臺北市立教育大學 教育學院

臺北市立教育大學 教育學院 幼兒教育學系

2006年12月19日(星期二) 議程

時 間	活 動
08:20 ~ 08:50	報 到
08:50 ~ 09:00	開幕致詞 臺北市立教育大學 校長 劉源俊 臺北市立教育大學 教育學院院長 楊龍立 臺北市立教育大學 幼教系主任 幸曼玲
09:00 ~ 10:20	專題講演 (一) 題 目：變動的媒體、變動的童年 主持人：陳世敏博士 主講人：Dr. David Buckingham 英國倫敦大學教育學院教授 翻譯人：林子斌先生 School of Culture, Language and Communication Institute of Education, University of London
10:20~10:40	茶 敘 時 間
10:40~12:00	專題講演 (二) 題 目：變動的媒體、變動的童年 主持人：陳世敏博士 主講人：Dr. David Buckingham 英國倫敦大學教育學院教授 翻譯人：林子斌先生 School of Culture, Language and Communication Institute of Education, University of London
12:00 ~ 13:30	午 餐
13:30 ~ 14:50	專題講演 (三) 題 目：數碼寶貝的世界 主持人：林佩蓉博士 臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系 主講人：Dr. David Buckingham 英國倫敦大學教育學院教授 翻譯人：林子斌先生 School of Culture, Language and Communication Institute of Education, University of London
14:50~15:10	茶 敘 時 間
15:10~16:30	專題講演 (四) 題 目：數碼寶貝的世界 主持人：林佩蓉博士 臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系 主講人：Dr. David Buckingham 英國倫敦大學教育學院教授 翻譯人：林子斌先生 School of Culture, Language and Communication Institute of Education, University of London

2006年12月20日(星期三) 議程

時 間	活 動
08:30 ~ 09:00	報 到
09:00 ~ 10:20	專題講演 (五) 題 目： 兒童與媒體--一種文化研究 主持人：湯梅英博士 臺北市立教育大學國民教育研究所所長 主講人： Dr. David Buckingham 英國倫敦大學教育學院教授 翻譯人：林子斌先生 School of Culture, Language and Communication Institute of Education, University of London
10:20~10:40	茶 敘 時 間
10:40~12:00	專題講演 (六) 題 目： 兒童與媒體--一種文化研究 主持人：湯梅英博士 臺北市立教育大學國民教育研究所所長 主講人： Dr. David Buckingham 英國倫敦大學教育學院教授 翻譯人：林子斌先生 School of Culture, Language and Communication Institute of Education, University of London
12:00 ~ 13:30	午 餐
13:30 ~ 14:50	專題講演 (七) 題 目： 青少年、性與媒體 主持人：吳翠珍博士 國立政治大學廣播電視學系 主講人： Dr. David Buckingham 英國倫敦大學教育學院教授 翻譯人：林子斌先生 School of Culture, Language and Communication Institute of Education, University of London
14:50~15:10	茶 敘 時 間
15:10~16:30	專題講演 (八) 題 目： 青少年、性與媒體 主持人：吳翠珍博士 國立政治大學廣播電視學系 主講人： Dr. David Buckingham 英國倫敦大學教育學院教授 翻譯人：林子斌先生 School of Culture, Language and Communication Institute of Education, University of London
16:30~17:00	綜合討論 主持人：幸曼玲博士 臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系 與談人：倪鳴香博士 國立政治大學幼兒教育研究所

Professor David Buckingham

David Buckingham is Professor of Education at the Institute of Education, London University. He is the founder and director of the Centre for the Study of Children, Youth and Media.



Buckingham pioneered the development of research in media education in the UK, and has played a major role in the application of cultural studies approaches to analysing children's and young people's interactions with television and electronic media. He has directed more than 20 externally-funded research projects on these issues, funded by bodies such as the Economic and Social Research Council, the Arts and Humanities Research Board, the Broadcasting Standards Commission, the Arts Council of England, the European Commission and the Gulbenkian, Spencer and Nuffield Foundations; and he has been a consultant for bodies such as UNESCO, the United Nations, Ofcom and the Institute for Public Policy Research.

He is the author, co-author or editor of 20 books, and well over 180 articles and book chapters. His work has been translated into 15 languages. His key publications include: *Children Talking Television* (Falmer, 1993), *Moving Images* (Manchester University Press 1996), *The Making of Citizens* (Routledge, 2000), *After the Death of Childhood* (Polity, 2000) and *Media Education* (Polity, 2003). Forthcoming books include *Beyond Technology: Learning in the Age of Digital Media* (Polity) and *Global Children, Global Media: Media, Migration and Childhood* (with Liesbeth de Block, Palgrave).

Professor Buckingham has been a Visiting Scholar at the Annenberg School for Communications, University of Pennsylvania, a Visiting Professor at New York University, and a Visiting Professor at the Norwegian Centre for Child Research. In 2005, he was awarded the Jesse McCanse Award by the US National Telemedia Council for his work on media education. He has taught and addressed conferences in more than 25 countries around the world. His work has been disseminated in a wide range of print and broadcast media, nationally and internationally.

Contact: [**d.buckingham@ioe.ac.uk**](mailto:d.buckingham@ioe.ac.uk)

Education

1982-93 Institute of Education, London University: PhD Education (part-time)
Title: The Development of Television Literacy in Middle Childhood and Adolescence
1979-82 Polytechnic of Central London: M.A. Film Studies (part-time)
1975-76 Institute of Education, London University: P.G.C.E. (distinction)
1972-75 Clare College, Cambridge: B.A. English (2:1)

Employment

1984-present Professor of Education, Institute of Education, London University.
Lecturer 1984-1996; appointed Reader in Education 1996; Professor of Education 1999; Director, Centre for the Study of Children, Youth and Media 2000.
1978-84 Media Resources Officer/Media Studies Teacher, Inner London Education Authority.

2005- Visiting Professor, Norwegian Centre for Childhood Studies, Trondheim.
1999 Visiting Professor, Department of Culture and Communication, New York University.
1995-6 Visiting Scholar, Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania.

Funded Research Projects (selection)

2003-06 Making Games: Developing Media Literacy through Game Authoring Software: ESRC/EPSCR/DTI
2003-05 Understanding Media Images of Love, Sex and Relationships: European Commission
2001-03 Textuality in Video Games: AHRB
2001-04 Children in Communication About Migration: European Commission
2001-02 Children, Media and Personal Relationships: Broadcasting Standards Commission, Independent Television Commission, BBC and others
2001-02 Learning Online: E-learning and the Domestic Market: ESRC
1999-2001 Changing Sites of Education: Educational Media and the Domestic Market: ESRC.
1996-98 Children's Media Culture: Education, Entertainment and the Public Sphere: ESRC.
1996-97 TV News and the Development of Political Understanding: Spencer/Nuffield Foundations.
1993-95 Television Literacy and the Regulation of Children's Viewing: BSC.
1989-91 The Development of Television Literacy: ESRC.

Teaching

PGCE English and Media Studies, 1984-1993
MA Media, Culture and Communication, 1984-present: modules have included 'Children's Media Culture', 'Youth Culture, Media and Education', 'Media Education', 'Media Audiences', contribution to core modules and methodology courses, dissertation supervision
PhD: 10 students successfully completed, currently supervising 12 students, teaching on research methodology courses 'Theory and Method in Cultural Studies', 'Doing Cultural Studies'

Consultancies etc.

Consultancy has included work for the British Film Institute, UNESCO, the United Nations, Ofcom, the Institute for Public Policy Research, the Australian Children's Television Foundation and BBC Education.

Member of Consultative Committee, British Board of Film Classification; Education Committee, British Film Institute; Media Literacy Research Forum, Ofcom; International Scientific Committee, Children and Media Research Forum.

Member of editorial boards including *Game Studies*, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, *Childhood*, *Young: The Journal of Youth Research*, *Changing English*, and *Learning, Media and Technology*.

Main Publications: Books

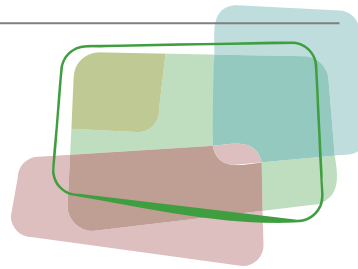
- Computer Games: Text, Narrative and Play* (co-author, Polity, in press 2005)
Toys, Games and Media (co-editor, Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004)
Young People, Sex and the Media: The Facts of Life?(co-author, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004)
Media Education: Literacy, Learning and Contemporary Culture (Polity, 2003: translated into 6 languages)
Education, Entertainment and Learning in the Home (co-author, Open University Press, 2003)
Small Screens: Television for Children (editor, Leicester University Press, 2002)
After the Death of Childhood: Growing Up in the Age of Electronic Media (Polity, 2000: translated into 6 languages)
The Making of Citizens: Young People, Television News and the Limits of Politics (Routledge, 2000)
Children's Television in Britain: History, Discourse and Policy (co-author, BFI, 1999)
Teaching Popular Culture: Beyond Radical Pedagogy (editor, UCL Press, 1998)
Moving Images: Understanding Children's Emotional Responses to Television (Manchester U.P., 1996)
Making Media: Practical Production in Media Education (co-author, English and Media Centre, 1995)
In Front of the Children: Screen Entertainment and Young Audiences (co-editor, BFI, 1995).
Cultural Studies Goes to School: Reading & Teaching Popular Media (co-author, Taylor/Francis, 1994)
Reading Audiences: Young People and the Media (editor, Manchester University Press, 1993)
Children Talking Television: The Making of Television Literacy (Falmer, 1993)
Watching Media Learning: Making Sense of Media Education (editor, Falmer, 1990)
Public Secrets: 'EastEnders' and its Audience (British Film Institute, 1987)

Over 150 articles in books and journals including *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, *Journal of Communication*, *Oxford Review of Education*, *Mediekultur*, *English in Education*, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *Cultural Studies*, *European Journal of Communication*, *Changing English*, *Radical Philosophy*, *Australian Journal of Education*, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, *Journal of Educational Media*, *The English and Media Magazine*, *Childhood*, *Educational Action Research*, *Convergence*, *Media, Culture and Society* and *Screen*.

資料來源：<http://www.childrenyouthandmediacentre.co.uk/>

Changing Media, Changing Childhoods

David Buckingham



MEDIA STUDIES + CHILDHOOD STUDIES

The absence of media in childhood studies
The absence of childhood in media studies

Media and the construction of 'childhood'
The relation of structure and agency

POPULAR DISCOURSES

**The disappearance of childhood (Postman) - the child as
vulnerable innocent**

versus

The digital generation (Tapscott) - the child as naturally wise

Romanticism meets techno-determinism

CHANGING CHILDHOODS

Instability

Institutionalisation

Control

Citizenship... and consumption

Blurring boundaries?

CHANGING MEDIA

TECHNOLOGIES

Proliferation

Convergence

Access

Individualisation

Risk

Polarisation

CHANGING MEDIA

ECONOMICS

Privatisation

Integration

Globalisation

Children as a key market

Integrated marketing

Competition... and uncertainty

CHANGING MEDIA

TEXTS

Convergence

Intertextuality

Interactivity

'Postmodern' cultural forms

New types of content

CHANGING MEDIA

AUDIENCES

Choice

Interactivity - and surveillance

Fragmentation

Children as the 'avant-garde'

Moral panics

'Media literacy' and children's rights

IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILDREN

Blurring boundaries:

Increasing access to media

The marketing of 'childhood' and 'youth'

Re-drawing boundaries:

A distinct and separate market

'Empowerment' - for some?

CONSTRUCTING THE CHILD IN MEDIA RESEARCH

Challenging 'moral panics'

Challenging 'effects' research

From effects to social uses and interpretations

From 'becoming' to 'being'

From incompetence to competence - the 'media-wise' child

CONSTRUCTING THE CHILD IN MEDIA RESEARCH - EXAMPLES

Violence: from behavioural effects to meanings and pleasures

Advertising: from passive dupes to wise consumers

Politics: from apathetic cynics to information-seeking citizens

CHILDREN'S MEDIA RIGHTS

PROTECTION

Beyond 'harm' and prevention

From state regulation to self-regulation - but with information and education

PROVISION

Quantity, quality and diversity

Support for non-profit production

Addressing inequalities: of material and cultural capital

CHILDREN'S MEDIA RIGHTS

PARTICIPATION

Production... and distribution

Participation in policy-making: accountability

EDUCATION

Analysis and production

Not defensive, not training but 'critical literacy'

THE LIMITS OF COMPETENCE

The dangers of celebration - in research and in industry discourse

What do children *not* know, and what do they *need* to know?

How do children 'develop' or acquire competence?

Are some children more competent than others?

Do children (and adults) need protection, or are they automatically self-regulating?

THE LIMITS OF RIGHTS

A universalising discourse - or culturally specific?

Rights of children *versus* rights of parents

***When* are children competent to exercise rights?**

Distinguishing wants and needs

Practical limits to participation

NEW MEDIA, NEW CHILDHOODS?

Children's changing cultural environment in the age of digital technology

David Buckingham

Published in Mary Jane Kehily (ed.) *Handbook of Childhood Studies* Buckingham, UK: Open University Press, 2003

Some very grand claims have been made about the impact of new media technologies on children's lives. Like the idea of childhood itself, technology is often invested with our most intense fears and fantasies. It holds out the promise of a better future, while simultaneously provoking anxieties about a fundamental break with the past. Whether for good or ill, these new media are seen to exercise an extraordinary power to mould children's consciousness, to determine their identities and to dictate the patterns of their everyday lives. Children are undoubtedly among the most significant target markets for computer games, web sites, CD-ROMs, chat rooms, text messaging and other forms of interactive multimedia. Yet to what extent does this amount to a dangerous 'technologizing' of childhood, as some have alleged? Or – as others have argued - do these new media offer a form of empowerment, through which the essential creativity and spontaneity of children can be more fully realised? Are children merely passive victims of the electronic screen – or are they technologically literate 'cyberkids', riding the wave of the digital revolution?

In this chapter, I begin by considering some of the more extreme positions which are often rehearsed in popular debate about these issues. While not seeking to dismiss the potential of these technologies - or indeed some of the concerns they have provoked - I argue that we need to move beyond a determinist view of the effects of media technology on children. I then go on to consider these new media and communication technologies within the context of broader changes in children's culture - changes which are characterised by a growing convergence between different cultural forms, but also by increasing commercialism and by a renewed anxiety about the need for control. I conclude by considering the implications of these arguments for future research and debate in this field. I suggest that we need to pay closer attention to the diverse ways in which children use these media in their everyday lives; but also that we need to situate their use of new media in the context of more wide-ranging social, economic and cultural forces.

Nightmares and utopias

Public debates about the impact of new digital technologies have been marked by a kind of schizophrenia which often accompanies the advent of new cultural forms. If we look back to the early days of the cinema, or indeed to the invention of the printing press, it is possible to identify a similar mixture of hopes and fears (Jowitt et al., 1996; Luke, 1989). On the one hand, these new forms are seen to have enormous positive potential, particularly for learning; while on the other, they are frequently seen to be harmful to those who are regarded as particularly vulnerable. In both cases, it is children - or perhaps more accurately, the idea of childhood - which is the focus for many of these aspirations and concerns.

This was certainly apparent in the early years of television. Amid current fears about the impact of television violence, it is interesting to recall that television was initially promoted to parents as an educational medium (Melody, 1973). Likewise, in the 1950s and 1960s, television and other new electronic technologies were widely seen to embody the future of schooling (Cuban, 1986). Even here, however, hopes of a utopian future were often balanced against fears of loss and cultural decline. Television was seen both as a new way of bringing the family together, and as something which would undermine natural family interaction (Spigel, 1992). The notion that television might replace the teacher was powerfully asserted by some, yet it also provoked predictable anxiety and concern. The medium was extolled as a means of nurturing children's emotional and educational development, and simultaneously condemned for taking them away from more wholesome or worthwhile activities (Oswell, 2002).

This kind of schizophrenia is also apparent in contemporary responses to digital technology. On the one hand, there is a form of visionary utopianism, particularly among educationists. Seymour Papert, the inventor of 'logo' programming language, for example, argues that computers bring about new forms of learning, which transcend the limitations of older, 'linear' methods such as print and television (Papert, 1993). It is children who are seen to be most responsive to these new approaches: the computer somehow spontaneously releases their natural creativity and desire to learn, which are apparently blocked and frustrated by old-fashioned methods. According to Papert, the computer is 'the children's machine'. Meanwhile, the creative potential offered by these technologies is often seen to render formal training in artistic techniques redundant: the computer, it is argued, will make artists of us all. Far from destroying 'natural' human relationships and forms of learning, digital technology will liberate children's innate spontaneity and imagination (see Sefton-Green and Buckingham, 1996).

Such utopianism often has a distinctly political edge. Writers like Richard Lanham (1993), for example, argue that digital technology will bring about a new form of democratic literacy. It will bring the means of expression and communication within everyone's reach, and thereby 'enfranchise the public imagination in genuinely new ways'. Likewise, Jon Katz (1997) regards the internet almost as a means of children's liberation: it provides children with opportunities to escape from adult control, and to create their own cultures and communities. 'For the first time', he argues, 'children can reach past the suffocating boundaries of social convention, past their elders' rigid notions of what is good for them.' It is children, according to Katz, who will 'lead the revolution'.

In many instances, this advocacy is based on an opposition between 'old' and 'new' media, and between the generations with which they are identified. Don Tapscott (1998), for example, sets up a direct opposition between television and the internet. Television is seen as passive, while the net is active; television 'dumbs down' its users, while the net raises their intelligence; television broadcasts a singular view of the world, while the net is democratic and interactive; television isolates, while the net builds communities; and so on. Just as television is the antithesis of the net, so the 'television generation' is the antithesis of the 'net generation'. Like the technology they now control, the values of the television generation are increasingly conservative, 'hierarchical, inflexible and centralised'. By contrast, the members of the 'net generation' are 'hungry for expression, discovery and their own self-development':

they are savvy, self-reliant, analytical, creative, inquisitive, accepting of diversity, socially conscious, globally-oriented - all, it would seem, because of their intuitive relationship with technology.

There are interesting parallels between the utopianism of some academic (and quasi-academic) writing about digital media and the rhetoric of the sales pitch. This is very much reflected in advertising for computers, particularly that aimed at parents and teachers (Nixon, 1998). Ads for Apple Macs or Microsoft, for example, work hard to counter popular views of technology as somehow unnatural or inhuman, and therefore threatening. They focus not on the scientific specifications, but on the magical promise of the technology: the computer is represented here as a window onto new worlds, a way of developing children's intuitive sense of wonder and their thirst for knowledge. 'Where,' they ask, 'do you want to go today?' This tone is also increasingly adopted by politicians and policy-makers, who are keen to represent information and communication technology as the solution to all the problems of contemporary schooling.

On the other hand, however, there is a much more negative account of the impact of digital technologies on children's lives. This account focuses not on their educational potential, but on their role as a medium of entertainment. Some of the anxieties that are regularly rehearsed in relation to television now appear to have been carried over to this new medium. This is readily apparent in contemporary 'moral panics' about the influence of computer games or chat rooms, or the availability of computer pornography; yet it is also evident in some academic writing. Neil Postman, for example, whose reputation as a latter-day defender of print culture was established in his polemical critiques of television, offers a dystopian vision of contemporary America as a 'Technopoly' (Postman, 1992). Explicitly acknowledging his debt to the Luddites, Postman accuses technology of dehumanizing, of destroying natural forms of culture and human communication in favour of a mechanistic bureaucracy.

As with television, the range of concerns which are evoked here is very broad. Thus, digital media are frequently seen to be a bad influence on children's behaviour - and particularly to cause imitative violence. Events like the shootings at Columbine High School in Colorado, USA, in 1999 are routinely blamed on violent computer games or on children's access to 'hate sites' on the World Wide Web. The more 'realistic' graphic effects in computer games become, it is argued, the more likely they are to encourage 'copycat' behaviour (Provenzo, 1991). These technologies are also seen to be bad for your brain - and indeed for your body. There is now a growing collection of clinical and laboratory studies on phenomena such as 'Nintendo elbow' and epileptic fits allegedly caused by computer games, through to research on 'internet addiction' and the effects of radiation from computer screens (Griffiths, 1996). Such technologies are also seen to be bad for your social life: they apparently cause young people to become anti-social, destroying normal human interaction and family togetherness. The phenomenon of the 'Otaku' or 'stay-at-home tribe' in Japan is seen as emblematic of the ways in which young people come to prefer the distance and anonymity of virtual communication to the reality of face-to-face interaction (Tobin, 1998). Meanwhile, games playing is seen as a highly gendered activity, which reinforces traditional stereotypes and negative role models (e.g. Alloway and Gilbert, 1998); there is a rising tide of concern about the availability of pornography on the internet, and its tendency to corrupt the young (Wallace and Mangan, 1996); and children are seen to be particularly at risk from the paedophiles who lurk

anonymously in online chat rooms, seeking to lure them away from the apparent safety of the home.

While there are undoubtedly some important and genuine concerns here, the empirical evidence for many of these assertions remains decidedly limited (Buckingham, 2002a). As with arguments about the effects of television, they often involve a form of scapegoating. Like television, the game console or the home computer becomes a convenient bad object onto which we can dump our worries and frustrations - whether they are about violence or immorality or commercialism or sexism or the demise of traditional notions of childhood and family life. As with other screen-based media, at least some of this concern is expressed in the call for stricter legislation; although it also leads to the view that parents and teachers should be exercising greater control in order to protect children from such corrupting influences.

Despite their obvious differences, these apparently contrasting positions share similar weaknesses. As with debates around television, both positive and negative arguments draw upon more general beliefs about childhood - indeed, a mythology about childhood. On the one hand, children are seen to possess a natural, spontaneous creativity, which is somehow released by the machine; while on the other, children are seen as vulnerable, innocent and in need of protection. Ultimately, both positions are symptomatic of the chronic sentimentality with which our society views children - of the very limited and limiting ways in which we construct the meaning of childhood, and thereby constrain the lives of children (Buckingham, 2000).

At the same time, both positions seem to be characterised by a kind of technological determinism - that is, a belief that technology will bring about social changes in and of itself (see Williams, 1974). Whether we regard these changes as good or bad, they are seen to follow inexorably from the implementation or availability of the technology. Technology is seen to have 'effects' irrespective of the ways in which it is used, and of the social contexts and processes into which it enters. Thus, computers are believed to produce 'fundamental shifts in the way we create and experience human identity' (Turkle, 1995). Through their encounters with new media, it is argued, contemporary children have become 'aliens': they represent a 'postmodern generation' whose subjectivity has been formed through the all-encompassing electronic habitat in which they live (Green and Bigum, 1993).

Yet however overstated these arguments may appear, it would also be a mistake to conclude that we have seen it all before, and that nothing is new. As I shall argue in the following sections of this chapter, there are several broader changes in children's cultural environment that are currently under way - changes that in turn reflect the changing social and economic position of children. We need to consider new media in relation to 'older' media, and in the context of children's everyday lives; and we also need to locate children's uses of these media in relation to broader social, economic and political forces.

Convergence

The history of innovation suggests that new media do not necessarily replace older media, so much as add to the range of options which are available. In the process, they may alter the reasons why people use existing media, the kinds of people who

use them, or the contexts in which they do so. But at least in the sphere of culture and communications, technologies complement each other in complex and sometimes unforeseen ways. Television, for example, has not replaced the book, just as the book did not replace earlier forms of oral storytelling or communication - even if the purposes for which people use these different forms may have changed (Ong, 1982).

On present showing, it seems likely that the same will be true of the digital technologies of computers and multimedia. Of course, there may be an element of displacement here: statistics show that children in homes with computers and game consoles do spend less time watching television, and there is a perceptible decline in overall viewing hours. In fact, however, this change has been far from dramatic. Likewise, despite the increasing proliferation of electronic media, there is little evidence that children's reading of print has actually declined; although they may well be reading for different reasons, or in different ways (Neuman, 1995). As in the case of television and reading, what is notable is that children are increasingly able to combine different activities - to chat on the computer as they watch TV and listen to CDs and do their homework (or so they will frequently allege). While some see this as evidence of a form of postmodern distraction, others see it as a manifestation of children's selective and autonomous relationships with contemporary communications media.

As this implies, the current context is not so much one of displacement as of convergence. Thus, it is argued, we are witnessing a blurring of boundaries, a coming together of previously distinct technologies, cultural forms and practices, both at the point of production and of reception. To be sure, this convergence is partly a result of changes in technology. The possibility of 'digitising' a whole range of different forms of communication (not just writing, but visual and moving images, music, sound and speech) transforms the computer into much more than a calculator or a typewriter with a memory. It becomes a means of delivering and producing not just written texts, but texts in a variety of media; and it has led critics to talk in terms of the 'teleputer' - the notion that the digital screen will become the focus of a whole range of entertainment, information and communication options.

However, this convergence of media is driven not only by technological change, but also by commercial imperatives. Over the past decade, for example, television programmes have become increasingly linked with movies, books, comics, computer games, CD-ROMs, toys, clothes, and other merchandise. This has been particularly the case with children's media - from Disney to Harry Potter - although it is by no means only confined to it. Contemporary children's 'crazes' - of which Pokémon is the most striking recent example - typically entail a high degree of 'interactivity', not just in the texts themselves (such as computer games) but also in the communication that takes place as children move between one cultural form and another, from the TV series to the card game to the books and the toys. In the process, the gathering of specialist knowledge - much of it impenetrable to adults, of course - becomes inextricably entailed in the purchase and collecting of commodities (Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 2002). In this form of 'integrated marketing', each medium has become bound up with other media, in what Marsha Kinder (1991) has aptly called the 'supersystem' of 'transmedia intertextuality' - a development which, as she acknowledges, is fundamentally driven by profit.

At the same time, we can point to a convergence of forms of communication. The advent of video, desktop publishing and modems has helped to break down the distinction between interpersonal communication and mass communication. At least potentially, such equipment enables 'consumers' to become 'producers', as it becomes possible to reproduce and to publish using technologies that were formerly the preserve of small élites. More and more teenagers have home computers in their bedrooms that can be used to create music, to manipulate images or to edit video to a relatively professional standard. These technologies also permit a highly conscious, and potentially subversive, manipulation of commercially-produced media texts, for example through sampling and re-editing found material, alongside 'original' creative production. Likewise, the internet is both a public and a private medium, which allows new forms of interpersonal communication as well as new forms of 'publishing'. Its essential anonymity – for example in the case of chat rooms - permits a degree of fluidity or experimentation with alternative identities; although this can clearly be seen as a source of risk as well as a means of liberation from constraint.

At the same time, what remains striking about many of these new media technologies is how much they rely on the forms and conventions of old technologies. Just as a great deal of television is in some sense literary or conventionally dramatic, so many CD-ROMs implicitly use the book as the model for structuring the ways in which readers get access to information; and the internet, of course, is heavily reliant on print, and on conventional verbal literacy – as indeed are many computer games.

Nevertheless, this convergence of technologies and cultural forms has been greeted by many critics as reflecting a breakdown of established cultural and social hierarchies. Thus, it is argued, these new cultural forms both express and create new forms of social identity, in which hitherto marginalised groups come to be represented, and to represent themselves. In the case of children and young people, these new forms do offer new possibilities for self-expression and communication. The internet, for example, provides some children with the opportunity for their voices to be heard, in ways that transcend hitherto insurmountable barriers of geographical distance or social difference (Sefton-Green, 1998). Even within the protected space of mainstream broadcasting, the paternalism which characterised the public service tradition has been steadily undermined and abandoned: to the distress of many adults, children's media culture is increasingly characterised by a kind of pleasurable anarchy and sensuality which is very different from the sedate and often patronising approach of earlier decades (Buckingham, 2002b; Holland, 1996; Wagg, 1992). Whether we see this as a corruption of childhood or as a means of cultural liberation for children clearly depends upon how we conceive of childhood in the first place.

Commerce

Certainly, there are several reasons to be more cautious about this broadly optimistic scenario. As I have noted, many of these developments are economically driven: they are part of a much more general move towards a market-led media system, in which the maximising of profit takes precedence over any public service imperatives. The new era is one of vertical integration and globalisation in the cultural and communications industries, as producers attempt to exploit successes across a much wider range of media. Having 'invented' the teenager in the 1950s, capitalism's inexorable drive to find new markets has increasingly come to focus on children: while they do not generate disposable income of their own, they have been seen to exercise increasing control over that of their parents (see Kline, 1993; Seiter, 1993).

In the 1980s, much of the debate here centred on the emergence of 'thirty minute commercials' - animated programmes produced or commissioned by toy manufacturers with the express intention of advertising toys and related merchandise (Engelhardt, 1986). While 'exploitation' of this kind can be traced back at least to the earliest days of Disney, the concern was that merchandising had begun to drive the production of media for children, rather than the other way round. Since that time, the boundaries between these different activities have become almost imperceptible: every text has become an advertisement for other texts. After watching the latest Disney movie, for example, it is now possible not only to buy the toys, the clothes, the books and the spin-off videos from the Disney shop in your local mall, or to watch further episodes on the Disney Channel, but also to visit the Web site, play the computer game and obtain the CD-ROM.

While such tendencies have been more pronounced in the USA, children's media in Britain - even in the public service sector - are rapidly moving in the same direction. Children's TV magazine shows, for example, construct a self-referential world where the guests are pop stars or actors from soaps, the games and the pop videos are ads for other commodities, and the prizes are other media artefacts (Wagg, 1992). Meanwhile, the programmes themselves are a kind of extended advertisement for a range of spin-off products, such as magazines and web-sites. Similar issues are beginning to surface in relation to the internet - as they already have in the US. For all its potentially liberating decentralisation, the internet provides advertisers with very accurate ways of reaching particular kinds of consumers, and gathering detailed information about their consumption habits and preferences. Not least in relation to children, it represents a highly effective means of 'niche marketing' (Center for Media Education, 1997).

Of course, this is not to posit some kind of golden age where culture was somehow uncontaminated by commerce; nor indeed is it to imply that commercialism is somehow incompatible with creativity or with genuine communication. Discussion of these issues - particularly in relation to children - is often characterised by a form of puritanism, in which children's leisure time is expected to be occupied with activities which adults define as 'educational' and 'improving'. The notion that children should be somehow shielded from the influence of the market, in a 'pure', non-commercial sphere, is not only utopian; it also fails to provide a basis for equipping them to deal with the challenges of an increasingly market-oriented culture.

Nevertheless, there are some difficult and perhaps rather traditional questions to be asked about these developments. We need to decide how far we want our public discourse to be dominated by what in the US is called 'commercial speech' - in other words, by the imperatives of selling. As the BBC, for example, becomes increasingly commercialised, does it still make sense to talk about notions of public service, or about the cultural functions of broadcasting - or do we simply trust in the market to 'give people what they want'? Clearly, this is not an either/or debate. There is a long history of paternalism within public service broadcasting, which has been strangely resistant to taking much notice of the public it is purporting to serve. Some critics of this tradition have argued that a market system ensures a degree of accountability which has historically been lacking from state-supported cultural provision: the market must remain dynamic and responsive to consumers' needs if products are to sell. On the other hand, it is clear that not all needs are equally served by the market - and that some needs may not be served at all. Many critics would argue that, at least in the sphere of culture, the market has proven to be a conservative force: material which is more risky, which serves more specialised audiences, or for whatever reason is perceived to be less likely to make a profit, is bound to be squeezed out (Buckingham et al., 1999).

This leads on to questions about access. Although the range of media available is currently proliferating, most of these media cost money. Family expenditure on entertainment media (both software and hardware) has been increasing exponentially over the past decade, both as a global figure and as a proportion of household income. However, these new technologies are differentially distributed: there are significantly more PCs, video recorders and camcorders in middle-class homes than in working-class homes (Livingstone, 2002). As a result, different social groups increasingly live in very different cultural worlds. Furthermore, these differences are not simply to do with access to technology: they are also to do with access to the intellectual or cultural capital that is needed to use that technology in effective and creative ways. Put simply, middle-class children are not only likely to have better quality computers and software; they are also likely to have much more informed support in using them from parents and other adults, and greater access to social networks which will provide them with a sense of motivation and purpose in using such technology in the first place (Sefton-Green and Buckingham, 1996).

Control

While some have argued that these new technologies are 'empowering' for children, others are becoming very alarmed at this prospect. As with older technologies, there is now a growing anxiety about the need for control, which has come to play a significant part in policy-making. The argument here is that children are an especially vulnerable audience - easily influenced and exploited, at risk from all sorts of grubby commercial interests, and particularly from those who peddle violence and pornography. As with television, digital technology is being held responsible for the wholesale destruction of childhood as we know it (Sanders, 1995). One of the boundaries that is being blurred here, we are told, is that between adults and children: the problem with these new technologies is that they give children access to things which used to be kept hidden from them, and which they really ought not to know.

The notion that children are turning on their computers and being confronted by a barrage of graphic pornography is, to say the least, somewhat of an exaggeration. Nevertheless, many of these technologies do enable people to bypass centralised systems of control. For the moralists, it is as though the sacred space of the home has been invaded. In earlier times, children may have tried to sneak into the cinema to see what were quaintly termed X-films; but it is now significantly easier to get hold of them on video. Likewise, material which used to be only available to those over the age of majority can (at least in theory) be obtained by anyone with access to the internet and some means of payment. Centralised control - and even parental control - is becoming significantly harder to exert, as growing numbers of children have unsupervised access to these technologies in their bedrooms (Livingstone, 2002).

This has led to an increasingly desperate search for alternatives. In recent years, attention has shifted to the possibility of a 'technological fix' which will provide the control that parents are seen to be unable or unwilling to exercise. The V-chip, a means to 'filter out' violent content which has been compulsory on all new TV sets manufactured in the US since 1998, is a typical example; although it is a technology which UK policy makers seem to have realised is doomed to fail. In the case of the internet, regulators are increasingly looking to 'blocking software' - programs with symptomatic titles such as 'Net Nanny' and 'Cybersitter'; although here too, it is likely that the producers of internet sites, or those who use them, will be able to find ways of defeating this, and that more sophisticated measures will be required (Waltermann and Machill, 2000).

While other countries are steadily abandoning censorship, the US and the UK seem to be moving in the opposite direction. Here, we have seen the strengthening of the censor's powers through the Video Recordings Act (1984) and the Criminal Justice Act (1994); although in the US, the Communications Decency Act, which attempted to outlaw 'obscenity' on the internet, was ruled to be contrary to the First Amendment. Nevertheless, there seems to be a growing recognition that simply increasing censorship is unlikely to have the desired effect - and indeed, that technological developments have to a large extent made it a lost cause. Regulatory bodies such as the British Board of Film Classification seem to be increasingly looking to education as an alternative - although there is some criticism of the notion that education might function as a surrogate form of censorship (Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 1997).

Here again, there are much wider issues at stake. Current concerns about censorship and media regulation are merely part of a wider sense of crisis about the changing relationships of power and authority between adults and children. The debate around the James Bulger case in the early 1990s was perhaps the most obvious example of this process in recent times - and one which symptomatically came to focus on the media, as though (yet again) 'bad media' were the sole explanation of the problem (see Buckingham, 1996; Franklin and Petley, 1996). In the context of this growing 'moral panic' about childhood, it has become increasingly difficult to sustain a rational debate. Youth crime has become an increasingly salient issue in political debate over the past five years, in which the two main parties have attempted to outdo each other in offering ever more authoritarian solutions, irrespective of evidence about their effectiveness (Newburn, 1996). In this context, control of the media has a crucial symbolic significance for politicians and others who are seeking to demonstrate their moral authority and responsibility.

Technology in everyday life

Much of this debate about childhood, and specifically about children's uses of new communications technologies, has been conducted over the heads of children themselves. We still know very little about how children perceive, interpret and use these new media. As in the case of television, most of the research has been preoccupied with the search for evidence of negative effects; and much of it has been based on implicitly behaviourist assumptions. There has been very little attention to the social contexts in which the technology is used, or to the social relationships of which it forms a part. Children are typically seen here as isolated individuals, who are powerless to resist the negative influences of the media upon them. If anything, the specific properties of digital technologies appear to have accentuated this approach. Computer games and the internet, for example, are often seen to involve (and indeed to produce) social isolation. The phenomenon of 'interactivity' is widely seen to increase the power of the media, rather than to reduce it: game players, for example, are seen to 'identify' with characters much more intensely than television viewers, and hence to be more likely to copy their behaviour. And, as we have seen, the difficulty of exercising centralised control over these new media has led to renewed concerns about the potential impact of representations of sex and violence.

Within the broader field of media research, a rather different approach has begun to emerge in recent years. Researchers are increasingly seeing children as 'active' readers, not as passive consumers. Children, it is argued, are already sophisticated, discriminating, even critical users of media (see, for example, Buckingham, 1993a, 2000; Hodge and Tripp, 1986; Tobin, 2000). In the context of recurrent 'moral panics' about the effects of the media on children, this kind of argument is still a necessary one, although it can also sanction a kind of complacency. The image of the 'media-wise' child is in many ways just as sentimental as the image of the vulnerable innocent it has sought to replace. To celebrate children's 'activity' and 'sophistication' may be to neglect some important limitations and constraints on their uses of the media, both in terms of the nature of media texts themselves and in terms of the social contexts in which they are read and used.

Research on children's uses of new media is still in its infancy (see Buckingham, 2002a). As in the case of television, much of the research has been preoccupied with the search for evidence of negative effects; and much of it has been based on implicitly behaviourist assumptions. Nevertheless, there is a growing body of work that analyses the ways in which media use is embedded within children's daily lives, rather than seeing it as an extraneous influence that impacts upon them from outside. This work effectively refutes both the alarmist claims about the dangers of new media and the optimistic celebration of children as 'cyberkids'.

For example, research strongly refutes the popular idea that computer games playing is an anti-social activity (Buckingham, 1993b; Jenkins, 1993; Jessen, 1999; Livingstone, 2002). While the actual playing of games is sometimes an individual, isolated pursuit, it is also often collaborative, and the focus of a great deal of talk and interaction. Furthermore, the culture surrounding the games is an important means of establishing and sustaining interpersonal relationships - from the swapping of games, advice and 'cheats', through to participation in the more public culture of games shops, arcades, magazines and TV shows. The culture of games playing involves an

ongoing social construction of an 'interpretive community' - and in this respect, as Jessen (1999) argues, it may be better suited to the pattern of children's play than older media such as books, which one is alone in consuming.

At the same time, this social process is mediated by the operations of the market. Much of children's discussion is about what you can buy, what you have bought, or what you are going to buy - and this is a discussion in which children are not all equal. Furthermore, this surrounding culture is an arena for the 'border-work' that characterises children's gender relationships (Thorne, 1993): it frequently serves to mark the boundaries between boys and girls, and thereby to prevent girls gaining access to technology or to the knowledge that is required to use it (Orr Vered, 1998). Through such processes, children are actively constructing and defining themselves, both as consumers and as gendered subjects.

Likewise, research on domestic uses of educational computing suggests that much depends on the 'social envelope' - that is, on the sets of expectations, contexts and social practices - that surrounds it. Growing numbers of researchers are suggesting that the educational promise of this technology has been largely unfulfilled (e.g. Cupitt and Stockbridge, 1996; Facer et al., 2001; Giacquinta, Bauer and Levin, 1993; Sefton-Green and Buckingham, 1996). While parents are likely to invest in computers and software with educational benefits in mind, children generally prefer to use them for playing games, and resist overtly 'educational' activities. Many parents also lack the time and expertise to support their children's use of computers; while the uses of computers in schools are frequently limited, and there is often little dialogue between parents and teachers on the issue. Males are generally the major users and decision-makers in relation to home computing, while females (particularly mothers) are often defined as incompetent; and since mothers are generally the primary care-givers, this further reduces the potential for parental support. For many children, using computers - like watching television - seems to be regarded as a way of filling in time when they are bored, and when other, more attractive activities are not available. Nevertheless, we need to know much more about how both groups perceive and balance out the 'educational' and 'entertainment' aspects of these new media - and indeed, the extent to which these distinctions are still possible to sustain.

As this implies, the meaning and use of technology is mediated by social relationships. We need to analyse how technology enters into the peer group and the family, how children get access to it, how they learn about it, and how its use is regulated and controlled (for instance by parents). Certain combinations of technology and social relationships bring about particular uses, but they also prevent others. In the process, technology comes to be defined as (for example) 'male' or 'female', 'educational' or 'entertaining', in ways which systematically favour access among particular social groups. As with television, people use the technology to construct social relationships and to define their social identities - although the resources which are available to them mean that they do not have infinite choice in how they do this.

At the same time, the forms of new media may challenge some of the accepted terms and categories of media analysis. For example, analysing the ways in which children 'read' digital texts (CD-ROMs, computer games, the internet) raises important questions about what a 'text' actually is. It may not make sense to talk about a computer game or a CD-ROM as a 'text' in the same way as one would talk about a

book or a movie. The narrative of a computer game depends very much on the person who is playing it - most obviously in terms of how long it lasts, but also in terms of its complexity, what one needs to remember, the choices one makes, and so on. At the same time, it is false to suggest that such choices are infinite, or that the player somehow 'creates' the text. Indeed, there is often a spurious form of 'interactivity' here, in which one is confined simply to following paths that have already been laid down, while enjoying the illusion of choice.

In this area, as in many other aspects of Childhood Studies, the fundamental challenge is to find ways of connecting the 'micro' and the 'macro'. We need to situate children's relationships with the media in the texture of their everyday lives and relationships; and yet we also need to take account of the broader economic and political forces that are at stake. While not denying the active, interpretive dimensions of children's uses of media, we also need to look at the economic, institutional and social dynamics that characterise specific forms of media consumption. In both respects, we need to move beyond the individualistic construction of childhood, and work towards a broader social analysis.

Beyond technology

In writing this chapter, I have been distinctly uneasy about some of the key terms of my argument. I have slipped between 'technology' in the singular and 'technologies' in the plural; between 'technology', 'media' and 'cultural forms'; and between 'digital technologies', 'media technologies' and 'communication technologies'. The word-processor may have erased some of these uncertainties, but it cannot erase all of them. Indeed, I would argue that they are probably unavoidable.

Ultimately, I want to resist any reduction of the phenomena I have been describing to a label like 'information technology'. This is not simply a matter of information. It is about entertainment, art and culture; it is about literacy and communication. We urgently need to extend our definitions of these things if we are to develop adequate responses to the challenge of these new technologies. Equally, these phenomena are not simply a matter of technology. We need to see digital media in the context of the convergence of previously distinct media and cultural forms; and in terms of wider economic, social and political forces. Despite their 'newness', these technologies force us to go on asking some very traditional questions about access, about control, and about public culture.

As I have argued, we to move beyond the idea that technology has consequences in and of itself. There may indeed be great creative, educational and democratic potential here; but whether that potential is realised depends upon how the technology is used, and on the social relationships that are constructed around it. We need to think creatively about the new forms of educational practice, and the new forms of community, which can make this happen. Technology in itself will not make children creative, nor will it motivate or enable them to learn. Children need to develop specific skills both in using software and hardware, and in more 'traditional' areas of literacy and artistic expression, if the potential is to be realised. We need to abandon the idea that these 'new' and 'old' forms of literacy are mutually exclusive alternatives; or that the 'new' literacies are simply routes towards the 'old'.

Perhaps most crucially, we need to ensure that the use of technology is a collaborative, social process, rather than a privatised, individualised one. We need to construct new kinds of public spheres in which all children can work collaboratively with media technology, share what they produce, and communicate with a wider audience. If this does not happen, it is likely that the creative, educational and communicative benefits of these technologies will only ever be realised by a small elite.

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變動的媒體，變動的童年？在數位科技時代中孩子所處的的文化環境

摘譯：幸曼玲

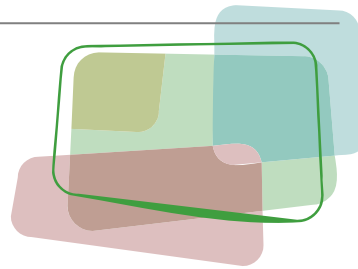
有許多論述都認為新媒體科技對孩子的生活有巨大的影響。就像是童年一樣，科技不但讓我們感覺惶恐，也讓我們存有幻想。科技，不再保證美好的將來，而科技出現的同時，也與過去做了清楚的切割。這樣的切割讓我們感覺焦慮。不論是好是壞，新媒體似乎有很大的力量修正孩子的意識，決定他們的身分，或是描繪他們的生活型態。孩子，是這些新媒體的焦點對象。到底這些新科技如何塑造童年，或是，這些新科技讓孩子有著新的力量？透過新科技，是否孩子更有創造力，更具自發性？或者，孩子只是電子銀幕下的受害者？或者，孩子會是在數位革命風潮下，具有科技素養的「賽博兒童」(cyberkids)？

在這篇文章，我從極端的立場出發，這些立場都是一般公共論述所經常提及的。但是，我認為我們應該從決定論的觀點跳脫。我接著在孩子經驗到的改變文化情境中思考新媒體和新的溝通科技。這些改變的文化情境的特徵是，不同的文化形式持續聚合(convergence)；而新產生的焦慮和商業性都須受到控制。最後，我提出這些論述的意義及未來研究方向。我認為，我們應持續關注孩子在日常生活中使用媒體的種種方式。除此之外，我們更應該以更寬廣的社會、經濟和文化的力量來關注孩子使用新媒體的狀況。

Gotta Catch 'Em All

Structure, Agency and Pedagogy in Children's Media Culture

David Buckingham



Gotta Catch 'Em All
Structure, Agency and Pedagogy in Children's Media Culture

What is (0r was) Pokémon?

- a 'craze'?
 - a 'text' (or 'texts')?
 - a 'cultural practice' - something you *do*, not just something you 'consume'
 - but who determines what is done?
-

Where does the power lie?

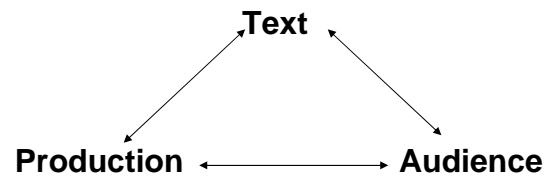
Structure, agency and pedagogy

'Activity' = 'power'?

What's new?

Innovation and continuity

The circuit of culture



PRODUCTION

Nintendo's corporate strategy

- 'family friendliness'
- vertical integration
- reviving the Game Boy

Japan as a global cultural power

- via Hong Kong
- via the USA

PRODUCTION

Catching Them All

- age
- gender
- culture
 - 'deodorizing' or 'Japanese cool'
 - global 'localising' - 'glocalisation'

PRODUCTION

Calculated manipulation? (Structure)

Or an 'author' (Satoshi Tajiri) speaking directly to children? (Agency)

So why did Pokémon die?

Why does popular culture become unpopular?

PRODUCTION

What's old? What's new?

- integrated marketing

('synergy' or 'multimedia intertextuality')

- Collecting merchandise

- 'Activity' - more than 'consumption'

TEXT

The hero's quest for adulthood

The Bildungsroman, Kung Fu/Samurai stories...

Masculine genres - with a psychic twist

Dungeons and Dragons...

Exploring space (Ash)

Game narratives, Discworlds...

Goodies and baddies: children in control

TEXT

Nurturing ('training') and collecting

Sylvanian Families, Beanie Babies...

'Cuteness' and miniaturisation

Tamagotchis, Hello Kitty, Sailor Moon...

Feminine pleasures (Misty)

TEXT

Acquiring knowledge

Knowledge as power

Portability

Between media, between social contexts

'Interactivity' and agency

Active audiences = powerful audiences?

Structure *versus* agency - or 'structuration' (Giddens)

TEXT

Masculine *and* feminine

Culturally specific *and* universal

Active audiences *and* consumers

Structure *and* agency

AUDIENCE

IS IT *GOOD* FOR CHILDREN?

Cognitive benefits

- Transferability: the mind as muscle?

Social benefits

- Common cultures: cosy communities?
-

AUDIENCE

OR IS IT *BAD* FOR CHILDREN?

It's commercial exploitation

- But can we keep childhood separate?

It's trash

- But who says it is?
-

AUDIENCE

GLOBAL AUDIENCES

A common culture - homogenisation?

'Japaneseness' - recognising difference?

'Secondary localisation'

Childhood identities in global culture (Ohmae)

AUDIENCE: PEDAGOGY

Pokemon *versus* schooling

What is it *teaching* - and how?

Consumer training - or 'multiliteracies'?

But how do we judge educational 'value'?

A power-struggle, with assumptions about childhood

Where does the power lie?

Structure, agency and pedagogy

What's new?

Innovation and continuity

Understanding 'activity'

GOTTA CATCH 'EM ALL

Structure, agency and pedagogy in children's media culture

David Buckingham and Julian Sefton-Green

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There can be very few people in the developed world who remain unaware of the existence of Pokémon. Yet despite the seemingly endless outpouring of adult concern and bewilderment, it is actually difficult to find a single term to describe it. In popular debates, Pokémon is most frequently referred to as a 'craze' - which of course implies that those who pursue it are in some sense mentally deranged, if only temporarily. Another, rather more neutral, term that comes readily to hand here is 'phenomenon'. According to the dictionary definition, a phenomenon is something 'remarkable' or 'unusual'; although, interestingly, it can also mean 'the appearance which anything makes to our consciousness, as distinguished from what it is in itself' (Chambers, 1978).

So what is Pokémon 'in itself'? It is clearly not just a 'text', or even a collection of texts - a TV serial, a card game, toys, magazines or a computer game. It is not merely a set of objects that can be isolated for critical analysis, in the characteristic mode of academic Media Studies. It might more appropriately be described, in anthropological terms, as a 'cultural practice'. Pokémon is something you *do*, not just something you read or watch or 'consume'. Yet while that 'doing' clearly requires active participation on the part of the 'doers', the terms on which it is performed are predominantly dictated by forces or structures beyond their control. The practice of collecting the cards, or playing the computer game, is to a large extent determined by the work of their designers - and indeed by the operations of the market, which makes these commodities available in particular ways in the first place. The rules that govern these particular cultural practices are therefore not, by and large, open to negotiation or change.

In classic sociological theory, this relationship between the activity of the consumer (here children) and of the producer (here Nintendo) is of course described in terms of structure and agency. This issue has been particularly prominent in debates in Media and Cultural Studies over the past ten or twenty years, not least in the seemingly interminable debates about the 'power' of media audiences. Our intention in this article is to use Pokémon as a case study of this relationship, particularly as it applies to a broader analysis of children's media culture. In common with others, we want to suggest that the frequent *opposition* between structure and agency is mistaken; and we want to propose a rather different formulation of the relationship, based around the notion of *pedagogy*. Drawing on theories of pedagogy, we suggest, might offer a more productive, and less abstract, way of understanding what is taking place in these interactions between producers, texts and audiences.

In the process, we also want to consider what might be 'remarkable' or 'unusual' about Pokémon, as distinct from what is merely banal and familiar. In some respects, Pokémon has much in common with earlier textually-based 'phenomena' in children's media culture - with *Power Rangers* or *Ninja Turtles*, or indeed with Disney; although in other respects, it can be seen as merely the latest in a historical sequence of children's 'crazes' or 'fads', along with Rubik's cubes, Tamagotchis, POGs and Beanie Babies. As we shall argue, the global success of Pokémon is partly

a result of its ability to 'speak' to shared aspects of childhood experience, and of the ease with which it can be integrated within the routines of children's everyday lives. Yet there are also aspects of Pokémon that are decidedly new, and that might provide important indications about future directions in media culture - not just for children, but also for adults.

Cashing in

A Nintendo corporation press release, issued in September 1999, one year after the launch of the first Pokémon computer games in the United States, gives some indication of the scale of its success [1]. In its first year, the Pokémon franchise had generated \$5 billion, almost as much as the whole US games industry in 1998. Pokémon was the top-selling Game Boy game and the top-selling trading card game; and the TV cartoon was the top-rating show on the WB network and in syndication. The soundtrack album '2.B.A. Master' and the 'Official Pokémon Handbook' were both top-ten sellers in their respective charts; and Pokémon magazines and sticker albums were also beginning to appear in stores. In the US, over 100 licensed companies were making Pokémon merchandise, while in Japan over 1000 different products were available.

Six months on, following the launch of the first Pokémon movie (which took \$25 million in its first two days in the US) and of a range of new games (both for the Game Boy and the N64 console), Nintendo was claiming that global revenues would rise above \$7 billion in the year 2000 [2]. In mid-2000, Pokémon websites - both official and unofficial - routinely topped the list of those receiving the most 'hits'; while more than 15 million Pokémon-related computer games had been sold in the US alone. In July 1999, Nintendo launched the 19-city 'training tour' of the Pokémon League at malls across America; while shops overflowed with Pokémon-branded soft toys, clothes, posters, food and drink, bedlinen, wallpaper, bubble bath, mouse mats, key rings, and a myriad of other merchandise.

The extraordinary success of Pokémon needs to be understood, firstly, in relation to Nintendo's overall profile and commercial strategy. While it is now Japan's second most profitable corporation, it is actually doubtful whether Nintendo would have survived without Pokémon. Nintendo has always been a comparatively insular company, at least in comparison with its competitors. Although it achieved some success in the late 1950s with the Japanese franchise for Walt Disney trading cards, it has generally been wary of co-operating with outsiders. Its approach to computer games has involved strong vertical integration of hardware and software. It favours exclusive contracts with games developers; and its cartridge-based platform is also exclusive and expensive to produce. In terms of content, the company has a generally 'family friendly' policy, with strict constraints on violence. In these respects, it is strikingly different from its major rival Sony, a relatively late entrant to the games market, whose Playstation is currently the leading domestic console. Sony has been much less intent on achieving vertical integration. It works with a wider range of games developers on non-exclusive contracts, and its CDs are both cheaper to produce (because they are easier to code) and to manufacture than Nintendo's cartridges [3]. Furthermore, Sony has aggressively targeted the young adult market: the Playstation is the 'must have' console for 16-25-year old males, and this induces an aspirational factor in younger teenagers also.

In developing the Pokémon game, Nintendo played to its strengths and took advantage of its competitors' weaknesses. Pokémon was specifically targeted at

younger children, who were largely excluded by Sony's marketing appeals - yet whose purchasing power has significantly grown over the past decade (Del Vecchio, 1997). Pokémon also enabled Nintendo to revive its hand-held Game Boy platform - which by 1998 was almost being written off by those within the industry. This was a sector of the market in which Nintendo had been uncontested since the effective demise of Sega's Game Gear. The Pokémon game was designed to exploit the strengths of the platform in a way that goes against dominant trends within the industry. Far from aspiring to ever-greater three-dimensional filmic realism, in the manner of contemporary console games, Pokémon is a two-dimensional puzzle game. Although it creates a complete fictional world in the manner of role-playing games aimed at older players (such as the *Legend of Zelda* and *Final Fantasy* series), it effectively leaves children to imagine much of that world themselves.

Catching them all

More broadly, one can see how the Pokémon phenomenon seems designed to maximize its appeal across different market sectors. The child market is notoriously difficult to reach, partly because of its fragmentation in terms of age and gender. As they get older, children repeatedly (and often fiercely) reject their former enthusiasms: differences of as little as a couple of years carry enormous significance. Meanwhile, the large majority of boys are extremely resistant to anything 'girly'; and while girls may be more likely to share in boys' pleasures, they have markedly less enthusiasm for traditionally 'boyish' occupations such as playing computer games (Cassell and Jenkins 1998). In economic terms, this makes the market extremely volatile; and the more manufacturers seek to cater for distinctions *within* that market, the less profitable it becomes.

By contrast, in the case of Pokémon, different aspects of the phenomenon offer different kinds of appeal - and different levels of complexity - for different age groups. Albeit at the risk of being reductive, it would be possible to track the ways in which particular Pokémon products have been created to fit in with the toys or media genres most characteristic of particular (overlapping) age groups: soft toys for the under-fives, TV cartoons for the four to nine-year-olds, trading cards for the six- to ten-year-olds, computer games for the seven- to twelve-year-olds, and so on. Interestingly, these overlaps and the connections that cut across the range of products available allow for 'aspirational' consumption, but also for a kind of 'regression' - by which it becomes almost permissible, for instance, for a seven-year-old to possess a Pokémon soft toy, or a twelve-year-old to watch a TV cartoon. In principle, this also permits a kind of progression *within* Pokémon, as children move on from one aspect to the next as they get older; and in this respect, it could be seen to make for a longevity that is typically lacking from most such phenomena [4].

Similarly, Pokémon seems designed to appeal across gender differences - or at least to offer pleasures for both genders that are more than tokenistic. In the blue and pink world of young children's culture, this is highly unusual. While the 'hero' of the game and the cartoon (Ash Ketchum) is male, he is distinctly pre-adolescent and asexual (by contrast, it must be said, with one of his fellow seekers, Brock). More to the point, the themes of the cartoon and the activities entailed in the game incorporate stereotypically masculine and feminine values. Thus, the game is about collecting and competing; but it is also about nurturing and co-operating. In order to succeed, the game player has to capture all 151 Pokémon species; but s/he also has to look after them and 'train' them in special skills in order that they can 'evolve' (or grow up),

somewhat in the manner of the Tamagotchi (another toy whose appeal appeared to cross gender boundaries). The player must then use the Pokemon to compete with rival trainers, leading to a final showdown; but in order to capture all 151 in the first place, s/he has to link up (via a special cable) with a fellow-player's Game Boy. Again, without being unduly schematic, the Pokemon species themselves are quite diverse, including extremely 'cute' and baby-like characters as well as rather more monstrous and reptilian ones ('Pokemon' is a Japanese contraction of 'pocket monster'). Many of the more popular characters combine these qualities: Pikachu, Ash's pet and mascot, is cloyingly 'cute', but is also capable of unleashing vicious electric shocks. Significantly, hardly any of the Pokemon species are ever referred to in gendered terms.

Pokémon also seems designed to maximize its appeal across cultural differences. Again, there is a risk of essentialism here; but it is hard to deny that these key themes - the need for nurturing or the competitive search for mastery - reflect aspects of childhood that are effectively universal (see, for example, Bettelheim, 1975). In other respects, however, these appeals appear to combine themes that are at least culturally inflected in particular ways. The 'cuteness' (*kawai-sa*) that is so apparent with Pikachu is characteristic of Japanese popular culture more broadly, for example in the 'Hello Kitty' phenomenon; and it also relates to the miniaturisation that has been seen both as a characteristically Japanese aesthetic and as a key feature in Japan's success in home electronics (the success of the Tamagotchi seems to combine both these elements). Meanwhile, the drive to collect (evident in the Pokémon slogan that gives our article its title) could be interpreted, not just as a form of anal compulsion but also perhaps as a symptom of the capitalist drive towards possessive accumulation. It may be no mere coincidence in this respect that the global trade in Pokemon cards is dominated by the sinisterly-named US company Wizards of the Coast (operating under franchise from Nintendo) and by US-based trading card outlets.

In these respects, the success of Pokémon could be seen as a manifestation of globalisation - or, more accurately, of what has been termed 'glocalisation' (global localisation). While drawing on Japanese mythology, Nintendo clearly set out to devise a product that could be exported and adapted to local needs and traditions. Thus, for instance, some of the Pokémon characters were given English-sounding names even in the original Japanese version of the game. Meanwhile, the TV cartoon - which is re-edited by a US-based company for release in the US and other Western countries - seems to combine elements of the Japanese *manga* style with aspects of the 'limited animation' of US superhero cartoons of the 1980s. Significantly, the facial features of the characters are also ethnically quite ambiguous.

Success stories

Described in this way, Pokémon could appear to be distinctly 'calculated', both in terms of its relation to Nintendo's broader commercial strategy and in terms of its inclusive appeal to the child market. On this account, the corporation is seen to engage in a deliberate - even cynical - form of manipulation. The assumption here is that success is almost guaranteed; and that the children who are the consumers are easy targets for commercial exploitation. Advocates of this view might well go further, arguing that a phenomenon like Pokémon creates 'false needs', which it then promises to satisfy through consumption; and that, in the process, it prevents other forms of children's culture - forms that might be more 'dangerous' or 'oppositional' - from ever existing (see Kline 1993). From this perspective, the success of Pokémon

could be interpreted as evidence of the overpowering control of global, corporate capital – or, in more theoretical terms, of the victory of structure over agency.

By contrast, many popular accounts of the phenomenon have tended to espouse a kind of ‘auteur theory’. In this account [5], much is made of the personal vision of Pokémon’s creator, Satoshi Tajiri. Thus, we are told that Tajiri collected beetles as a child, just as Pokémon players now collect the pocket monsters in forests, caves and rivers. Tajiri is identified as an *otaku* - a member of the ‘stay at home tribe’, who cut themselves off from society and immerse themselves in the virtual worlds of computer games or comic books (Tobin 1998). In this narrative, Pokémon is represented as a surprise success for Nintendo - something that just ‘took off’ unpredictably because of the enthusiasm of the child audience. Tajiri, we are told, even believed that the game he had spent six years developing would be rejected by the company that had commissioned him. This latter account thus emphasizes the agency, both of the individual heroic creator and of the children who recognize and identify with his personal vision - despite or even in opposition to the structuring influence of corporate capital.

Clearly, there are several problems with both these accounts. While one appears to over-emphasize the power of the individual - both the creator and the ‘consumer’ - the other over-emphasizes the power of economic and textual structures. In the case of children’s culture, these accounts take on a particular inflection - informed on the one hand by notions of children’s innate spontaneity and on the other by assumptions about their vulnerability to manipulation (Buckingham 2000). The obvious temptation is simply to put these accounts together - to recognize them as two sides of the same coin. Theoretically, the problem then becomes a matter of ‘balancing out’ structure and agency; allocating some of the power to the industry and the text, and reserving the rest of it for the audience. On this account, power is implicitly imagined to function rather like water in a vast hydraulic mechanism, which can be pumped round a system until it finds its own level. We will return to this issue below; but at this stage, it is worth noting one of the difficulties that neither account really addresses.

As we have suggested, there are several ways in which Pokémon seems to be designed to ensure a degree of longevity; and yet sooner or later it was bound to meet its demise. At the time of writing (mid-2001), children have already largely abandoned Pokémon, just as they abandoned Power Rangers and Ninja Turtles and countless other ‘passing fads’. While a specialist collectors’ market among adults will probably continue for many years, piles of discarded Pokémon merchandise are even now finding their way to landfill sites around the globe. Of course, this is partly a matter of children ‘growing out of it’, or just getting bored. Yet it is more than just an inevitable consequence of the passing of time. To some extent, it might even be argued that phenomena like Pokémon are bound to become the victims of their own success. Initially taken up by the ‘cool’ kids (the early adopters), they are quickly espoused by others (the aspirational consumers) who are keen to use them to acquire ‘cool’ status. Yet once this happens, and the unique cachet of the product – that is, its ability to confer ‘distinction’ – is diluted, the cool kids inevitably move on. Likewise, new generations are bound to want to ‘discover’ cultural practices that they can claim as their own, and that will serve to distinguish them from the generations that have preceded them. There is certainly more to explain here; but academic studies of popular culture have generally failed to account for the life cycle of such phenomena - for how what was once popular becomes *unpopular*, and why (Fleming 1996).

To sum up, one can identify elements of the ‘political economy’ of Pokémon that are distinctly familiar - although others seem rather more unusual. Cross-media

merchandising - or 'integrated marketing' - of this kind has been characteristic of children's media culture for many years (Kinder, 1991; Seiter, 1993). While it is typically dated back to the emergence of toy-related TV cartoons in the 1980s - the so-called 'thirty minute commercials' - it can in fact be traced back to the early days of Disney (Smoodin, 1994). In terms of the audience, this approach offers a kind of economy of scale: the more there is, the more unavoidable it becomes, and so the more one seems obliged or compelled to pursue it. Like earlier phenomena of this kind, Pokémon also places a premium on *collecting* - both of the different species within the texts (the game, the TV cartoon) and of the physical commodities (the cards and the merchandise). Here again, the potential for generating profit is maximized: rather than collecting just one superhero doll, or even a team of four, you need to lay out much more money to complete the set. However, what is increasingly becoming harder to identify here is the 'source text': we cannot make sense of phenomena such as Pokémon in terms of an original text and a collection of 'spin offs' that subsequently exploit its success. The computer game undoubtedly arrived first; but, according to Nintendo itself [6], it seems that Pokémon was planned as a cross-media enterprise from a very early stage. Certainly, there are millions of children who might be counted as Pokémon 'fans' who have never played the computer games, and never will.

The second area of novelty here centres on the notion of 'activity'. As we shall indicate in the following sections, there are several key characteristics and themes that cut across the range of Pokémon texts; but activity - or agency - is an indispensable part of the process, rather than something that is exercised *post hoc*. In a sense, it seems mistaken to describe the children who engage with Pokémon as mere 'consumers', or simply as an 'audience'. Here again, the difference between Pokémon and earlier phenomena may be a matter of scale or degree, rather than of kind. Nevertheless, we would argue that Pokémon positively *requires* and *depends upon* 'activity' to an extent that many other forms of media consumption do not; and in this respect, it casts an interesting light on the familiar debate about structure and agency.

Textual pleasures

The central narrative of the Pokémon game and of the cartoon is essentially that of the hero's quest. Ten-year-old Ash, our hero, leaves home in search of the Pokémon that will bring him adult mastery. Sent on his quest by wise Professor Oak, he is assisted by various helpers and donors, and travels through uncharted lands encountering a series of obstacles and enemies. Needless to say, the resolution of his quest is endlessly deferred in the TV cartoon; but in the game, Ash (or the player) eventually arrives at a showdown with competing Pokémon trainers - success at this stage being completion of the game.

From a structuralist perspective, this is all extremely familiar. Like many Westerns, for example, Pokémon can be made to fit very easily into Vladimir Propp's template for the folktale (Propp, 1962). As we have implied, there is also a developmental dimension here: when Ash tells his mother that he is leaving home, she replies, 'Right. All boys leave home some day.' While the masculine nature of his quest is not strongly accentuated, successful completion of the quest is nevertheless implicitly the point at which Ash will become a man. In the cartoon and the movie, Ash repeatedly learns from his experiences, and from the advice of his elders and betters: in order to succeed, he must overcome his impulsive and emotional side, and learn self-control.

In this respect, the narrative could be seen as a kind of *Bildungsroman*; and it also has much in common with the Samurai quest story popularized in a whole series of martial arts movies – and, as in these movies, Ash’s quest carries a significant mystical or ‘psychic’ dimension (cf. Rushkoff, 1996). These narrative tropes and themes are also characteristic of the role-playing games and fantasy literature favoured by boys slightly older than the average Pokémon fan; and in this sense, Pokémon itself could be seen as a form of ‘training’ in the cultural forms of male adolescence.

However, emphasising narrative in this context may lead us to neglect the significant *spatial* dimension of the texts, particularly the computer game. As Henry Jenkins (1998) has argued, games can be seen as virtual ‘play spaces’ that compensate for the growing lack of such spaces in the real world, as children (and especially boys) have been increasingly confined to the home. According to Jenkins, the games (and the peer group culture that surrounds them) offer the same pleasures that used to be afforded to earlier generations of boys in outdoor play: the exploration and mastery of space, goal-driven activity, self-control rather than parental control, and male bonding. Pokémon provides a very extensive space of this kind - a self-contained universe with its own unique geography and cosmology, that can only be mastered through active exploration. Here again, there are clear similarities with the fictional worlds of adolescents’ fantasy literature - with Terry Pratchett’s Discworld, for example, or the world of the Dragonlance series; and indeed with the more participatory universe of Dungeons and Dragons and other role-playing games. Despite the challenges it holds, however, this is ultimately a safe world, as compared (for example) with the dystopian universes of *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* or *Batman*. The ‘baddies’ in the TV cartoon, ‘Team Rocket’, are extraordinarily camp and ineffectual (not to mention their striking resemblance to the 1980s band Visage); although the evil mutant Mew Two, whose drive for domination of the universe creates the narrative of the first movie, is admittedly rather more threatening. Nevertheless, the world of the Pokémon game and the TV cartoon is one which children largely control, and in which threatening adults are effectively absent.

If the textual pleasures we have identified are perhaps stereotypically masculine, there are stereotypically feminine pleasures too. As we have noted, Ash and his friends (and by extension, the players of the game) have to nurture and ‘train’ the Pokémon they capture in order to succeed. In this sense, they occupy decidedly ‘adult’ – even ‘maternal’ - roles: they have autonomy and authority, as well as a burden of responsibility for those who have less power than themselves. In these respects, Pokémon has much in common with young girls’ ‘collectable’ toys such as Polly Pockets, Sylvanian Families and (particularly) Beanie Babies. Meanwhile, the central focus on Ash’s quest should not lead us to ignore the secondary character of Misty, who is a significant figure for girl consumers. Unlike the other female trainers, she is neither brutally ‘butch’ or dizzily feminine, and seems carefully constructed to appeal to pre-adolescent girls.

Creating activity

While these structural and thematic analyses must clearly account for some of the pleasures of Pokémon texts, they say very little about how those texts are designed to be *used*. How does Pokémon invite – and indeed require – ‘activity’ on the part of the user? There are several key aspects that can be identified here. On one level, Pokémon is centrally about acquiring *knowledge*. Like Tajiri collecting his insects, the successful Pokémon player will need to build up a detailed taxonomy of the various species and their unique characteristics and powers. The Pokémon belong to different categories (Water, Fire, Psychic, etc.), whose different strengths and weaknesses must be assessed when they come to compete. The knowledge that is at stake here is that of quasi-scientific classification - of Linnean taxonomy. Indeed, the posters that display all the 151 Pokémon resemble nothing so much as a periodic table.

It is difficult to overestimate the amount and complexity of the knowledge that is required here. The guidebooks and websites that support Pokémon players are immensely detailed and quite incomprehensible to outsiders. In terms of audiences, this in itself has several functions. For the individual, it makes for a considerable degree of longevity: to ‘commit’ to Pokémon is to commit to a long-term engagement, which poses some significant challenges in terms of finding, processing, remembering and applying information. In interpersonal terms, this level of complexity also provides Pokémon enthusiasts with a great deal to talk *about*. Like many parents, we have been astonished by our children’s ability to sustain extended conversations with their friends about Pokémon; and of course it is not coincidental that these conversations remain largely impenetrable to us.

A significant aspect of this knowledge - and indeed of Pokémon in general - is its *portability*: that is, the ways in which it can be transferred between media and between social contexts. Children may watch the television cartoon, for example, as a way of gathering knowledge that they can later utilize in playing the computer game or in trading cards, and vice-versa. The fact that information can be transferred between media (or platforms) of course adds to the sense that Pokémon is ‘unavoidable’: in order to be a master, it is necessary to ‘catch’ all its various manifestations. Another aspect of this portability is to do with the different social contexts in which Pokémon can be used. Children can experience Pokémon alone - for example, while watching the TV cartoon - or in the company of others - for example, while trading cards or swapping via the Game Boy cable; they can experience it at home, in the street or playground, or while playing the Game Boy in the back of the car; and they can experience it intensively for long stretches of time, or more casually, in those ‘in-between’ moments when there is nothing else to do. The diversity of media and activities enable it to fit in isomorphically with many of the spaces and routines of children’s everyday lives. While some of these uses may reflect the social isolation of the *otaku*, the large majority involve social interaction. As we shall argue in more detail below, Pokémon facilitates interaction in a wide range of children’s social spaces, providing a ticket of entry to play, a pretext for negotiating friendships, as well as a vehicle for competition and conflict.

Our central point here, then, is that the texts of Pokémon are not designed merely to be ‘consumed’ in the passive sense of the word. On the contrary, they are designed to generate activity and social interaction. Indeed, they positively depend upon it. This is the case not only in children’s immediate encounters with the text(s), but also in what happens beyond this. The computer games are obviously designed to be ‘interactive’, in the sense that you have to make choices and predictions, remember

key information, plan ahead, and so on, if you are to succeed. However, this kind of active engagement is also required by the phenomenon as a whole: in order to be part of the Pokémon culture, and to learn what you need to know, you must actively seek out new information and new products - and, crucially, engage with others in doing so. There is a level of cognitive activity required here, but also a level of social or interpersonal activity without which the phenomenon would not exist.

In some respects, of course, this is an obvious point. The existence of 'active audiences' is scarcely a major new discovery. However, our emphasis here is rather different. We take it for granted that audiences are 'active' (although we would agree that there is room for a much more rigorous discussion about what that actually means). The key point for us is that the texts of Pokémon - or the Pokémon 'phenomenon' - positively *require* 'activity'. Activity of various kinds is not just essential for the production of meaning and pleasure; it is also the primary mechanism through which the phenomenon is sustained, *and* through which commercial profit is generated. It is in this sense that the notion of 'audience' seems quite inadequate.

This introduces a rather different perspective into the broader debate about structure and agency in Media and Cultural Studies. As we have implied, debates about media and their audiences are often implicitly perceived as a 'zero sum' equation. Despite all the talk of complexity and contradiction, we often seem to be faced with either/or choices: either the media are powerful, or audiences are. More significantly, such debates often seem to presume that structure and agency are fundamentally opposed. Asserting the power of agency necessarily means denying the power of structures. Proclaiming that audiences are 'active' necessarily means assuming that the media are powerless to influence them; and asserting the power of the media necessarily seems to involve a view of audiences as 'passive dupes' of ideology. This is, we would argue, a fundamentally fallacious opposition.

Within mainstream sociology, Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration (e.g. Giddens, 1984) is frequently cited here. At least in principle, Giddens' theory provides a way of moving beyond this dichotomy between structure and agency. In essence, Giddens suggests that structure and agency are interrelated and mutually interdependent: agency necessarily works through structure, and structure necessarily works through agency. Where Giddens' work is somewhat lacking, however, is in its empirical specification of how these processes occur (see Parker, 2000). In the sections that follow, we want to suggest that the notion of *pedagogy* - and indeed, particular theorisations of pedagogy - might offer some potential in this respect, at least in relation to understanding children's culture.

But is it *good* for children?

In relation to children, these debates about structure and agency tend to take on a particular form. Indeed, it could be argued that they are simply a way of carrying on the old debate about media effects under a different rubric. The central question which researchers in this field are ceaselessly posed is whether the media are 'good' or 'bad' for children [7]. Here again, the question invariably seems to be framed as an either/or choice, and in utterly totalising terms, as though there were no problems at all in making meaningful generalisations about 'children' and 'media' (Buckingham 2000). Furthermore, it is a question that is in itself ineradicably tainted with paternalism. It is up to us, as adults, to make this judgement; and when we have made it, we will be able to act accordingly - most likely by attempting to ban whatever it is

we deem to be harmful. On both sides, these arguments tend to reflect assumptions about childhood that are rarely made explicit, let alone questioned. Let us identify some of the problems here by taking a few examples of the kinds of arguments that might reasonably be mounted.

First, a couple of positive arguments. As we have implied, a positive case could be made for Pokémon on broadly *intellectual* grounds. At least for children at a certain age - and probably for many adults too! - the computer game in particular is quite challenging. In learning to play the game, children have to develop a specialist vocabulary, remember key information and pay close attention to detail. They have to balance several variables at one time, predict likely outcomes and plan their future strategy. Winning the game requires an ability to assess the relative strengths of your own Pokémon against those of your opponent; and deploying these carefully through a sequence of 'moves' or different types of attack. In these respects, there are significant similarities between Pokémon and 'brain-teasing' games like chess – although of course the latter are much more readily acknowledged by the academic establishment.

Whether or not one sees this as 'good for children' depends on one's underlying assumptions. As with broader arguments about the cognitive or psychological benefits of computer games (e.g. Greenfield, 1984), there is a tendency here to view the brain as a kind of muscle that can be built up by means of a good work-out. In other words, there is an assumption that the mental skills developed in the context of playing the game - which are principally those of logical thinking - will somehow automatically *transfer* to other contexts. As in the case of chess, we would suggest that this is at least a problematic assumption. As we have implied, Pokémon effectively requires children to *play* at being learners; and it is therefore inevitable that they will learn *something* from engaging with it. Yet the fact that Pokémon is intellectually challenging (at least for some) does not necessarily make it educationally worthwhile: however we judge it, educational *value* is not the same thing as intellectual *difficulty*. On the other hand, there is a danger here of equating *education* with *learning* – as though the only learning that counts is learning that takes place (or at least can be legitimated or accredited) within a particular institutional setting.

A second positive argument here focuses on the social benefits of playing Pokémon. As we have implied, the appeals of Pokémon cross significant boundaries of age, gender and culture; and, for those who have access to the internet, they can also transcend the limitations of geography. To a greater extent than many similar phenomena, Pokémon could be said to create - or at least to facilitate - a 'common culture' among children. In the process, it could also be seen to develop their social and communicative competencies - skills in negotiation, self-confidence and even tolerance for others. In terms more familiar within Media and Cultural Studies, it could be argued that Pokémon fosters the development of new 'interpretative communities' (Fish, 1980) that in turn allow for more fluid or negotiable identities among their members.

Yet this argument also reflects a degree of optimism, and a somewhat normative view of children's social development. The notion of 'interpretative community' may be taken to imply a cosy friendliness which is characteristic of very few of the real-life communities we have ever encountered. In the case of Pokémon, much of the 'negotiation' that accompanies the trading of cards or game characters is - at least in our experience - characterized by competition and conflict. Far from being overcome, differences of power may be simply writ large here, as older children may deceive or bully younger ones on the basis of their superior knowledge. Stories of children being

attacked for their Pokémon cards may be hard to substantiate, but they are certainly plausible. Again, there is a sense in which adults may be imposing norms on children - about sharing and respecting others, for example - to which they do not necessarily adhere themselves.

Let us now consider a couple of negative arguments. The first concerns the commercial dimension of Pokémon, and in particular the trading of cards. Familiar arguments that children are being economically 'exploited' assume a particular force when one takes account of the large amounts of cash that change hands in the attempt to accumulate 'rare' cards. 'Rarity' in this case is of course a phenomenon that is artificially created by the trading card companies. 'Rare' cards (particularly those with 'shiny' holofoils) can only be found in expensive 'booster packs'; and the rarest cards are very infrequently included. According to some critics, what is taking place here is effectively a form of gambling, as children invest in more and more 'booster packs' in the (unrealistic) hope of finding their sought-after card [8]. More enterprising or wealthy children have resorted to buying such cards - in some cases for as much as \$200 each - from specialist shops, mail order and online companies. This is, on one level, a very clear example of 'audience activity'; yet on another level, terms like 'manipulation' and 'extortion' do not seem at all inappropriate. Furthermore, it is a form of 'activity' from which very many children are simply excluded.

For some parents, this too can be interpreted as a positive experience, from which children are learning fundamental lessons about economic life. While some might express horror at their children being transformed into budding stockbrokers, others argue that they are acquiring bargaining skills and an understanding of how our market-based society functions. Again, underlying these debates - as with broader concerns about the 'commercialisation' of children's culture (see Buckingham, 2000) - are normative assumptions about the appropriate place of childhood. To what extent is it either possible or desirable to keep children segregated from the marketplace? And in doing so, are we not underestimating their critical abilities - or at least depriving them of the opportunity to develop a more critical perspective on consumer culture?

A second negative argument here is to do with aesthetic value. The focus of criticism here tends to be on the Pokémon movies and the TV cartoon, which in the UK were frequently described as 'trashy' and worthless, particularly on the grounds of their lack of visual sophistication. For example, the liberal British newspaper *The Guardian* probably gives voice to many parents' responses when it describes *Pokémon: The First Movie* in its listings as a 'contemptuously cheap animated cash-in on the monster kids' craze'. Here again, this argument ties in with broader concerns about the dominance of commercial forces in children's culture - although in this case, they come partly from Japanese multinationals rather than from Hollywood.

The problems here have been well-rehearsed in Media and Cultural Studies, yet they remain unresolved. As has been argued elsewhere (Katz, 1997; Davies, Buckingham and Kelley, 2000), there are significant problems for adults in making judgements of taste about media aimed at children. Interestingly, *Pokémon: The First Movie* incorporates strongly moralistic messages, which may well be intended to reassure parents otherwise concerned about its poor quality and its level of 'violence' (or which may alternatively convince them of its fundamental absurdity). Whether or not children themselves perceive such messages - or take much notice of them if they do - is of course another matter (see Hodge and Tripp, 1986). Suffice it to say,

however, that the difficulties entailed in making such judgements of aesthetic value cannot easily be side-stepped by appeals to relativism.

Two final points should be noted here. First, in outlining and debating these arguments, we have inevitably had to make distinctions both between different aspects of the Pokémon phenomenon (the games, the cards, the cartoons) and between children themselves (for example, in terms of age). Generalisations about 'children' and 'media' are unwarranted here - even generalisations of the kind that imply that 'activity' is necessarily in itself a 'good thing'. Secondly, we have also drawn attention to some of the problems entailed for adults in making judgements on behalf of children. We would not deny that such judgements must at some point be made. However, there are significant questions about how and by whom they should be made, which in turn raise significant questions about children's *rights* in relation to media (Buckingham, 2000).

Popular pedagogies?

All the above arguments are, to a greater or lesser extent, arguments about *pedagogy*. That is, they are concerned with what and how children might be learning from the texts of Pokémon, or from their participation in the broader 'phenomenon'. By 'learning' we obviously mean more than just a cognitive or mental process: learning from (and in) popular culture is also a matter of learning how to behave, what to want and to feel, and how to respond. In other words, the debate about pedagogy is essentially a debate about the production of subjectivities or 'forms of consciousness'. Clearly, different pedagogic theories offer different perspectives on the relationships between structure and agency in this respect. On one side of the argument are essentially psychological theories, of the kind that are often invoked in discussions of computer games, which tend to regard knowledge and skills in a relatively decontextualized manner (e.g. Greenfield, 1984). On the other are social theorists such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) or Bernstein (1990) who argue that education only really takes place through induction into 'official educational knowledge'. Such theorists decisively reject the notion of knowledge or skills as having some transcendental value, in favour of an analysis that many have regarded as structurally determinist. Between these two 'extremes' are theories that variously purport (or are claimed) to offer a 'social' theory of learning. A Vygotskian theory, for example, would have much to say about the context-dependent, implicitly social and even 'scaffolded' nature of learning within Pokémon (Vygotsky, 1962). Meanwhile, theories of situated learning (e.g. Lave and Wenger, 1991) would provide an analysis of the nature of the phenomenon in terms of 'apprenticeship' and induction into 'communities of practice', which might seem to offer a more dynamic theorisation of the relationships between structure and agency (see particularly Wenger, 1998).

In respect of the debate about Pokémon, there is clearly an implicit concern about the relations between child 'students' and adult 'teachers'; and indeed there is an explicit power struggle here between two competing types of teachers - the producers of Pokémon, and the parents who seek to mediate their children's relationship with it (and who are ultimately paying for it). As we have suggested, there are normative assumptions running throughout these debates. Broadly speaking, we are happy with Pokémon if it teaches children to be competent social beings, and if it enables them to develop cognitive skills; and we are unhappy if it teaches them to be greedy and acquisitive, and if it cheapens their appreciation of art. On the one hand, we appear to espouse what might be termed a pedagogy of 'empowerment', which is concerned to

develop children's competence and autonomy; while on the other, we implicitly adopt a protectionist pedagogy, which seeks to segregate children from influences that are seen to have the power to harm them.

In relation to media, these arguments cut both ways. As we have implied, Pokémon could itself be regarded as a form of 'consumer training' - a means of inducting children into the habits and competencies that are required by our commercially-based media culture (Kline, 1993). Of course, it is a partial training, which (for example) applies more effectively to boys than to girls. Our use of the word 'training' is also deliberate, in that it seems to suggest an unconscious, imitative and thoughtless process of induction. Yet even within these limitations, it can be seen either positively or negatively - as a means of developing in children the 'multiliteracies' that are now essential for democratic participation (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000); or alternatively as a means of producing 'good' (that is, docile and obedient) consumers.

There are two fundamental problems with these pedagogic emphases with which we would like to conclude. First, there are some questionable assumptions here about the *status* of childhood. From the pedagogic perspective, childhood often seems to be perceived as merely a state of transition - a stage you pass through on your journey to somewhere else. This assumption is implicit, albeit in different ways, both in developmental psychology and in theories of socialisation (James and Prout, 1990). Children are always to be judged in terms of what they will become; and the pedagogic interventions adults make must therefore be accounted for in terms of the adult subjects they will ultimately produce. Thus, we judge whether Pokémon is 'good' or 'bad' for children in terms of whether it will eventually turn them into 'good' or 'bad' people. This perspective implicitly assumes that children are relatively fragile or impressionable, and that any such interventions will have lasting effects; and it also entails the view that development will somehow stop at the point when children finally achieve adult status.

The second issue here concerns *education* - which, as we have argued, should be distinguished from *learning*. There is frequently an assumption in such debates that we can easily agree upon what *counts* as 'education'; and, more fundamentally, that if the activities children are engaged in are not sufficiently 'educational', then they are simply a waste of time. In many developed countries, there is now a growing view of education as the *work* of childhood (Ennew 1994); and as something that should not be allowed to stop once children walk out of the classroom door. On one level, we would reject the puritanism that seems to inform such arguments: children have as much right to leisure as adults, and they should not always be required to remain 'on task'. Yet we would also challenge this view on the grounds that it seems to entail a particularly narrow conception of learning. As we have argued, many aspects of Pokémon could be described as 'educational', in that they involve teaching and learning. While some of this teaching is carried out by Pokémon texts, much of it is also carried out by children teaching each other; and indeed, a great deal of the learning that takes place happens without any overt instruction at all. As with the fan cultures of adults (cf. Jenkins, 1992), Pokémon could also be said to create or to facilitate 'learning communities'.

Of course, for some critics, the learning that is at stake here is educationally worthless: children, it is argued, are simply developing an encyclopaedic knowledge of trivia. Yet particularly in the light of contemporary social changes, learning must now be seen as more than simply a matter of the recall of information. In participating in the culture of Pokémon, children are *learning how to learn* - which may in itself be much more significant than *what* they actually learn. The same argument, after all, is

frequently made about the relevance of the formal curriculum in terms of its 'symbolic power' rather than the value of its pure content (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990).

These issues have particular implications for those who seek to intervene in children's relationships with media, whether as parents or as teachers. We recognize that such interventions are frequently perceived by children as merely patronising - and hence are often ignored or rejected. Adults need to find ways of commenting upon children's media culture, both privately and in the public sphere, without resorting to the puritanical or paternalistic tone we have identified - a tone whose inadvertent effect is often to reinforce the appeals of the media industries that it seeks to condemn. In the UK, there is a striking contrast between the high levels of activity that have characterized the Pokémon phenomenon and the passivity that increasingly suffuses our children's schooling. There is a vast gulf between the energy of children's playground engagements with Pokémon and the often deadening influence of the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies now compulsorily imposed upon primary schools. We understand why many schools have sought to exclude Pokémon, by banning children from bringing their cards to school. Ultimately, however, such strategies are bound to increase its 'forbidden' appeal; and they prevent schools from building upon the enthusiasms children possess. Teachers could have a great deal to learn from the ways in which children use and engage with such phenomena; and this could in turn give them some more relevant and stimulating things to teach.

We began this article by posing two questions. In what sense is the Pokémon phenomenon distinctively different or new, as compared with the forms of children's media culture that have preceded it? And to what extent does the ongoing theoretical debate about structure and agency - and the notion of pedagogy that we have sought to insert within it - help us to understand it? In some respects, the key issue that holds these questions together is that of *activity*. As we have argued, the novelty of Pokémon is partly a matter of degree rather than one of kind: it represents, perhaps, merely another stage in the positioning of children's culture in the forefront of developments in global capitalism. However, the centrality of activity in this case - the fact that Pokémon both invites and positively *requires* activity on the part of audiences - does seem to us to represent at least a new emphasis in children's culture. However, we have also cautioned against the view that 'activity' can necessarily be equated with independence or autonomy or power - or indeed that it should automatically be invested with political significance.

A theory of pedagogy is ultimately a theory of activity - or at least of *process*. It requires an attention to the dynamic relationships between 'teaching' and 'learning' - or between texts and their reading and use - that does not simply invest power in one at the expense of the other. Pedagogy focuses attention, not just on the learning that arises as a result of transmission, induction or training, but also on the learning learners might do by themselves and in their own right. Clearly, pedagogy does not represent a magic tool with which to bridge a theoretical gap; but it does at least offer a new way of conceiving of questions of media power that might enable us to move beyond some of the sterile dichotomies on which those debates have increasingly foundered.

NOTES

1. 'Pokémon phenomenon reaches \$5 billion and continues to grow': <http://www.nintendo.com/corp/press/091599.html>.

2. 'Pokémon named "the big cheese":
<http://www.nintendo.com/corp/press/040300.html>.
3. See *Interactive Leisure Software: Market Assessment and Forecasts 1999-2000* London: Screen Digest and ELSPA 2000.
4. The interesting exception here is Disney, which of course is consciously designed to appeal to a 'family' audience. By contrast, Pokémon is significantly lacking in adult appeal - an issue we discuss below.
5. Evident, for example, in *Time's* cover story 'Pokemania', November 22, 1999.
6. *ibid.*
7. One of the present authors was recently called upon to address precisely this question by a British newspaper: see Julian Sefton-Green, 'Viewpoint: Don't let your kids miss out on the Pokémon craze', *Daily Express* 13 June 2000.
8. See Hilary Cooper, 'Fleecing kids', *The Guardian* 10 June 2000.

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將他們一網打盡： 兒童媒體文化中的結構、能動性與教學法

摘譯：林子斌

本研究是一個國際研究計畫的一部份，研究之個案是源自於日本並在許多國家普遍受到兒童歡迎的動畫卡通－「神奇寶貝」。雖然此研究在目前快速變動的媒體環境中已有些過時，但是仍有其價值存在。

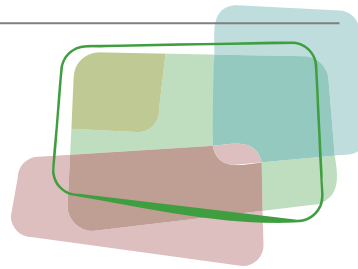
接著，作者以一個英國研究者的觀點簡述神奇寶貝現象。若以人類學的角度，這個現象就是種文化實踐，神奇寶貝不只是一個被消費的文本，它是日常生活中兒童們進行的活動。

神奇寶貝現象是個探討結構和個體能動性觀點的好個案，以文化研究的角度來看，則是與閱聽人的權力和活動相關。但是根據此個案研究，作者認為這種結構與個人能動性間的對立關係被誤解，因此提出另一種不同根據教學法為基礎的解讀方式。這種方式能提供一種更有效、具體的方式來瞭解媒體文本生產者、文本與閱聽大眾間的關係，因為權力是存在於這三者間的動態互動之間。

Researching Children's Media Cultures

A case study of British children's TV

David Buckingham



Researching Children's Media Cultures
A Case Study of British Children's TV

Defining Cultural Studies

1. A concern with *cultural practices*
 2. Empirical investigation
 3. Questions of cultural power and identity
-

Cultural Studies, Children and Media

The case of 'media violence'

Challenges to method and theory

Political questions

From 'effects' to meanings

Active and social audiences

Diverse, not universal childhoods

The question of method

How to learn methodology?

Does Cultural Studies even *have* a methodology?

A multidimensional case study: British children's TV

CONTEXT

Changes in childhood

Changes in media

Implications for children's TV: a contested space

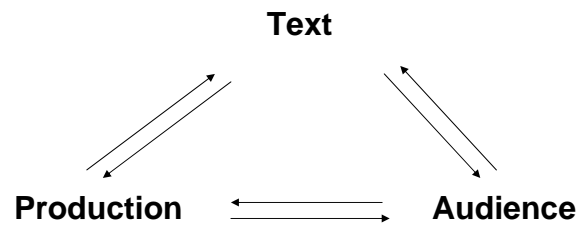
THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

How have children been defined and targeted as a specific audience?

(e.g. by policy-makers, broadcasters...)

And how do children define *themselves* as a media audience?

The circuit of culture



PRODUCTION

1: The history of (BBC) children's TV, 1946-1980: written archives, oral histories

Questions of partiality, truth status...

2: Contemporary developments: interviews, trade press

Partiality, truth status

Interviewing the powerful (and possibly hostile)

Analysis: INVIVO



Researching Children's Media Cultures
A Case Study of British Children's TV

TEXTS

1: Audit of changes in programming: quantitative analysis of schedules

Defining the object of analysis

Defining categories for analysis

2: Textual case studies: e.g. entertainment magazine shows: genre,
mode of address, mode of representation/aesthetics

Selecting texts, checking status of your reading



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AUDIENCE

1: Industry audience research

Access, limited value of data

... but a reflexive moment

2: Qualitative analysis: focus groups, sorting

Themes: time, sex and taste

The researcher and the researched

Evaluating 'performative' data (cf. adults)

Dangers of superficiality



Researching Children's Media Cultures
A Case Study of British Children's TV

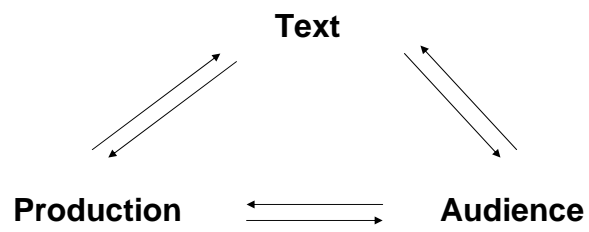
MAKING CONNECTIONS: TELETUBBIES

PRODUCTION: BBC; public controversy; educational change

TEXT: combining diverse generic traditions; child-centredness vs. didacticism

AUDIENCE: 6-7 year olds vs. 10-11 year olds; 'cult' popularity - the selling of 'childishness'

The circuit of culture



CHILDREN AND MEDIA: A CULTURAL STUDIES APPROACH

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What is Cultural Studies?

Attempting to define Cultural Studies is a task that is fraught with difficulties (cf. Storey, 1996). It invokes claims and counter-claims for disciplinary territory of the kind that often preoccupy academics – yet which must appear to the wider world rather like debates about the precise number of angels that can dance on the head of a pin. In this chapter, I provide a personal perspective on the contribution of Cultural Studies to analysing children’s relationships with media. I outline a simple theoretical model, review a range of relevant research, and then describe a particular research project of my own that sought to apply this model in practice. I make no claim to be definitive: this will be a Cultural Studies approach, rather than the approach.

The history of what is now commonly termed ‘British’ Cultural Studies has been well documented, and does not need to be rehearsed in any detail here (see, among many others, Tudor, 1999; Turner, 2002). The origins of Cultural Studies lie in the study of English literature, and its encounter with the emergent discipline of sociology. The work of Raymond Williams and Richard Hoggart in the late 1950s represented a significant challenge to the elitism of traditional literary criticism: in different ways, both argued for a broadening of the concept of ‘culture’, and for the need to study, not simply the received canon of literary texts, but a much broader range of cultural practices (Hoggart, 1959; Williams 1958, 1961). Hoggart went on to establish the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham, which became the key institution in the field, particularly under its subsequent director, Stuart Hall. The Birmingham Centre was the focus both for sustained empirical work on aspects of popular culture (most notably on youth culture) and for a critical engagement with major theoretical developments, particularly in Marxist and post-Marxist theories of ideology. During the late 1970s and 1980s, it struggled to accommodate new challenges deriving from feminism and anti-racism, as well as responding to contrary theoretical tendencies, for example in the emergence of psychoanalytically-informed ‘Screen theory’.

Broadly speaking, Cultural Studies is defined by its concern with the relationships between particular cultural practices and broader processes of social power. It looks at how cultural meanings and pleasures are produced and circulated within society; how individuals and social groups use and interpret cultural texts; and the role of cultural practices in the construction of people’s social identities. In this sense, Cultural Studies is primarily concerned with the political dimensions of cultural practice; and it has paid

particular attention to the ways in which power relationships – for example, based around social class, gender and ‘race’ – are reproduced, resisted and negotiated through acts of cultural production and reception (key early texts here would include CCCS, 1982; CCCS Women’s Studies Group, 1978; Hall et al., 1979, 1980).

‘Media’ – in the sense of ‘mass’ media such as television, film, advertising and the press – are thus only one element of the broader field of Cultural Studies. Some of the more ethnographic work undertaken here has looked in a more holistic way at social and cultural practices – for example, those of youth ‘subcultures’ - of which the use and interpretation of media form only a part. Nevertheless, there is a strong tradition of empirical research on media within the Cultural Studies tradition, which incorporates the analysis of media texts alongside the study of audiences. Such work is typically qualitative, and in the case of audience research there is a strong emphasis on analysing the ways in which different social groups talk about what they watch and read (key early examples of such work would include Ang, 1985; Hobson, 1982; and Morley, 1980).

In terms of our focus here, it is worth noting that children were almost entirely absent from the empirical research conducted at Birmingham. Social class, gender and ‘race’ were key concerns; but age, as an equally significant dimension of social power, was strangely neglected. However, there was a strong focus on aspects of youth culture (e.g. Hall and Jefferson, 1975; Hebdige, 1979; MacRobbie, 1991; Willis, 1990); and while this work has subsequently been challenged on several grounds (e.g. Bennett, 2000), it remains a basic point of departure for a great deal of contemporary research in this field. Significantly, the Birmingham researchers regarded ‘youth’ as a category that was cut across by other social differences, particularly class and gender; and while this work sometimes tended to romanticise forms of youth cultural ‘resistance’, it should caution us against essentialised conceptions of youth - or indeed of childhood.

The ‘Birmingham tradition’ occupies a near-mythical status in accounts of Cultural Studies; but most acknowledge that the discipline (if such it is) has become significantly more dispersed and heterogeneous over the past twenty years. The 1990s saw the growing institutionalisation of Cultural Studies, particularly in the United States, via the establishment of degree programmes, scholarly journals, publishers’ lists, conferences and academic associations (Hall, 1992). European Cultural Studies has also expanded via the delineation of nationally-focused traditions (e.g. Forbes and Kelly, 1995; Jordon and Morgan-Tamosunas, 2000; Phipps, 2000); and there has been a growing international dialogue, with the emergence of regional variants such as Latin American and Asian Cultural Studies, and powerful calls for the ‘de-Westernising’ of the field (e.g. Curran and Park, 2000).

In many respects, this has been a success story, although there are some who still pine for the days when Cultural Studies saw itself as a form of political activism, waging war on the academic establishment. Even so, the institutionalisation of Cultural Studies does not appear to have resulted in greater coherence about its fundamental aims and methods. Perhaps the most damaging development, in my view, is the tendency for Cultural Studies to be seen as synonymous with Cultural Theory, and for the strongly empirical

emphasis associated with the Birmingham tradition to be dissipated. Yet despite these developments, it is still relatively straightforward to differentiate Cultural Studies from what it is not.

Research on children and media, particularly in the United States, continues to be dominated by conventional approaches drawn from developmental psychology, social psychology and communication studies. Exponents of these approaches typically ignore or denigrate Cultural Studies, while also taking little account of innovative theoretical developments within their own disciplines (for example, Singer and Singer, 2002). Cultural Studies presents several fundamental challenges to this 'business as usual' approach. Epistemologically, it questions positivist and empiricist approaches, for example as embodied in conventional forms of media content analysis: it does not assume that meaning is self-evident or immanent in media texts, or that it is simply transmitted or delivered to readers. It disputes normative models of child development, focusing attention instead on the changing social, historical and cultural construction of childhood. It seeks to understand children's media practices in their own terms and from their own perspectives, rather than comparing them with those of adults; and it seeks to explore the social experiences of children, not least as these are constructed through the operation of other dimensions of social power, such as social class, gender and ethnicity. In these respects, Cultural Studies approaches to children and media draw on recent work within the sociology of childhood (see Prout, this volume), on critical psychology and (more broadly) on forms of poststructuralist theory.

Perhaps the clearest illustration of this difference is in the debate about the effects of media violence. While most mainstream psychologists (at least in the United States) tend to proclaim that there is academic consensus about this issue, Cultural Studies researchers have directly and persistently challenged the basic theoretical and methodological assumptions of effects research (see, among others, Barker and Petley, 2001). These critics dispute the reliability of laboratory experiments as a guide to real-life behaviour; they challenge the use of correlational surveys as a means of proving causal connections between media use and behaviour; they argue that effects researchers typically define 'violence' in inconsistent and simplistic ways; and they claim that notions of causal 'effect' are a highly inadequate way of conceiving of the relationships between media and their audiences. From a Cultural Studies perspective, effects research is seen to operate with a naïve and inadequate theory of meaning; and it largely denies the agency of audiences as active makers of meaning, rather than merely as recipients of pre-defined 'messages' (Barker, 2001). However, this dispute also has a political dimension: Cultural Studies academics argue that the construction of 'media violence' as a social problem effectively permits politicians to avoid addressing more fundamental causes of violent crime, such as the easy availability of lethal weapons – and that effects researchers are largely colluding in this process. This sustained deconstruction of the discourses of 'media effects' is, for the most part, simply ignored by mainstream researchers. However, some critics of Cultural Studies (such as Kline, 2003, and Kubey, 1996) have attempted to strike back: they accuse Cultural Studies of pretending that media have no effects whatsoever, or of claiming that such effects are merely benign – a charge that can only be described as an absurd misrepresentation.

While by no means wishing to defend everything that purports to be Cultural Studies, I would argue that it offers a distinctive set of theories, and a methodological orientation towards the study of children and media that is very different from that of mainstream disciplines, particularly psychology. The central emphasis here is not on the effects of the media on behaviour or attitudes, but on the ways in which meanings are established, negotiated and circulated. The media are not seen merely as vehicles for delivering 'messages' to passive audiences; nor is the emphasis simply on the isolated encounter between mind and screen. On the contrary, this research regards children's uses and interpretations of the media as inherently social processes; and it understands these processes to be characterised by forms of power and difference. The 'child' is not primarily seen here in developmental terms, as a category defined merely by age. On the contrary, there is an emphasis on the diversity of childhoods (in the plural), not least in terms of social class, gender and ethnicity. From this perspective, what it means to be a child is not something fixed or given, but something that is socially constructed and negotiated.

A Cultural Studies approach

The Cultural Studies approach I propose in this chapter is in some respects a traditional one. It derives partly from a seminal article published more than 20 years ago by Richard Johnson, subsequently Director of the Birmingham Centre (Johnson, 1985/1996). Johnson outlines a circular model of cultural analysis with four key dimensions (see Figure 1). I have simplified this in my naïve model to three (see Figure 2).

FIGURE 1 HERE

Figure 1: Richard Johnson's 'circuit' of Cultural Studies (reproduced from Johnson, 1985)

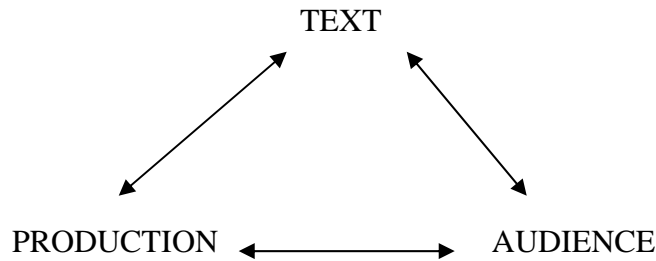


Figure 2: Cultural Studies: a ‘naïve’ theoretical model

In his article, Johnson makes an important case for the multi-dimensional nature of cultural analysis. He argues that culture is a social process, and that we can identify a series of ‘moments’ in that process which can usefully be isolated for analysis. The moment of production is that in which cultural objects or texts are brought into being; these texts take specific forms, that can be analysed in their own right; the meanings of these texts are then actualised in the moment of reading; and readings subsequently feed into what Johnson terms lived cultures, which then in turn impact back on the process of production.

Social conditions and relations impinge on this process at each point. For example, production is not seen here merely as an individual ‘creative’ activity, but as one that is subject to specific institutional, social and economic conditions. Likewise, reading is not seen as a self-contained encounter between the individual reader and the text: on the contrary, it too occurs in a particular social context, which partly influences which readings are likely to be made. These broader social conditions do not wholly determine particular acts of production or of reading: however, they do set constraints and create possibilities which systematically favour the generation of particular meanings rather than others.

How is this model any different from the well-known ‘sender-message-receiver’ model of communication first proposed by Shannon and Weaver (1949)? The crux, in my view, is that it is a dynamic model. In Johnson’s diagram, the arrows flow in a circuit, linking each of the four elements in turn; while in my triangle, each element connects reciprocally with the other. Theoretically, this implies that none of the moments in the process should necessarily be privileged. Meaning does not flow in one direction, from sender to receiver; and the power to determine meaning does not lie at any one of these points, but in the relationships between them. In my simplified model, the bi-directional arrows imply that the relations between audiences, texts and producers are mutually determining. Texts do not simply ‘contain’ meanings that they impose on readers, any more than readers make of them any meaning they happen to wish. Likewise, producers may ‘target’ audiences – or seek to construct and define them in particular ways – but audiences also ‘speak back’ to producers, and their behaviour constrains what it is possible for producers to do or achieve. Finally, producers do not simply insert meanings

into texts: textual forms and genres exert their own constraints on what it is possible to say, and what is ultimately 'said' may not correspond to what producers consciously intend.

Johnson argues that each of these moments in the process is deserving of a specific form of analysis; but that none of them is necessarily determining of any of the others, and that there are risks in taking each of them in isolation. Focusing solely on production, for example, may lead us to overestimate the power of the producers – for example, of the large corporations that typically dominate the media market. Focusing exclusively on texts can result in one of the familiar fallacies of textual analysis: that the critic's interpretation necessarily tells us how the text will be read (and, indeed, the effects it may have on its readers). Focusing only on the moment of reading can result in a romanticised celebration of the power and activity of the reader – as though the meaning of any text were simply determined by the reader. Likewise, focusing solely on 'lived cultures' can lead us to place too great an emphasis on individual agency, and to neglect the ways in which everyday experiences are shaped by wider social forces. The history of media research in Cultural Studies is replete with examples of such fallacious assumptions; and part of the purpose in returning to this early account is that it provides some way of overcoming the internal disputes that have characterised the field.

Richard Johnson's basic model has been challenged and refined in various ways in recent years. For example, the Open University's Cultural Studies undergraduate course (partly led by Stuart Hall) is based on a five-point 'star', whose elements are defined more conceptually (these elements are: production, regulation, representation, consumption and identity). In practice, however, I would argue that the instances or 'moments' of analysis in the course itself are still very close to those proposed in Johnson's original model (see du Gay et al., 1997). More recently, Nick Couldry (2004) has proposed a 'new paradigm' in media research, based on an account of 'media as practice'. He argues that this approach will 'decentre' media research from its preoccupation with texts and production, and redirect it towards 'the study of the open-ended range of practices directly or indirectly focused on media' (117). In some respects, Couldry seems to be calling for renewed attention to the elements that Johnson refers to as 'lived cultures' – in other words, for a more 'anthropological' attention to the diverse range of 'media-oriented practices' that go beyond those in which people are explicitly constituted (or constitute themselves) as an 'audience'.

These reformulations are certainly useful, although they beg broader questions that cannot be explored in detail here. Ultimately, I would argue that conceiving of production, text and reading as 'moments' in a broader ongoing process is not necessarily incompatible with the reformulation Couldry is proposing. The 'moment' of reading, for example, should not be understood simply as a matter of the isolated encounter between the reader and the text: this encounter takes place in specific social settings, in the context of various social and institutional relationships, and forms part of a history of other encounters with other texts. While the text itself may appear as a fixed object, it is surrounded by other texts to which it relates and refers, and which in turn form part of the 'symbolic resources' readers use to make sense of it. Likewise, the 'moment' of

production is of course also much more than a moment: it is often a collaborative process that evolves over time, within specific institutional and political settings. Analytically, it may be necessary to isolate ‘moments’ for analysis, but these moments are always inevitably part of a broader social and cultural practice.

The attentive reader will no doubt have recognised that the dimension of ‘lived culture’ from Johnson’s model is effectively missing from my own. This is not because of any desire to avoid the messy realities of everyday experience; it merely reflects a desire to delimit the boundaries of media research, as distinct from a more broad-ranging and inclusive anthropology of everyday life (or ‘culture’). Focusing on the audience as a ‘moment’ in this broader practice implies that media research needs to concentrate primarily on the points at which people come to be constituted (or to constitute themselves) as audiences – as readers or users of particular media. Of course, people are never only audiences; and ‘audiencing’ (being a member of an audience) is merely a part of their broader social experience. Yet, while acknowledging that our behaviour as members of (multiple) audiences is necessarily situated in this wider context, analysing the specific place of media in that context simply means that we have to draw a line at some point.

Cultural Studies, children and media: a brief review

Over the past two decades, childhood has gradually emerged as a focus of concern in academic Media and Cultural Studies – although it still remains fairly marginal to the field, at least in English-speaking countries. The following brief review draws attention to some of the more significant studies relating to children and media in each of the three areas identified on my triangular model. Inevitably, much of this work focuses on television – which is also my primary concern in this chapter – although there is a growing concern with new media such as the internet and computer games.

Production

Critical academic studies of media production for children are relatively few and far between. Early studies of children’s television such as those by Melody (1973) and Turow (1981) adopted a broad ‘political economy’ approach, focusing on questions of ownership, marketing and regulation. Aside from the work of Buckingham et al. (1999) and Hendershot (2004a), there has been very little analysis of producers’ assumptions and expectations about the child audience; and while there has been some historical and international comparative research on the evolution of regulatory policy on children’s television (e.g. Hendershot, 1998; Keys and Buckingham, 1999; Lisosky, 2001), this too has remained under-researched. Even in the case of cinema, historical research has been relatively under-developed, although there are important studies relating specifically to cinema exhibition and distribution (Staples, 1997) and to questions of censorship (Kuhn, 2002; Smith, 2005).

Perhaps the most interesting work in this field in recent years has related to broader concerns about the commercialisation of children's culture (see Wasko, this volume). This issue has generated a growing body of popular commentary (e.g. Linn, 2004); and while much of this has been driven by a view of children as especially vulnerable to influence and exploitation, it has also shed light on the increasingly sophisticated and often 'invisible' practices of children's marketers. There have also been some important historical studies of marketing to children, for example of goods such as clothing (Cook, 2004) and toys (Cross, 1997), and of marketing practices more broadly (Cross, 2004; Seiter, 1993). While advocates of a traditional 'political economy' approach tend to regard the market as inherently inimical to children's best interests (e.g. Kline, 1993), others have adopted a more sanguine approach, arguing that critiques of consumer culture are often driven by implicitly elitist conceptions of taste and cultural value (Seiter, 1993). Our own research on the political economy of children's television (Buckingham et al., 1999) and of 'edutainment' media (Buckingham and Scanlon, 2005) also suggests that success in the marketplace is far from secure or guaranteed, and that producers often face considerable challenges in identifying children's wants and needs in the first place.

Texts

Of course, children's use of media is far from confined to material that is specifically designed for them; yet the analysis of children's media provides interesting insights into some of the broader tensions that surround dominant definitions of childhood. For example, research on children's television has focused on well-established concerns such as gender representation (Seiter, 1993; Griffiths, 2002), as well as more novel issues such as its implicit models of adult citizenship (Northam, 2005), how it handles the relationship between 'information' and 'entertainment' (Buckingham, 1995), and how it addresses the child viewer (Davies, 1995). There have also been fruitful discussions of specific genres of children's programming such as costume drama (Davies, 2002), news (Buckingham, 2000), action-adventure shows (Jenkins, 1999) and pre-school programming (Oswell, 2002). Likewise, in relation to film, there have been important studies of the ways in which contemporary 'family films' are seeking to redefine (if only superficially) the relationships between adults and children (Allen, 1999; Morris, 2000). As in research on children's literature, the analysis suggests that the position of the medium as a 'parent' or 'teacher' and the process of attempting to 'draw in' the child are fraught with difficulties and uncertainties (cf. Rose, 1984).

Some of the most interesting work in this area has focused on the widely denigrated area of children's cartoons. As against the continuing use of quantitative content analysis (e.g. Kline, 1995), there have been several studies that have applied semiotics (Hodge and Tripp, 1986), psychoanalysis (Urwin, 1995) and postmodernist theory (Kinder, 1991) in qualitative analyses of this apparently simple genre. This work raises interesting hypotheses about the ways in which cartoons offer the potential for 'subversive' readings, and enable viewers to explore and manage anxiety, thereby perhaps bringing about more protean forms of subjectivity (Hendershot, 2004b; Wells, 2002). Disney has proved a particularly fertile ground for textual studies, generating competing analyses informed by

a range of theoretical perspectives including feminism (Bell, 1995), poststructuralism (McQuillan and Byrne, 1999) and more conventional forms of ideological critique (Dorfman and Mattelart, 1975).

More recently, analyses of new media have also begun to address texts specifically targeted at children. There have been several productive studies looking at specific genres of computer games (Carr et al., 2006; Cassell and Jenkins, 2000), entertainment websites for children (Seiter, 2005), 'edutainment' games and websites (Buckingham and Scanlon, 2003, 2004) and the interface between games and more traditional forms of children's media such as books (Burn, in press).

Audiences

It is in the area of audience research that Cultural Studies researchers have made the most significant contribution to this field; and several of the other chapters in this volume illustrate this in different ways. As I have suggested, Cultural Studies challenges the positivist epistemology of mainstream psychology, as well as seeking to develop a more fully social account of the child audience. Its primary emphasis in terms of audience research is in understanding the social processes through which the meanings and pleasures of media are constructed, defined and circulated. While Cultural Studies research is not necessarily qualitative (see Murdock, 1997), it often relies either on focus-group or individual interviews or on 'ethnographic' observation.

In their ground-breaking study, Hodge and Tripp (1986) applied a social semiotic perspective, both to the analysis of children's programming, and to audience talk. Although they regard children as 'active' producers of meaning, they are also concerned with the ideological and formal constraints exerted by the text. In the process, they explore how children's talk about television depends upon the context in which it occurs, and how it enacts social relationships with others (including researchers themselves). This approach has been pursued in my own work, where there is a central emphasis on the ways in which children define and construct their social identities through talk about television and other media (Buckingham, 1993a, b; 1996; 2000; Buckingham and Bragg, 2004). Rather than applying a narrowly semiotic approach, this research uses arguments drawn from discourse analysis to challenge the positivist use of audience data within mainstream research: rather than regarding what children say at face value, as some kind of self-evident reflection of what they 'really' think or believe, it argues that talk should itself be seen as a form of social action or performance (cf. Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Children's judgments about genre and representation, and their reconstructions of television narrative, for example, are studied as inherently social processes; and the development of knowledge about television ('television literacy') and of a 'critical' perspective are seen in terms of their social motivations and purposes.

In parallel with this work, some researchers have adopted a more 'ethnographic' approach to studying children's uses of media, based primarily on observation. Thus, there have been studies of the use of television and other media, both within the home

(e.g. Palmer, 1986; Richards, 1993) and in the context of the peer group (Sefton-Green, 1998; Wood, 1993); as well as studies of children's engagement with new media such as computer games (Schott and Horrell, 2000) and the internet (Davies, in press; Beavis et al., 2005). Several studies have observed the use of media in schools and informal educational settings, mainly in the context of media education programmes (e.g. Bragg, 2000; Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 1994; Buckingham et al., 1995; Burn, 2000; Marsh, 1999; Richards, 1998). However, the term 'ethnographic' is perhaps best reserved for studies that have entailed long-term immersion in a particular community; and work of this kind is comparatively rare in media research more broadly. Marie Gillespie's (1995) study of the use of television among a South Asian community in London is a rare exception, which combines an analysis of the role of television within the family and the peer group with an account of children's responses to specific genres such as news and soap opera.

While this is a developing body of research, there are several broader issues within it that remain to be resolved. Like sociologists of childhood, Cultural Studies researchers are broadly inclined to regard children as 'active' participants in the process of making meaning - as competent social actors, rather than as passive and incompetent victims. This kind of argument offers an important challenge to many of the assumptions that typically circulate in public debate - particularly in arguments about media violence. Yet there is a risk of adopting a rather simplistic 'child-centred' approach, which seeks to celebrate the sophistication of the 'media-wise' child, and to prove (endlessly) that children are not as gullible or as passive as they are made out to be. There is often an implicit assumption that if children are 'active', then they are somehow not going to be influenced by what they watch. Yet this does not necessarily follow: indeed, one could argue that in some instances to be 'active' is to be more open to influence - and 'activity' should not in itself be equated with agency, or with social power. Furthermore, this kind of celebration of children's sophistication as users of media can lead us to neglect the fact that there are areas they need to know more about - which is inevitably a key concern both for educators and for media regulators.

This reflects a broader tension here between 'structure' and 'agency' that is characteristic of the human sciences in general (see Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 2004). The temptation to celebrate children's agency - and, in doing so, to speak 'on behalf of the child' - can lead researchers to neglect the broader economic, social and political forces that both constrain and produce particular forms of audience behaviour or meaning-making. The intellectual, cultural and indeed material resources that children use in making meaning are not equally available to all. The actions of media producers and the structures and forms of media texts clearly delimit and to some extent determine the possible meanings that can be made. From the perspective of 'structuration theory' (Giddens, 1984), we would argue that structure works through agency, and agency works through structure: in order to create meanings and pleasures, the media depend upon the active agency of audiences; and yet (to paraphrase another well-known commentator) audiences can only make meanings in conditions that are not of their own choosing.

This is why, in my view, it remains crucially important for researchers to combine the different areas of investigation identified here. Yet while there have been significant contributions in each of these areas, there have been comparatively few attempts to bring them together, or to theorise the relationships between them. Janet Wasko's studies of Disney (Wasko, 2000; Wasko et al, 2001) do address the economic, textual and audience dimensions of the phenomenon, and look across a range of media; while Stephen Kline et al. (2003) provide a similarly multidimensional analysis of video games, albeit one that is significantly more effective in its analysis of the industry than in accounting for other aspects. Yet while both studies cover the relevant bases, neither offers a convincing theoretical reconciliation of the different perspectives. However, Joseph Tobin's edited volume on the Pokemon phenomenon manages to combine these elements more effectively (Tobin, 2004a): the contributions by Tobin (2004b) and by the present author (Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 2004) seek to move beyond polarised accounts of the operation of 'media power', combining each of the three aspects identified above. As we suggest, this is not simply a matter of balancing the equation, and thereby finding a happy medium between the 'power of the text' and the 'power of the audience'. Nor is it something that can be achieved in the abstract. Ultimately, the relationship between children and the media can only be fully understood in the context of a wider analysis of the ways in which both are constructed and defined.

Re-locating the child audience

In the final part of this chapter, I would like to provide a brief outline of a research project I undertook some years ago that tried to develop these connections. The project focused primarily on children's television, and how children themselves use and interpret it. (Further information about this research can be found in Buckingham, 2002a; Buckingham et al., 1999; Davies et al., 1999, 2000; Kelley et al., 2000).

Our starting point here was to question the category of 'the child' and particularly 'the child audience'. We wanted to make explicit and to deconstruct the assumptions that are made about children - about who children are, about what they need, and about what they should and should not see. These assumptions derive in turn from a whole range of moral, political, economic, psychological and educational theories. Our basic research question, therefore, was: how do the media (particularly television) construct the child audience? And how do children negotiate with these constructions - how do they define themselves and their needs as an audience? We also wanted to consider how those definitions and constructions have changed historically - and how they do or do not reflect changing social constructions of childhood more broadly.

The key point in terms of my argument here is that these questions cannot be answered by looking at only one aspect of the picture - for example, just by looking at television itself, or just by looking at the audience. On the contrary, we need to understand the relationships between producers, texts and audiences. We need to analyse how these different assumptions about children circulate and are manifested at different levels - in policy, in production, in regulation, in the practice of research, in scheduling, in choices

about content, in textual form, in children's own perspectives on and uses of media, and in how those uses are regulated and mediated within the home. It is vital to emphasise that none of these levels is determining: on the contrary, there is an ongoing struggle over meaning. Texts position readers; but readers also make meanings from texts. Media institutions create policies that are manifested in texts; but policies are not simply implemented, since producers exercise their own kinds of creativity and professional judgment. Likewise, media producers imagine and target audiences; but audiences are elusive - and the changing behaviour of audiences in turn produces changes in the practices of media institutions.

Furthermore, all these relationships evolve over time: policies and institutions evolve historically, in response to other forces; texts also bear histories of intertextual or generic relations with other texts, which themselves are subject to change; and readers do not come to texts either as blank slates or as wised-up critical viewers - they also have reading histories, histories of engagements with other texts, which have enabled them to develop certain kinds of competencies as readers.

Changing constructions of childhood: production, text and audience

In terms of production, our research explored three main areas. We looked historically at the evolution of children's television, and the kinds of institutional struggles that went on in attempting to claim and preserve a specific place for children in the schedules; we explored the contemporary political economy of children's television, and the fate of public service television in the light of the move towards a more commercial, multi-channel, global system; and we gathered and analysed instances of policy discourse, in the form of official reports and interviews with policy-makers, broadcasters, regulators, lobbyists and others (see Buckingham et al., 1999).

In very broad terms, what we find here is a complex balance between the fear of doing harm (a protectionist discourse) and the attempt to do children good (a pedagogical discourse); and these are discourses that in each case draw on broader discourses about childhood. There are also, obviously, some significant historical shifts, as established traditions and philosophies come under pressure in the changing media environment. At present, for example, older philosophies of child-centredness, which were very dominant in the UK in the 1960s and 1970s, are being rearticulated through their encounter with more consumerist notions of childhood, and with notions of children's rights.

Yet far from enjoying an absolute power to define the child audience, producers and policy-makers in fact display a considerable degree of uncertainty about it. Changing social and economic conditions often appear to have precipitated a much broader set of doubts about the changing nature of childhood. In the 1950s, for instance, the advent of commercial television, and the subsequent dramatic decline in the ratings of the BBC (the public service channel), led to a thoroughgoing process of soul-searching. Those responsible for children's programmes at the BBC were dismayed by their loss of the child audience, and increasingly came to doubt the somewhat middle-class, paternalistic

approach they had been adopting. Ultimately, after a period of internal crisis, the BBC's Children's Department was abolished in the early 1960s: it was subsumed by a new Family Department, and when it re-emerged later in the decade, it did so with a much less paternalistic view of its audience.

Similar doubts and uncertainties are apparent in the present situation, as terrestrial broadcasters try to come to terms with the threat of competition from new cable and satellite providers, and (more broadly) with the challenges of globalisation and commercialisation. Since the late 1990s, children in Britain (or at least those whose parents subscribe to pay-TV) have gained access to a vast range of new specialist channels (there are 22 at the time of writing in 2005); and while the generic range of new programming is comparatively narrow, much of it appears distinctly fresh and innovative, and there is a great deal more for children to choose from.

Contrasting the publicity material produced by the BBC with that produced by the US-based specialist channel Nickelodeon provides a symptomatic indication of the different definitions of childhood that are at stake here (see Buckingham, 2002c). The BBC still tends to hark back to the past, invoking (or indeed re-inventing) tradition - and in the process, playing to parents' nostalgia for the television of their own childhoods. By contrast, Nickelodeon does not have to achieve legitimacy with parents (and hence secure their continued assent for the compulsory licence fee): it can address children directly, and it does so in ways that emphasise their anarchic humour and their sensuality. What we find here, and in the statements of its executives (e.g. Laybourne, 1993), is a rhetoric of empowerment - a notion of the channel as giving voice to kids, taking the kids' point of view, as the friend of kids. This is typically aligned with a form of 'anti-adultism', which defines adults as necessarily boring and conservative. This is a very powerful rhetoric, albeit one that could be accused of disguising its fundamental commercialism under a superficial affectation of 'children's rights'.

In terms of texts, we were interested in how these assumptions and ideologies of childhood are manifested or negotiated in the practices of producers, and in the form of texts themselves. There were two aspects to our research here. Firstly, we tried to develop a broad view of the range of material that has been offered to children over time, through an audit both of the children's television schedules over the past four decades and of the programmes that are most popular with children. The schedules for children's TV in the 1950s embody a very different construction of the space of childhood, and of the nature of children's viewing, compared with the diversity of material that is on offer today; and they implicitly propose a very different phenomenology of the viewing experience itself (cf. Lury, 2002). Our analysis questions some of the myths of cultural decline that often characterise discussions of children's television: the notion that we once lived in a kind of golden age of quality, and that we are now being swamped by trashy American programming, simply does not hold up in the face of the evidence.

Secondly, we undertook a series of qualitative case studies of particular texts or genres, as well as talking to their producers. We were particularly interested in texts or areas of programming that have a long history, where we can see clear indications of historical

change. We looked at how texts address and construct the child viewer - for example, the various ways in which the viewer is spoken to; how the viewer is or is not invited to be involved; the function of children as actors or participants within the programmes; how adult/child relations are represented or enacted; and more formal devices - how the visual design of the studio, the camerawork, graphics and music imply assumptions about who children are, and what they are (or should be) interested in. This analysis is also, of course, about content - about which topics are seen to be appropriate for this audience, and how the perceived interests of the child audience are demarcated from or overlap with those of the adult audience.

The BBC preschool series Teletubbies, and the debates that surrounded it, provide an interesting case study of some of these changes (see Buckingham, 2002b). Teletubbies, which began broadcasting in 1997, combines elements that are very familiar in programmes for younger children, such as songs, dances and playful sketches, with more innovative components, such as short documentary sequences narrated from the child's viewpoint. The overall scenario of the programme - which features four brightly-coloured creatures resembling babies in diapers, who live in a underground science-fiction bunker - is, to say the least, somewhat quirky and surreal. Teletubbies is an outsourced, independent production, which has generated strong overseas sales and a vast range of ancillary merchandising. It has been accused by critics of abandoning the 'great tradition' of educative programming, and thereby 'dumbing down' its audience; of commercially exploiting children; and (by some overseas critics) of cultural imperialism, in terms of pedagogy and social representation. The controversy it has aroused can be seen as a highly symptomatic reflection of the BBC's current dilemmas, as it attempts to sustain national public service traditions while simultaneously depending on commercial activities and global sales.

In terms of both form and content, Teletubbies is an amalgam of two historical traditions within British preschool children's television - the more didactic (albeit play-oriented), 'realist', adult-centred approach of Playdays and its predecessor Playschool on the one hand, and the more surrealistic, entertaining tradition of many animation and puppet shows on the other. While it is the latter that immediately confounds and surprises many adult critics, it is important to recognise the particular forms of education that are being offered here, and the different ways in which they construct the child viewer. Thus, the 'child-centred' pedagogic approach is manifested in documentary inserts shot and narrated from the child's point of view; in the manipulation of knowledge via narrative; and in the slow pace and 'parental' mode of address. This contrasts with the more didactic elements, relating to pre-reading and counting skills and the modelling of daily routines.

Teletubbies almost instantly became extremely popular with its immediate target audience of 1-3-year-olds; but it also briefly attained a kind of cult status among older children and among some adults. The programme was a frequent topic of conversation in our audience research, although our sample was much older than the target audience. The 6-7-year-olds were often keen to disavow any interest in the programme, while the 10-11-year-olds seemed to relate to it with a kind of subversive irony - although it was often

passionately rejected by those with younger siblings. As this implies, the children's judgments about the programme reflected their attempts to project themselves as more or less 'adult'. Combined with more anecdotal information about the programme's popularity with older children and young adults, this suggests that its (passing) cult popularity may have been symptomatic of a broader sense of irony that suffuses contemporary television culture – and one that often reflects ambivalent investments in the idea of 'childishness'.

What we find at the level of institutions and texts, then, are some very powerful definitions of the child - definitions which are partly coercive, but also partly very pleasurable, and often quite awkward and contradictory. The obvious question here is how children negotiate with these definitions: that is, how they define themselves as an audience. This was the third dimension of the project, and again there was a quantitative and a qualitative dimension.

Audience ratings can clearly tell us a fair amount about how children define themselves as an audience; and however unreliable or superficial they may be, they clearly show (for example) that children are increasingly opting to watch adult programmes and not children's programmes. At the same time, children do choose to watch particular kinds of adult programmes; and it is interesting to look at the versions or aspects of 'adulthood' that they choose to buy into, and those they reject or resist.

These kinds of questions were the focus of our more qualitative investigations of the child audience, which focused on children aged 6-7 and 10-11. Through a series of focus group discussions and activities, we investigated how children negotiate with these adult definitions of childhood, how they define themselves as children, and as children of a particular age - and how they do this in different ways in different contexts and for different purposes.

In the children's exploration of what makes a programme 'appropriate' for children, the strongest arguments were negative ones. Programmes featuring sex, violence and 'swearing' were singled out by both groups as being particularly 'grown-up'. Likewise, children's programmes were predominantly defined in terms of absences - that is, in terms of what they do not include. One area of our analysis here concerned children's discussions of sex and sexuality on television. On one level, it was clear that 'adult' material on television could function as a kind of 'forbidden fruit'. In discussing this kind of material, the children displayed a complex mixture of embarrassment, bravado and moral disapproval. Discussions of sex and romance in genres such as dating game shows, soap operas and sitcoms often served as a rehearsal of projected future (hetero-)sexual identities, particularly among girls. Boys were less comfortable here, with the younger ones more inclined to display disgust than fascination; although the older ones were more voyeuristic.

The children were very familiar with adult definitions of appropriateness, although they were inclined to displace any negative 'effects' of television onto those younger than themselves, or onto 'children' in general. While some of the youngest children expressed

a more censorious rejection of 'adult' material, this was much less common among the older children, who aspired to the freedom they associated with the category of the 'teenager'; and these discussions could serve as a form of mutual policing, particularly among boys. Overall, the analysis here suggests that in discussing their responses to television, children are performing a kind of 'identity work', particularly via claims about their own 'maturity'. In the process, these discussions serve largely to reinforce normative definitions both of 'childhood' and of gender identity (see Kelley et al., 2000; and for subsequent research on this issue, Buckingham and Bragg, 2004).

Another aspect of our investigation here concerned the issue of children's tastes. We were interested to discover whether children have distinctive tastes as an audience, and how these tastes are articulated and negotiated in the context of peer group discussion. We analysed the social functions and characteristics of children's expressions of their tastes using a set of overlapping paradigmatic oppositions which emerged from their attempts to categorise programmes: parents/children; grannies/teenagers; boring/funny; and talk/action. In each case, the children generally favoured the latter element (associated with children) and disavowed the former (associated with adults). However, they frequently distinguished here between the tastes attributed to parents in general and those they observed in the case of their own parents – again suggesting a recognition that broad discursive categories may not always be directly applicable in everyday life. The older children were inclined to aspire to the identity of the 'teenager', via the display of particular tastes, notably in comedy. By contrast, the tastes of some adults were dismissed as belonging to the category of 'grannies', who were parodied as hopelessly 'old fashioned' and 'uncool'. The children were highly dismissive of programmes featuring 'talk' and enthusiastic about those featuring action – not least action of a violent or otherwise spectacular nature. As this implies, they frequently inverted cultural hierarchies and resisted adult notions of 'good taste'.

Contemporary debates about children's television have emphasised the need for factual programmes, literary adaptations and socially responsible contemporary drama. Without disputing this, our analysis suggests that there is also a need for entertainment programming – and indeed for programmes that a majority of adults would consider 'infantile', 'puerile' or otherwise 'in bad taste'. The complex and playful nature of children's judgments of taste, and their understanding of taste as 'cultural capital', is certainly apparent in the popularity of such self-consciously ironic and 'tasteless' texts as South Park and Beavis and Butthead. Nevertheless, children's tastes cannot be defined in an essentialist way, any more than adults' can: both groups are more heterogeneous than is typically assumed (see Davies et al., 2000).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have proposed a particular approach to studying children and media that is squarely located within the tradition of Cultural Studies. It is an approach that directly challenges the positivist assumptions of mainstream psychology and of media effects research. Rather than seeing meaning as something that the media simply deliver to

passive audiences, it focuses on the diverse ways in which meanings and pleasures are constructed, defined and circulated. It begins from the assumption that audiences are indeed 'active', but that they act under conditions that are not of their own choosing – and to this extent, it challenges the tendency to equate 'activity' with agency or power. In the case of children, their relationships with media are structured and constrained by wider social institutions and discourses, which (among other things) seek to define 'childhood' in particular ways. The child audience – or at least the specific characteristics of that audience – are thus constructed through an ongoing process of social negotiation.

Of course, there is a great deal that is not included within this account. The primary focus of the research I have described has been on television; and while I have referred to some research on other media, there is a great deal more that might said, particularly about the ways in which Cultural Studies might contribute to an analysis of 'new' media such as the internet and computer games (see Buckingham, 2005). I am also very conscious that my account has been 'Anglo-centric', and I have been unable to take full account of the contributions to Cultural Studies emerging from non-English-speaking countries – although I am confident that this absence will be made good by my fellow contributors to this volume.

The crucial question that remains, however, is to do with the connections between the different areas of research I have discussed. The 'cultural circuit' model and my simplified triangle identify several key areas of study that, when taken together, should provide a comprehensive account of children's relationships with media. Even so, this kind of multi-faceted approach is not easy to achieve in practice; and theorising the relationships between the different 'moments' or elements is a complex matter. In practice, it is often difficult to take account of the 'balance of forces' between structure and agency. On the one hand, there is a view of childhood (and by extension, of the subjectivity of children) as somehow inexorably produced by powerful institutional and textual discourses; while on the other is the view that real children somehow automatically and inevitably evade those constructions. Accounting for the real slippages and inconsistencies here - and doing so in empirical terms, rather than simply through recourse to a series of 'in principle' theoretical qualifications - is a continuing endeavour.

NOTE

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文化研究方法：兒童的媒體文化

摘譯：林子斌

主要探討文化研究方法為何及其在研究兒童媒體文化上之運用。首先就文化研究進行一簡要的介紹，包括其定義、發展過程與三個研究重點，其次則著重在文化研究與兒童及媒體之關係，第三部分開始對文化研究方法論進行探討，並說明如何採用不同於心理學取向的文化研究對兒童媒體文化進行研究。

以「文化研究是什麼？」作為開場，作者引出對文化的定義與文化研究發展的歷史有著多元定義，並接著將文化研究領域歸納成三個重點：

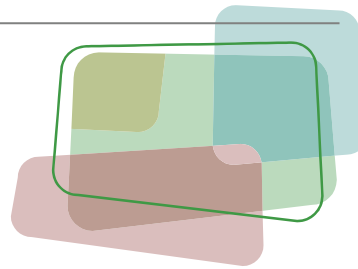
1. 文化研究關注文化實踐：意指文化研究並非僅重視文本，還必須關照文本的產製、傳播、詮釋及消費等層面，也就是指重視文本如何出現並與人互動的整個社會關係與過程。
2. 文化研究是重視實證的研究範疇：文化研究重視實證的過程，而且必須與活生生的經驗相關，不是僅從事理論上的探討。
3. 文化研究重視政治的研究範疇：政治並非指字面上的意思，而是代表社會中的權力關係。

因此，以文化研究觀點來看媒體與兒童，所重視的不在於媒體對兒童行為或態度的影響力，而是強調意義如何被建構、協商與傳播的方式。媒體不應被為僅是將意義傳遞給被動閱聽人的載具，也不應該被理解為人類心智與銀幕的單純互動過程。相反地，文化研究取向的兒童與媒體研究則將兒童的媒體使用與詮釋當作一種社會過程，在此吾人不應以發展的角度來看兒童而將兒童視為一種同質性的類別，反而應該把童年看做具有差異性的（例如社會階級、性別與族群所造成之差異）。

The Facts of Life?

Young People, Sex and the Media

David Buckingham



Context of the Research

It is very hard to be innocent in modern Britain. Advertising on television, on posters and on the radio, is drenched in sexual innuendo. Television programmes rely almost entirely on sex and violence to raise their drooping audience figures. The playgrounds of primary schools echo with sexual taunts and jibes. Rock music, which is now almost compulsory in the lives of even the youngest, is full of sexual expression and desire. (Peter Hitchens)

... the next campaign for British feminists needs to [be] directed at those advertisers, broadcasters, celebrity pedlars, newspapers, magazines, pop stars and others who have made this carnal hell for our young ones, and who still insist that this is nothing at all to do with them. (Yasmin Alibhai Brown)

Context of the Research

A history of concern

Responses to new media

Propriety/decency - and media effects

Changing childhoods

'Sexualising' children - or increasing visibility?

Context of the Research

Responding to 'public concern'

changes in media content

changes in public attitudes

The limits of opinion polls

The role of the regulators

Towards 'media literate' consumers

Previous Research

Effects research

Funding of research - 'public health'

Negative effects, behaviourism ('role models'), correlation as causality,
no theory of meaning

Moral agendas

Previous Research

Our research

Media offer multiple meanings, learning and identity formation are more
complex

Definitions of 'sex'

Beyond either/or-ism: rethinking identity

Methods

Fieldwork: children

Piloting in 3 schools with 24 children

Main stage: 2 locations, North and South (m/c, w/c) with 96 children

4 age groups: 9-10, 11-12, 13-14, 16-17

Diaries / scrapbooks

Pair interviews

Groups: videotape/ads

Groups: tabloids and teen mags (12 and 14 year olds only)

NVIVO

Methods

Survey: children

Questions: Demographics, media use, attitudes – building on interview data

Piloting / design

10, 12 and 14 year olds – different version for youngest age group

Sample around 800

SPSS

Methods

Fieldwork: parents

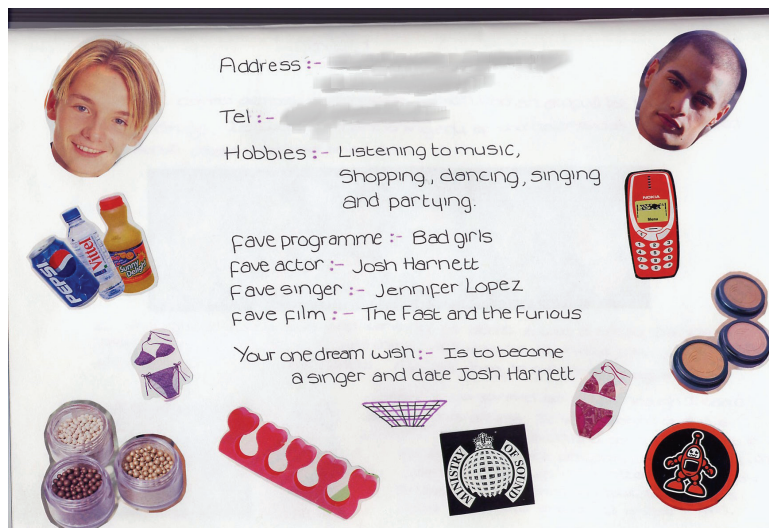
Various locations: near Manchester, Essex and the South

10 groups

Recruitment: parents of children interviewed, classroom assistants, male carers, lesbian mothers...

NVIVO

Kelly, 14: introducing herself in her diary

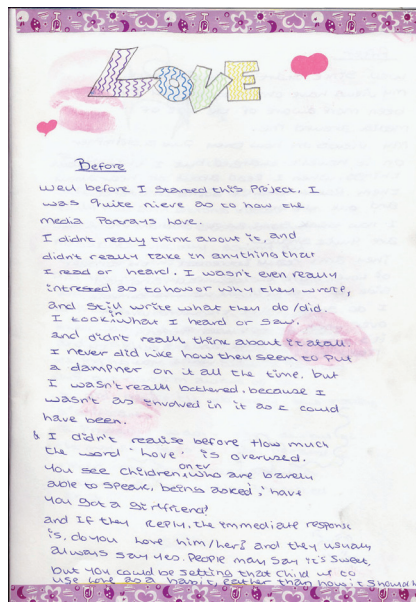


Media, 'lifestyle' and the project of the self

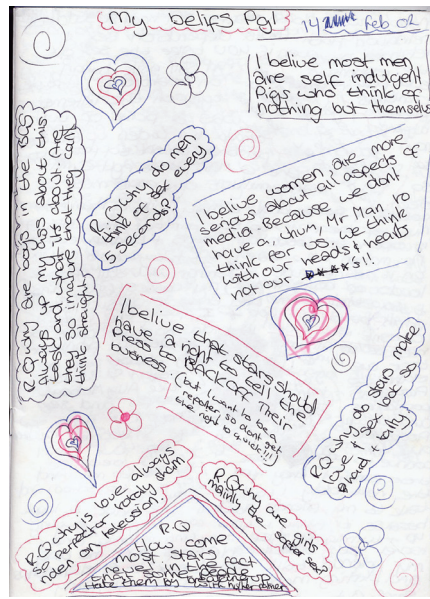
It is through the promotion of 'lifestyle' by the mass media, by advertising and by experts, through the obligation to shape a life through choices in a world of self-referenced objects and images, that the modern subject is governed (Nikolas Rose, 1999).

Ed, 17 (diary extract): By ten mins b4 I'm supos 2 B round me m8s house im nt redy. This new txtn is making me go crazy (....) I go to the library and read a magazine and see a pair of amazing puma trainers, 30 minutes later I have been to town and bought them (....) another advertisement is seen, this is of smoking and I have a craving for my pack of Marlboro lights. I have one as I get off the train (....) I see a man holding a well nice mobile phone which is smaller than the 8210 which I have I want it

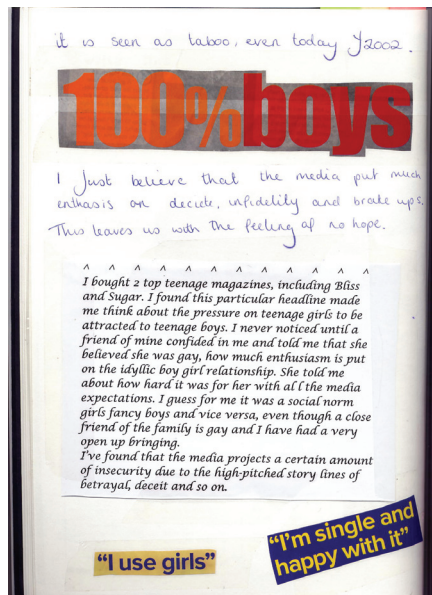
Speaking positions The 'voice' of the school: the subordinate 'learner' (Lori, 14)



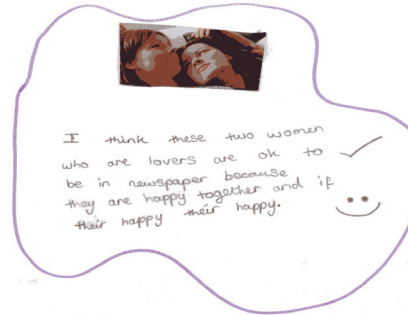
**Speaking positions
... vs. the media as
a 'place to speak from'
– without closure
(Krystal, 14)**



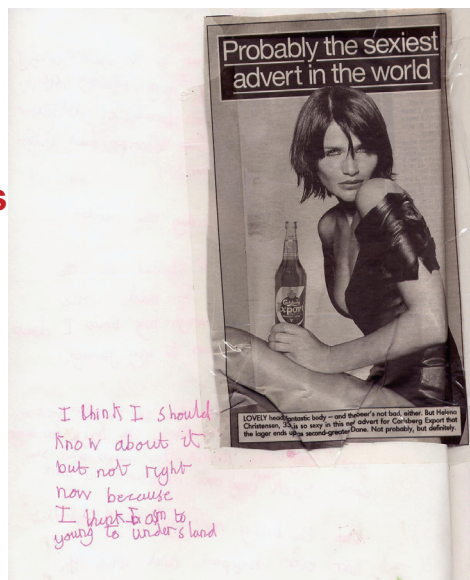
**Alternative
sexualities
Critiques of
representation
(Nancy, 17)**



Alternative sexualities
Being true to yourself
(Tanya, 10)



Speaking positions
Opting into childhood
(Will, 10)



Popular discourses: media effects

Jeff, 17: Britney Spears is a poor role model ... and shows poor moral fibre

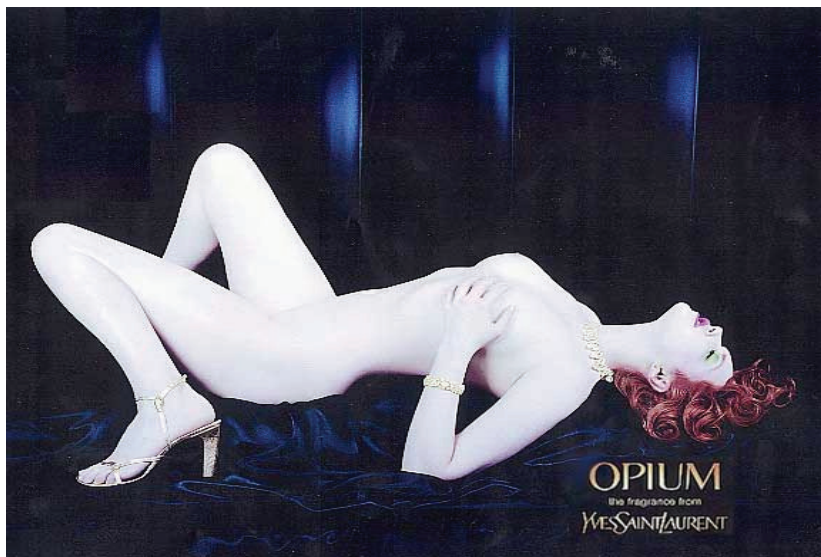
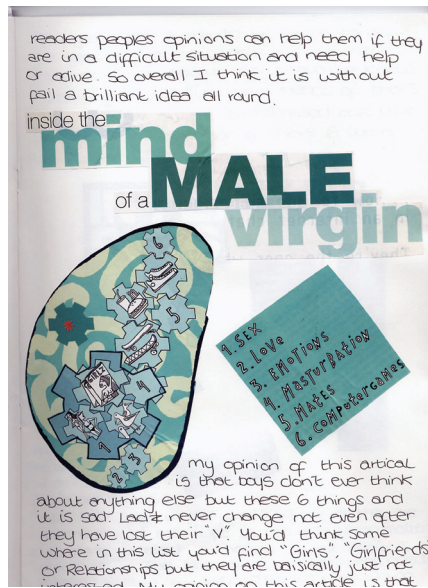
Trevor, 17: I can understand how the film (*Bridget Jones's Diary*) sympathises with the way a lot of people feel about that sort of thing, but as a role model I think she's like... She's being sympathetic to people failing but she's also in a way encouraging it saying "Oh it's all right if you're gonna get into loads of failing, pathetic relationships, 'cause I did and they made a film about me!"


Popular discourses: gender polarities

Henry (12) In the wild... the females had to like give off a scent or something and then sit there and wait for the male to come, to attract them so (...) the females attract the males and the males aren't actually designed to attract the females.


Ethan (12): It was actually on the news that girls evolve to become naturally more sensible

Media as sources of claims about gender: (Lisa, 14, and Sugar magazine)

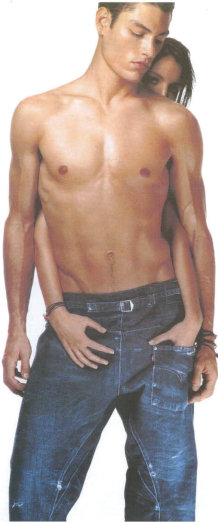





Put
the
boot
in.



Bootcut jeans.



LEVI'S ENGINEERED JEANS / TWISTED TO FIT



levis.com

HELLO BIG BOY

Is that a sock in Calvin Klein model's pants or is it all his own work?



THIS billboard picture of tasty Travis Fimmel in his Calvin Kleins has sparked a huge battle-of-the-bulge controversy.

What women everywhere want to know is: Can Fimmel fill 'em or is he packing padding?

The eye-popping shot of the 22-year-old hunk from Down Under has left millions of men muttering bitterly that "size doesn't matter."

But, sorry lads, after meeting Travis in the flesh, the News of the World can reveal the evidence points to him being ALL man.

The furious debate over his well-stocked lunchbox proves size DOES matter.

The Travis camp insists their boy measures up—but the small-minded opposition claim he must pad out his pants with socks.

Yesterday the hunk was in London for a photo-shoot—and the News of the World set out to settle the argument.

Even fully clothed in snug denim and a white T shirt, Travis brought West End store Selfridges to a standstill.

The shirt-talking farmer's boy from Down Under, who confesses all the time makes him feel "like a germ," was mobbed by a crowd of screaming girls.

His billboard clearly does for women, what Eye Magazine's Hello Boys Wonderbra ad did for men.

BEHAVING PADLY: Has Travis got so much stuffing in his pants he needs to stuff socks down his pants? But if so, he's got a few old pairs which he can have.

It isn't the argument once and for all, the News of the World found a couple of know-it-all questions of Travis: "Is it all your own work down there in your pants? And what about those sock rumpers?"

On the first question Travis, who's dating movie stunner Meg Ryan, smiled and ummed and ahed: "Well..."

But on the second he was quick to reply: "Yep, I do use socks, but only Calvin Klein ones."

It was intended as a joke—but his entourage clearly thought he'd put his foot in it.

And in our view it was a clear case of, come on Travis...

Flesh

Even so, he still shapes up well in his jeans.

Katie Gibson, 23, said: "I've noticed Travis's poster on a huge billboard."

"I just popped into Selfridges to buy some presents and couldn't believe seeing him in the flesh."

"Here perfect-shave, no way I believe someone so well-honed

HELLO BOYS.

SHOCKING: Baby ad

Never a Dahl moment

BANNED: Dahl's ad

HAVE YOU GOT A BIGGER BULGE? ARE you hoarding more than Travis? Call us any day on 020 7782 4444. Don't worry about the cost, we'll call you right back.

Learning About Sex and Sexuality

A complex and uneven process
Ambiguous 'sexual worlds'

Learning from 'experience' (and play)
Learning from observation

Teaching - in school
Teaching - by parents
Teaching - via media

Learning About Sex and Sexuality

Learning from media

As important as mothers
Less embarrassing
Less 'serious'
Anonymous

Working it out for yourself

Will (10): I think I've got to work it out myself... By doing research and then eventually, when I get older, I'll find out.

Learning about sex and sexuality

Media as misinformation

The media provide young people with information, models for behaviour and sometimes opportunities for discussion about sex....
However, sex is increasingly used as a marketing tool with little resemblance to the realities of life, often promoting unhealthy lifestyles and reinforcing sexual stereotypes...
In the absence of other reliable sources of information and advice this can lead to confusion over the realities of sex and sexuality for young people...
Messages from the media need to be balanced with a realistic portrayal of teenage sex through other outlets...

Burtney, E. *Evidence into action: teenage sexuality in Scotland*, Health Education Board for Scotland, 2000

Learning about sex and sexuality

Contrary examples

Caring fathers in *Hollyoaks*

So Graham Norton - the challenge of camp

Male pin-ups in teen magazines

Dominant females in ads

'Deviants' on the talk shows

Learning about sex and sexuality

Media as flexible resources for learning

Media offer 'mixed messages'

Children do not consume them uncritically

Media confirm, but may also unsettle gender identities

They offer a range of positions from which to speak

Learning from Media: Soaps

Ambivalent viewing

Kat and Zoe [*EastEnders*]: I just thought to myself, I thought that ain't entertainment. If that happened to me I'd feel really bad. (Sharmaine, 12)

Mark's HIV [*EastEnders*]: it was just another storyline to get people interested, glued to the TV, so they can get more money (Heather, 12)

Responsible producers: ...the people - even though it's pretend and everything - I thought that they wouldn't do that for the little people who watch' (Alma, 10)

Learning from Media: Soaps

Educational functions: covert

Soaps teach us that...

'you shouldn't do things that you don't mean... and be happy with what you've got'(Clint, 10)

'it's not like me, me, me, in relationships. You've got to think about the other person as well' (Joseph, 12)

'when you get married you have to really think about if you really love this person... You've got to be ready for it, basically - you've got to be committed' (Caitlin, 12)

Learning from Media: Soaps

Educational functions: overt

Soaps teach us that...

'if you go on drugs, it'll just ruin your whole life' (Damian, 12)

'don't get pregnant if you're a teenager' (Ethan, 12)

'certainly don't have under-aged sex - and you should use a condom' (Wesley, 12)

'You know, [there was] *Coronation Street* with a girl who's supposed to be 13 and she slept with someone for the first time and got pregnant and it's not like "OK, I didn't use a condom, it's my own fault". It's "oh, I didn't know you could get pregnant on your first time", and all that. It's just so obvious. It's like the words have been put in the mouth by social workers.' (Tom, 17)

Learning from Media: Soaps

Blaming

Steve Owen: 'he was adventurous, and he always had something good up his sleeve' (Della, 17)

Janine: 'she's just a slapper' (Abigail, 12)

.... and explaining

Jamie and Sonia: 'He had sex with someone else because they'd had a fight, and she found out about it. And then he just proposed to her because she dumped him and then he figured out that he loved her and he proposed to her. And then she just instantly forgave him for having sex. Which I thought was a bit weird. Because she was really, really mad at him. And then as soon as he proposes then she instantly forgets about it, and says she wants to get back together with him.' (Neville, 14)

Learning from Media: 'Pedagogic' Drama

Grange Hill (BBC Children's TV)

Realism:

'It could happen any day, for certain. It just shows what happens at high schools and how teenagers are.' (Courtney, 12)

Terms of debate:

'I think she was raped... because he should have asked her. And it doesn't matter what they think of you afterwards as long as people don't think it's rape. Because if you just turn round and say "look, do you want it?" Then they can say yeah, or no. But if you just say "come on" like he did, then that counts as rape. Even though she didn't say no.' (Noelle, 12)

'He said, "Do you want to come in again?" And she said, "Yeah." And so she didn't say no. He didn't attack her, or force her to do anything. (Henry, 12)

Learning from Media: 'Pedagogic' Drama

Grange Hill teaches you...

'ask a person if you want to do something, don't just assume they want to' (Leo, 10)

'sex has to be for a reason' (Kim, 12)

'It's like if a Year 10 is going out with a Year 11 and the Year 11's asked her if they want to start going to the... another level, basically. If she sees that, it makes her think more and it makes her... "just hang on a sec, what if this happens to me, if I get forced into it?" Then she could go to her boyfriend and say "look I don't want to be nasty or anything, but I don't want to do it yet". And it shows like that they could get the courage of doing it, if someone else has.' (Courtney, 12)

Learning from Media: 'Pedagogic' Drama

***Dawson's Creek* (US)**

Realism: the actors are 'too beautiful', the setting is a 'dream world', the script is 'the kind of stuff you read in books', it's just 'American drivel'.

Ambiguous messages: 'always carry a condom', or 'boys are always up for it' (Reena, 14)

Preaching:

Tom (S, 17, G): It should have had a sign saying "Don't have sex until you're ready".

Jon: Sponsored by Durex condoms!

Learning from Media: 'Pedagogic' Drama

***As If* (Channel 4)**

Realism: '*As If* is like it could be a documentary about the life of these people or like a fly on the wall and, you know, *Dawson's Creek* is just false, it's just so obvious.' (Harvey, 17)

As If is teaching...

'I think it's showing a good view of... There is actually love and feeling and emotion in gay relationships and it's not just like a sex thing.' (Jon, 17)

Or preaching...

'I didn't really like listening about the queer and his boyfriend and all that, and they were getting all serious chats and stuff. You know I was like... It was just making me feel sick... and probably a bit angry as well. It really promotes homosexuality.' (Richard, 17)

Learning from Media

The effectiveness of TV drama in teaching depends upon its claim to realism, and its 'openness' to debate and multiple readings.

Taking a medium that is perceived as 'entertainment' and recruiting it for the purposes of 'education' is a strategy that is fraught with difficulties.

Children are keen to learn, but they do not want to feel as if they are being taught.

'YOUNG PEOPLE, SEX AND THE MEDIA: THE FACTS OF LIFE?'
by David Buckingham and Sara Bragg (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004)

'YOUNG PEOPLE AND SEXUAL CONTENT IN THE MEDIA'
[LITERATURE REVIEW]

'YOUNG PEOPLE, MEDIA AND PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS'
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OPTING INTO (AND OUT OF) CHILDHOOD

Young people, sex and the media

David Buckingham and Sara Bragg

Published in Jens Qvortrup (ed.) *Studies in Modern Childhood: Society, Agency and Culture*
London: Sage

Introduction

Children today are growing up much too soon, or so we are frequently told. They are being deprived of their childhood. Their essential innocence has been lost. Indeed, some would say that childhood itself is effectively being destroyed. For many people, perhaps the most troubling aspect of this phenomenon is to do with sex. Young people seem to be maturing physically – and showing an interest in sex - at an ever-earlier age. Even quite young children appear to adults to be alarmingly knowledgeable about the intimate details of sexual behaviour. Children, it is argued, are being prematurely 'sexualised'.

Much of the blame for this supposed loosening of sexual boundaries and the subsequent 'loss' of children's innocence has been placed on the media, and on consumer culture more broadly. These arguments are traditional territory for right-wing moralists. It is perhaps not surprising to find a conservative newspaper like Britain's *Daily Mail* fulminating about the media's 'sick conspiracy to destroy childhood', as ten-year-olds are apparently 'bombarded on all sides by pre-teen make-up, clinging clothes and magazines encouraging them to be Lolitas' (24.7.02). Likewise, its columnist Peter Hitchens (2002: 49) paints a picture of a culture saturated and depraved by uncontrollable sexuality, most of it derived from the media:

It is very hard to be innocent in modern Britain. Advertising on television, on posters and on the radio, is drenched in sexual innuendo. Television programmes rely almost entirely on sex and violence to raise their drooping audience figures. The playgrounds of primary schools echo with sexual taunts and jibes. Rock music, which is now almost compulsory in the lives of even the youngest, is full of sexual expression and desire.

Yet this image of childhood innocence debauched by media and consumer culture also appeals to more liberal commentators. Thus, Yasmin Alibhai-Brown of the *Independent* (18.3.02) laments her 'innocent' daughter's impending corruption at the hands of a 'sordid popular culture'. 'Powerful, immoral people', she argues, will 'manipulate her desires and appetites', pressurising her to transform herself into a 'sex machine'. According to Alibhai-Brown,

... the next campaign for British feminists needs to [be] directed at those advertisers, broadcasters, celebrity pedlars, newspapers, magazines, pop stars and others who have made this carnal hell for our young ones, and who still insist that this is nothing at all to do with them.

Even liberationists like the gay activist Peter Tatchell, who argue for the importance of 'honesty' about sexual matters and advocate 'sexual rights' for young people, tend to dismiss the 'half-baked and sensationalist' information which they perceive in the media (2002: 70). From this perspective, 'good parenting' necessarily entails regulating and restricting children's access to the media – and not doing so is tantamount to child abuse.

Within the terms of this debate, therefore, children are effectively seen as lacking any independent agency whatsoever: they are merely innocent victims of the media's evil attempts at manipulation. Yet the recurrent claim that children are being 'sexualised' at the hands of the media obviously implies that they were not sexual in the past, and have now become so. Likewise, the view that children's relation to sexuality is being 'commodified' or 'commercialised' also seems to presume that there was an earlier time in which childhood was somehow free from commercial influences. As ever, we are encouraged to look back to a Golden Age of innocence, well before the media led us all to 'carnal hell'. This narrative of decline is one which many historians of childhood would certainly dispute: the lives of children, even as recently as the nineteenth century, were far from insulated from the influence of sexuality, or indeed from the economy (e.g. Cunningham, 1995; Hendrick, 1997). Here, as in many other areas, the notion of childhood comes to be used as the vehicle for much broader concerns about the social order: moral entrepreneurs of both Left and Right tend to invoke threats to children as a means of justifying much more extensive forms of regulation (Jenkins, 1992).

To some extent, it is possible to distinguish here between broadly 'conservative' and 'liberal' perspectives. Thus, conservatives hold sexual permissiveness partly responsible for what they perceive as social or moral decline; while liberals argue that sexual repression leads to a whole range of social ills. Yet these views overlap in complex ways with different perspectives on childhood. On the one hand, children's awareness of sexuality can be seen as a healthy, natural phenomenon, which is distinguished from some of the more distorted or corrupted conceptions of adults. On the other, it can also be viewed as precocious or unnatural; and the acquisition of sexual knowledge can be seen to weaken the boundaries between childhood and adulthood, which are apparently designed to protect children. Both 'sides' in this debate invoke ideas about the 'natural' form of sexuality, and about children's inherent needs or interests; and in doing so, they inevitably define them in particular ways. While they may purport to speak on behalf of children, they also construct 'the child' in ways that reflect broader social and political motivations.

Researching children's perspectives

In general, children's views are conspicuous by their absence from these debates. By contrast, in this chapter we report on the findings of a research project that aimed to explore children's own perspectives on these issues¹. During 2001 and 2002, we conducted over one hundred interviews with 120 young people (aged from nine to seventeen) and approximately 70 parents, and surveyed nearly 800 young people. We worked with young people in state schools, in the South East and the North of England. Participants completed a 'scrapbook' or 'diary' about their media consumption and thoughts on media images of love, sex and relationships, watched a

video compilation, and were interviewed at least twice, both in friendship pairs and in groups. (In this chapter, all interviewees have been given pseudonyms. In brackets after their names, we refer to N or S to indicate whether they were interviewed in the North or South; numbers indicate their age; and P, G or D refers to whether data comes from pair interviews, group interviews or diaries.)

Our research clearly demonstrates that children are aware of the public debate about their relationship to sexual media; and this inevitably shapes the stories and presentations of self they offer in interviews. Children construct their own ‘counter discourses’ in response to adult concerns. As Carol MacKeogh has noted, young people construct images of themselves as ‘media-savvy’ to counter the ‘discourses of vulnerability’ adults apply to them (MacKeogh, 2001). These were also a feature of our interviews; and in this context, children were often keen to appear ‘sex-savvy’ as well. Children frequently presented themselves as ‘knowing it all’, and sometimes as ‘needing to know’ things in relation to sex, while their parents apparently remained ignorant both of the extent of their knowledge and of their (revealing) thirst for it. Both in turn help to explain their accounts of why they particularly valued the media as a source of learning about sex and relationships.

Yet the media do not have ‘effects’ in isolation from the particular contexts in which they are used. The regulation of the media provides a powerful set of definitions about what is ‘appropriate’ for children, and for children at particular ages; and while these definitions may be disputed, they are nevertheless widely acknowledged. Family media consumption, especially around the television, also often appears to be an occasion for attributing knowledge or ignorance, and hence for defining child (and adult) identities. The children in our study often resented or tolerated parental assumptions of their innocence and presented evidence of how they had outwitted attempts to restrict their viewing. At the same time, however, they protected their parents from accusations that they were lax and therefore uncaring, by arguing that they as children were particularly mature and trustworthy.

Both in themselves, and by virtue of the ways in which they are distributed, regulated and used, the media provide yardsticks against which children can measure their development and decide whether they are ‘fast at growing up’ or not. Responses to the prominence of sexual content in the media – while they are often exaggerated – thus inevitably provide powerful indications of the changing meanings of modern childhood. Children today may or may not know more about sex than previous generations; but in their dealings with the media, they are increasingly called upon to make choices about whether they want to remain ‘a child’.

Constructions of competence

The children in our research repeatedly claimed to ‘know it all’. As Courtney (N, 12, P) told us, ‘My mum doesn’t say anything about it [sex on television], because she knows I know everything about sex and relationships’. From the age of eleven, most children claimed to enjoy a state of absolute knowledge:

Kelly (N, 14, P): My mum has spoken to me about bits, but it’s embarrassing. And we kind of know it all already, don’t we?

Indeed, for some, much of the embarrassment here seemed to derive from having to pretend that they did not know about such things, in order to keep their parents happy. While some, like Kelly, believed that their parents were content for them to 'know it all', others felt that parents might be disturbed to discover the full extent of their knowledge. In our survey, 69% of children responded positively to the statement 'I know more about sex than my parents think I do'. (In fact, one fourteen year old who piloted the survey suggested that the statement should read 'I know more about sex than my parents'.)

Of course, it would be easy to mock the idea that twelve-year-olds (or even fourteen-year-olds) could possibly know 'everything' about sex and relationships. Whether or not we can claim to 'know it all' partly depends upon what we mean by 'it', the nature of which was defined in various ways here. 'Knowing it all' implies a position untroubled by uncertainty or contradiction. Yet there are all sorts of paradoxes here. You may believe that you know everything, but it may simply be that you are not aware of the existence of what you do not know. You may feel you know all you 'need' to know; but this depends upon being completely confident about the extent of your needs. You may believe you know more than your parents think you know, but it may be that this is precisely what they would like you to think. For Courtney's mother, assuring her daughter that she already knows everything might be a good way of avoiding some of her own embarrassment in discussing such matters; and Courtney herself might well choose to go along with this for the same reason.

Moreover, our interviews threw up many instances where children clearly did not 'know' particular aspects of the 'facts of life', although this did not diminish their desire to present themselves as if they did. Some of them failed to understand some of the sexual content in the media we discussed – particularly where this was merely suggested, or in the form of innuendo. Some striking gaps in their knowledge were revealed: Bea (N, 10, P), for example, assured us that lesbians could not really have sex because 'to be able to have sex... a man's penis has to go into the lady's belly button to send the sperm in'. In other instances, we were probed for more specialised information, as when one of the authors was asked to explain to Sharmaine and Noelle (S, 12, G) why anybody would need to use flavoured condoms. Certainly, it would be hard to claim that these children represented a generation obviously more corrupted or more knowledgeable about sex than previous ones.

In other cases, children presented themselves as having desire for knowledge that their parents did not recognise. Indeed, this was almost as embarrassing as already knowing it, because even curiosity about such matters could be seen as 'precocious'. As Danielle (N, 10, P) put it, 'you feel embarrassed about asking your mum because your mum might not know that you know about [these things], and you might feel embarrassed about asking her'. Rachel (N, 10, P) agreed:

I know it sounds weird - but you sort of like want to watch it to learn about it. But like you're scared... you're sort of like embarrassed in watching it in front of your mums because they sort of say like 'turn away' and if you like say 'no', and they sort of like go 'well it's a bit rude and I think you should like go to bed'. And I say like, 'but we've got to learn about it', but she doesn't know that

I sort of know about it yet... but I do and I want to learn about it but she doesn't know that I want to learn about it.

As we explore further below, the media can often provide the occasion for the revelation by children of 'inappropriate' knowledge or curiosity within their families.

Learning about sex

As the comments above imply, the children in our sample significantly preferred the media to other potential sources of information. According to our interviewees, sex education in schools taught them nothing new; while parents' efforts in this respect were generally seen as quite misplaced. Even where children were prepared to admit that sex education might have taught them something, there was a sense that the focus was much too narrowly 'medical' or 'scientific'. They might have learnt about 'the insides and all that' (as Glenn (S, 17, P) put it), or about different forms of sexually transmitted disease, but they argued that the 'really useful knowledge' they actually needed had to be obtained elsewhere. Several young people also perceived there to be a moral agenda in sex education which was fundamentally about 'just saying no'. Pleasure and fun, they argued, were not mentioned here: as Chantel (N, 14, P) asserted, 'school puts like a downer on things, 'cos they just make it sound so serious and like... it should be something that you like!'

If school was not very positively rated as a source of sex education, neither were parents. A few did express a positive preference for finding out about sex from their parents: Rollo (S, 12, P), for example, claimed 'I can talk freely with my mum about sex. Some parents get shy [but] my mum's not, 'cos she knows that sex is part of life, I'll find out about it'. Nevertheless, this matter-of-fact approach appeared to be rare. In some situations, children felt that parents were likely to 'hold back' from a full explanation, or be unduly formal. Like teachers, parents were sometimes accused of trying to teach children things they already knew. Kelly (N, 14, P), for example, expressed exasperation at her mother's constant warnings to her when she went out with her boyfriend – 'they just underestimate us!'. And, as we shall see, family discussions of sexual matters – at least in relation to the media – were frequently characterised by a great deal of mutual embarrassment.

In turn, the inadequacies of home or school helped to account for the appeal of the media as a key source of information and ideas about love, sex and relationships. Soap operas and (for the girls at least) teenage magazines were frequently mentioned in this respect (cf. Kehily, 1999). Although it was accepted that, like parents, the media could be evasive and that (as Neville (N, 14, P) put it) 'they don't always show you that much', they often addressed topics directly that many children found embarrassing to discuss with their parents or teachers, or that parents might feel they were not 'ready' for. In some cases, this included information about physical development: for example, Bea (N, 10, P) described how she had been 'helped' by reading a four page feature 'all about boobs' in the girls' magazine *Shout*. For the older children, the media also offered information on sexual 'techniques' which was harder to obtain elsewhere: as Chloe (N, 17, P) pointed out, sex education in schools did not tell you 'how to have sex', whereas magazines would tell you 'anything you wanna know'.

In this respect, as in many other areas of children's media (see Buckingham, 2000), there is now a strong aversion on the part of producers to appearing to patronise young people. The media increasingly seek to address young people 'on their level', as already 'savvy' and 'mature'. Thus, a positive quality of teenage magazines, and to some extent of soap operas as well, was that they often took a humorous approach, and avoided the preacherly tone that was often seen to characterise sex education in school, being instead informative but not unduly 'serious'. As Phoebe (N, 14, P) argued, the magazines didn't 'tell you what to do... they just put it in and see what you think about it'.

The media also seemed to offer the benefit of anonymity, particularly if they were consumed privately. As Rachel (N, 12) put it, when you are reading a magazine, 'it's as if someone's having a conversation with you but they don't know who you are and you don't know who they are. So you're just finding it out but no one knows about it. No one has to find out...' Unlike school, media did not have the element of compulsion: as Reena (N, 14, P) put it, 'it's there if you want to read about it', but 'they don't go on about it so much'. And, as Lara (S, 14, P) pointed out, reading a magazine privately meant that you could avoid the 'mickey taking' that occurred during sex education classes in school. In general, the children were keen to reject any suggestion that there was 'too much sex' in the media – even if they did express concern about its possible impact on children younger than themselves. While some of the older children accused the media of 'glamorising' sex, others argued that they also showed 'the negatives' – and that the media were just as inclined to warn children about the dangers of sex as to encourage them to engage in it 'prematurely'.

From the children's perspective, then, learning about sex and relationships appeared to entail a considerable degree of independent agency: it was a matter of actively seeking information from several potential sources, and making judgments about a range of potentially conflicting messages. It was also often a collective process, conducted among the peer group. Chantel (N, 14, P), for example, described how she and a friend had bought a book called A Girl's Guide to Sex, and would talk about such matters at sleepovers. In general, girls appeared to find this process easier than boys: many boys agreed that they were less likely to discuss such things with their friends, for fear of more 'mickey-taking' – particularly if they were to do with their own relationships. Yet while children would certainly talk things through with friends or older siblings (and sometimes parents) if they were in doubt, they were generally keen to work things out for themselves.

One of the most interesting expressions of this view came from Will (S, 10), who wrote in his diary in response to a 'sexy' advertisement for beer, 'I think I should know about it, but not right now, because I think I am too young to understand'. He could not really understand, he said, why beer adverts should feature 'girls in bikinis':

Will (S, 10, P): I shouldn't know about them right now. When I know a bit more about them [I'll be ready]... Well, when I get a little bit older and I've learnt about the body a bit more and I know what happens. And about people who want to do this and why they want to do it.

When we asked whether he would expect to find out about all this from school or from his parents, Will replied:

Neither. I think I've got to work it out myself... By doing research and then eventually when I get older I'll find out.

Will's curiously academic notion of 'research' seems to encapsulate something of the gradual, even haphazard, nature of sexual learning. 'Finding out' was not a once-and-for-all event, but an ongoing process, which involved 'piecing it together' from a variety of sources. Will's insistence on 'working it out himself' was typical of the independent approach many of the children adopted, or sought to adopt.

Opting in to childhood

As this implies, living in a media-saturated world may require a certain degree of reflexivity or self-consciousness about the position of being a child. The children in our research frequently sought to calibrate themselves in terms of age, and in relation to assumptions about what children of different ages should know about or be able to see or do. The pressure to 'grow up fast' was certainly a powerful one – although what 'growing up' meant was defined in some quite diverse ways. Whilst most looked forward to the freedom they imagined would come a few years hence, some of the younger interviewees claimed they were happy to remain children. Nevertheless, this seemed to require a conscious decision on their part. For instance, several of the younger children argued quite strongly that they were not yet ready to learn about sex, or that they did not need to know. Tania and Lucy (S, 10, P), for example, argued that they did not really need the advice about snogging they had found in Mizz, a teenage girls' magazine, because 'we're not the age to do that yet'. Likewise, Kim (N, 12, P) argued that 'in this age group', she did not want to watch all the 'picturing' of sex in programmes like Coronation Street; and she even resisted her mother's attempts to teach her about sex on similar grounds:

Kim (N, 12): Like when she's telling me what's going on, like, and explaining that when you're a teenager, like... when you're a teenager, do you know [about] your hormones? right. She's doing that and I'm going 'oh, I don't need to know this right now'.

Even among the fourteen-year-olds, there were those who argued that there were things they did not 'need' to know – although there was also a kind of shy excitement about these responses, which was accentuated by the difficulty the girls seemed to encounter in discussing sexual pleasure. Lara and Jody (S, 14, P), for example, claimed not to enjoy reading stories about sexual 'positions' in their magazines, or seeing sexually explicit content in documentaries: as Jody said, 'I don't watch it because I don't feel that I need to know about that yet. Because it's not something I'm planning to do until later.'

As these observations imply, children appear to locate themselves within developmental narratives, in which particular kinds of knowledge are 'needed' at particular ages. They calibrate themselves in terms of what is seen as appropriate or necessary to know. In the process, they negotiate with, resist and reproduce, dominant

adult constructions of the meaning of childhood itself. Yet they can no longer be so easily sheltered from material that some adults might deem inappropriate for them; and so they may have to positively 'opt in' to childhood, rather than experiencing it as a state from which they cannot escape.

'It's so embarrassing...' Family viewing

This process of negotiation was particularly apparent in the children's accounts of family television viewing. For many children, family viewing was a key occasion on which attributions of sexual knowledge, desire or ignorance could be made and contested. The ways in which television was interpreted and used by different family members thus provided opportunities for proclaiming and disavowing childhood and adult identities.

The appearance of sexual content on television – at least in the public space of the family living room – was frequently described both by parents and children as generating embarrassment. Many children described the physiological experiences of such embarrassment and the responses it provoked – sweating, shuddering, getting 'all shy' or 'squirming', feeling 'uncomfortable', staring ahead as if transfixed, sitting in complete silence, and so on. These tales sometimes sounded almost ritualistic, in that participants recounted them with relish and in similar terms, without necessarily being able to provide many specific examples of problematic material. We need to emphasise that we are dealing here with accounts of embarrassment, not actual events. Claims to feel embarrassment are conventionally structured in order to make claims about identity, status within the family, and maturity; they may represent a demand for recognition of sexual identity or for its invisibility. Indeed, parents and children appear to construct their identities through what we might call 'embarrassment exchanges'.

Thus, parents and older siblings could assert their authority or greater status within the family by teasing children: 'the jokes'll come in ... just cause we're there' (Flora N, 17, P). In fact, some parental responses as reported by their children were far removed from the maturity to which the parents in our focus groups laid claim. Thus, Rebecca (N, 10, P) said that 'when people kiss on TV my mum goes "ooh look Rebecca they're kissing" (...) as a joke. 'Cause I used to always look away when people were kissing on television'. Sometimes such teasing provoked considerable resentment or indignation from interviewees, who claimed that their embarrassment was engineered by others. Naomi and Phoebe (N, 14, P) identified this as something mothers did:

Phoebe: The dads don't... they're all right. They just let you watch whatever you want. But your mum... If your mum's there, they look at you and you're like. 'What, just let me watch TV!'. They keep just staring at you. You're like...

Naomi: 'Mum!'

Phoebe: 'Ok. I'm going to go upstairs now. Because you all keep staring at me.' [laughs] ... They just keep staring till you get a reaction.

One can only speculate here whether parents might be projecting their embarrassment onto their children or vice versa. However, such teasing and staring not only creates an unwelcome visibility for their recipient, but implies that their response to sexual material might be somehow inadequate or problematic. The indignant tones of these accounts counter such implicit accusations by transposing the alleged inadequacies onto parents instead.

However, descriptions of parental embarrassment enabled some young people to demonstrate their own greater sophistication. Seamus (N, 14), for instance, described in his diary ‘one particular moment [in the drama Footballers’ Wives] where Jason Turner had sex on the snooker table with another footballer’s mum, which doesn’t affect me but for some reason my parents.’ Likewise, Melanie (N, 10) presented herself as more able to cope with such material than her parents: ‘They keep being stupid about things like that, I’m like “mum and dad, it’s not that rude. I mean, get a grip, it’s not that rude!” [laughs]’. She claimed both that she thought it was ‘just entertainment’ and that in any case she knew about ‘it’ already – ‘Huh. Four brothers, one sister. I think I do!’ Of course, it may have been particularly necessary for Melanie, as the youngest in her family, to assert her sophistication in this way.

Some young people, however, did describe their own embarrassment, claiming that it was inherent to the situation of watching with parents: they often had to remove themselves from the scene or from the sight of the source of the embarrassment, so they recounted covering their eyes, hiding behind cushions, leaving the room on the pretext of getting a drink, and so on. Some engaged in moralistic discourse as a defence:

Nancy (S, 17, P): Go make a drink. ‘Cause you can’t watch it. Even though you could watch it by yourself, when your parents there it just feels... Even now sometimes. Now it’s a bit...

Olivia: Yeah. I still get embarrassed now.

Sara: Do you. Mm. So what do you do now if you get embarrassed?

Olivia: Go “Oh god there’s too much sex on TV now”. And she’ll go “yeah, you’re right”.

Nancy: Yeah – “That’s disgusting”. [all laugh]

Where some younger children claimed they did not want to watch sexual material in the media at all (and many interviewees referred to this as something that had been the case in the past rather than the present), their rejection seemed to represent a refusal of the world of adulthood itself. Embarrassment, however, came to mean something different, confirming children’s identity as different from that of their parents, but at the same time often representing a demand for recognition of their growth towards adulthood.

Collective viewing thus served as a forum in which revelations of knowledge could be made or suppressed. Ceri (N, 17, P) remarked ‘some of the things that you’d laugh at, your parents go “Why do you know about that?” (...) I would rather leave them with a nice little mental image of me being twelve, if that is what they want’. Similarly, Gareth (S, 14, P) remarked ‘on They Think It’s All Over or something, when they say something, I’ll laugh and my mum just looks at me thinking like “oh, he knows what that means” (...) Sometimes when I watch it upstairs with my brother,

I laugh then, but when I'm downstairs I try to not laugh at some of the things which I shouldn't really know'. In some instances, children's media choices and active display of choosing potentially embarrassing media seemed to constitute a 'coming out' to one's parents as sexual. Thus, Chloe (N, 17, P) described her mother's shock the first time Chloe bought a teenage girls' magazine at the age of ten: 'she just didn't realise that I wanted to read more about stuff like that, rather than comics like the Beano and stuff'.

A consequence of embarrassment was that young people developed definite preferences about which programmes they would watch with parents, and which they would watch in their own rooms if they had a television there. Whilst it was generally agreed that the main living room contained the best quality television, and many young people sought out the pleasures of watching with others, at other times it was not worth the embarrassment of doing so. On many occasions, such decisions would have to be made during a programme, where children would disappear upstairs to continue watching in peace. It seemed that parents would operate a 'don't ask, don't tell' policy on this, where they knew what was happening but preferred not to challenge it.

'Overprotective parents': accounts of parental regulation

Children's accounts of their parents' attempt to regulate their viewing had to negotiate a kind of 'ideological dilemma' (cf. Billig et al, 1988). On the one hand, as we have seen, the children were keen to condemn parental over-protectiveness – not least as a way of proclaiming their own maturity. Yet in the light of public discourses about 'good parenting', they were also loath to accuse them of irresponsibility. Parents might thus be regarded as touchingly ignorant and out of touch, but nevertheless as well-meaning.

So for instance, they argued that parents were unaware of how much they knew: many echoed Krystal's (S, 14, D) argument that 'parents would die if they knew half the things kids talk about!'. As Melanie (N, 10, P) put it, 'they want to keep me a child for ever'; or as Eve (N, 17, P) argued, 'they think you are six until you are twenty-six, don't they?' They emphasised the gulf between the older generation and theirs in this respect: Neville (N, 14, P) argued that today: 'You get more freedom (...) 'Cause they used to not get any freedom at all (...) When they were young they didn't really get to do much 'cause they were told not to, and they obeyed'. Several children claimed that their parents were too 'protective', and that this made it difficult for them to discuss such issues together. Older interviewees tended to recognise their parents' concerns as touchingly benevolent, even if misplaced. As Jon (N, 17, P) remarked of his father: 'I think he's just laying rules as all good parents do, they've gotta set standards and they expect you to abide by them'. Yet others were more forthrightly dismissive and impatient, such as Alicia (N, 10, P): 'Mums and dads, they're like eighties kind of thing, oh God! (...) They think it's all rude and they think I shouldn't be knowing about this until I'm about thirteen or fourteen or something like that. (...) They wanna keep me a child forever!'

However, children were aware that not regulating TV is tantamount to admitting to being a bad parent and would be viewed negatively by others. Clint (S,

10, P) explained that his mother didn't like him watching sexual material because 'she just thinks you're gonna go round at school like and talk about it and everything', which would mean, Leo added, that 'your mum and dad aren't very nice people'. While some took a libertarian position, many upheld parental rights to regulate children's viewing: as Noelle (S, 12, P) remarked: 'I think my mum should tell me if she thinks it is [suitable] because she's been my age and she's been older and she knows what's better for me'. Children often presented a picture of relative harmony; for instance, where rules could be bent if adults were watching later programmes with them, making the occasion something of a treat. Rebecca (N, 10, P): 'Me and my mum normally like watching the same things. So when there's a programme on that we've been waiting for for ages then I'm allowed to stay up late and watch it (...) If it's after quarter to ten and I'm not going to bed... She like tells me not to look 'cause they're doing more dirty stuff'. Mindful of the notion that the good parent is the regulating parent, children were careful to explain any laxity in a positive light, arguing that they themselves were exceptionally mature, that their parents trusted them, and so on.

Nevertheless, they also described various strategies they had evolved for evading parental scrutiny, recounting scenarios in which they pitched their wits against their parents to watch the forbidden material they desired. For instance, Caitlin (N, 12, P) exploited her grandmother's deafness to watch Sex and the City when her parents were out; others would watch with older siblings or at friends' houses; they would capitalise on differences between their parents to persuade one to let them watch what the other would not. Lysa (S, 10, P) recommended plying adults with Baileys to encourage them to relent over such issues; while Bea (N, 10, P) had found simple emotional blackmail effective in persuading her mother when she was reluctant to let her take Bridget Jones's Diary to a party: 'I sort of say like, "yeah but everyone, you'll let the whole party down"...'. They would disguise what a text was really about, for instance by hiding cases that showed classifications. They would watch disapproved material from behind settees, on staircases, or upstairs on another television, swiftly changing channels when they heard their parents approaching. It was clear from our interviews with parents that they were aware of some of their children's subterfuges in this respect, but preferred not to pursue the matter. As David Buckingham has pointed out (Buckingham, 1996), children are not powerless within the family, although they may also relish exaggerating the amount of power they do have.

'Too young to understand' or 'fast at growing up'?

Like the parents we interviewed, children were generally hostile to external regulation. People who actively complained about particular representations were dismissed (in symptomatically sexist and ageist terms) as 'opinionated middle aged women', 'old ladies who are so moany (...) wasting their pensions using the phone and complaining because ages ago they didn't have stuff like this. And now they're jealous!' All our participants knew the classification categories for videos and most knew how the watershed functioned, even if the meaning of the term itself was obscure. However, they were quick to point to what they saw as anomalies in classifications, particularly in relation to computer games, but also films. The older children asserted that they were old enough to watch sexual material, pointing out that at sixteen they could

engage in heterosexual sex and so should be allowed to see it. Some rejected any regulation at all, on the basis that it should be ‘your choice’ or pragmatically because regulations had little practical force anyway. Some drew parallels between their active decision-making in other areas of their lives and their rights to do so in relation to the media. Neville (N, 14, P) pointed out that young people were being invited to take responsible decisions about their lives at relatively early ages – his example was selecting subjects to study, which required developing a sense of what life would hold in the future beyond school. Externally imposed regulation came to seem anomalous where they were being encouraged to see themselves as active meaning-makers and decision-takers elsewhere (cf. Rose, 1999b). To the extent that the idea of regulation suggested that they were ‘unfree’, they saw it as an affront.

However, regulation also played a productive role in children’s identities and media practices. Regulation helped mark out material that was desirable or where they would expect to find more graphic material. Todd (S, 10, P) proudly enumerated his collection of ‘over-age’ videos: ‘I got like twenty 12s, one 18 and four 15s’. They had also developed a degree of media literacy that made them aware what to expect of a programme from its title, scheduling, credits, and so on, and thus to cope with its potential sexual content. They understood the fictionalised nature of portrayals, for instance that actors ‘are allowed to kiss but they are not actually having sex, making a baby. They are allowed to kiss though’ (Rory, N, 10, G). If they did encounter sexual material later in the evening they were aware that it was ‘for adults’ and that they were encroaching on their territory. Lysa (S, 10, P) who listed as one of her hobbies ‘watching films over my age limit’, described watching a Channel 4 programme on ‘Sex Gods and Goddesses’, which featured ‘people humping on the back of a fire engine, naked’: ‘I thought it was okay, but as it was like, it’s on like twelve o’clock at night, there wouldn’t be so many like little children running about the house.’

As this implies, regulation provides at least some of the terms within which children think about their relations with the media. To this extent, they have a stake in preserving its categories. Regulation gives children a norm against which to calibrate their own developmental levels – albeit mostly discovering that they are in advance of the stages that seem to be set out for them by the regulators. Bea (N 10, P), for example, described how she bought girls’ magazines because she was ‘fast at growing up’. Growing up, in her account, is not something that happens to her, but something that she can achieve – and her media consumption is a measure of her speed and success in doing so. We might call this the ‘Just 17 principle’, according to which media companies target the age-based aspirations of their audiences: despite (or because of) its title, Just 17 was a magazine whose primary readership was among girls aged between eleven and fourteen.

Some children even anticipated a time when they would be strict with their own children and shocked by what they watched – which Jon (N, 17, P) described in a tone of cheerful resignation as the ‘festering of getting old’. Many spoke of ‘other’ audiences, invariably younger than them, for whom regulation was necessary and whose putative existence served to underpin their own claims to be mature and competent. For instance, Ethan (N, 12, P) acknowledged that the guidelines were useful, referring to them as ‘good rules for your children’, Joseph (S, 12, P) commented that ‘if there’s not a Watershed you don’t know what time the kids should not be watching’. These formulations – ‘the kids’, ‘your children’ - suggest that in

discussing regulation both Joseph and Ethan temporarily assumed an ‘adult’ position. Children were also able to rehearse for adulthood by practising censorship on younger siblings. Thus, Will (S, 10, P) argued that, although children of his age needed to know about ‘such things’ at quite a young age, its down side was that younger children (below seven) might get to see it. He solemnly reported that his five year old sister hadn’t seen ‘it’ (that is, sexual material of one sort or another) but had got ‘very close to seeing it’. Fortunately, he reassured us, ‘I always manage to get the control off her’. For Will, seeing material over his age was a mark of adulthood; but so too was regulating material on behalf of even younger viewers.

The children were, overall, keen to present themselves as self-regulating. In the case of sexual material, many younger children in particular often chose actively not to watch it and were very definite about not wanting to see what they referred to as ‘full frontal views’ or nudity. When they did seek it out, or even came across it inadvertently, they often gave the impression that they fully expected to find it repellent; and they employed a range of strategies for coping with material they thought was ‘too much’. For instance, Theo (S, 12, P) claimed that when sex came on, even when watching on his own, he would ‘just face the other way and just relax’. Others described how they could remind themselves that it was fake – that if two characters kissed, for instance. ‘it’s not like they’re really going out, is it?’ Occasionally young people proved to be sterner censors than their parents. As Noelle (S, 12, P) remarked of *At Home with the Braithwaites*: ‘it was just like showing how like people can be lesbians and that. And I think that I shouldn’t be watching this! I think maybe my mum or dad should’ve watched this a couple of times!’

The dilemmas of autonomy

Our research reflects the broader emphasis in childhood studies on the importance of recognising children’s competence and agency. However, it also points to some of the limitations of this approach – and in particular to the dangers of celebrating children’s capacities as ‘self-regulating’ media consumers. In conclusion, we would like to draw attention to some of the dilemmas and tensions that arise for children in this new environment.

None of our young participants presented themselves as dependent for moral guidance on the authority of religion, traditional morality, or established experts such as teachers, even where they came from strongly religious family backgrounds. Nevertheless, all the young people to whom we spoke were involved to some extent with the secular expertise provided by ‘pedagogical’ media texts, such as magazines and soap operas. These texts constitute their audiences in ethical terms - that is, they invite them to engage actively with the dilemmas and issues they portray and to take responsibility for their responses and views. Our interviewees were often sceptical about such material as well; and they repeatedly expressed a preference for more open storylines or forms of presentation that appeared to allow them to ‘make up their own minds’. Yet audiences’ scepticism about more overtly ‘pedagogical’ texts does not necessarily imply that they are immune to them. The fact that young people were almost unanimous in claiming that they did not read the advice on problem pages, but only the letters, for example, does not mean that they have no influence. Problem pages may be less significant for the solutions they offer than in the ways they define

certain kinds of behaviour as problematic in the first place, or encourage readers to imagine themselves (for instance, as individuals in control of their sexual identity and conduct). Similarly, many young people spoke of completing the quizzes in these magazines – which, albeit in frequently parodic or joking ways, are designed to yield information about the self for the purposes of self-assessment and judgement. Such media may help to habituate audiences to the rituals of assessing their own desires, attitudes and conduct in relation to criteria set out by experts (Rose, 1999a). Again, it is less relevant that they often rejected the conclusions the magazines reached for them: they nevertheless echoed the discourses of such magazines as they spoke of working out ‘what kind’ of a person they were, where their desires lay, and of the importance of reaching ‘their own’ decisions about matters of sexual conduct.

To some extent, we can see this as evidence of the success of a process of ‘responsibilisation’: children today have been bound to become self-regulating media consumers, and (more broadly) responsible for their own ethical self-development and well-being (cf. Rimke, 2000; Rose, 1999a). As we have shown, these responses were also to some extent shaped by the wider public debate. Children are aware that they are positioned as innocent, as especially vulnerable, or as media-incompetent, both in the domain of public debate (and media regulation) and often in the family. Their response is to emphasise their knowingness, be it about sex or the media, and thereby to construct a (powerful) counter-position to the (powerless) one that is marked out for them. When Will (S, 10) describes how he will ‘find out for himself’ about sex through ‘doing research’ (see above) he positions himself very much as an autonomous, calculating entity in control of his personal quest for enlightenment and information – and this position was, we would claim, relatively typical. This preferred self-image significantly complicates the business of research - and indeed of education – in this field.

The emphasis our interviewees placed on their self-governing capacities may help explain the particular dilemmas of regulating sexual material. Media regulation, we have argued, actively constitutes the meanings of media texts. In particular, it invites audiences to consider texts in terms of their social acceptability – for example, as when an age classification on a video implies that it may be inappropriate for younger audiences. However, sex appears more problematic as an issue here than does violence. There is a long-established tradition of research into so-called violent media that focuses on their ‘social harm’. Whilst it is certainly contentious (Barker and Petley, 2001), it is nonetheless well-known and often attains the status of common sense wisdom in popular debates. In previous research, David Buckingham found that children were aware of these arguments (for instance, about the ‘copycat’ effect or ‘desensitisation’ to violence in real life) and fully able both to rehearse and to challenge them (Buckingham, 1996). However, it was notable that our interviewees – both children and parents – were much less sure of themselves when discussing the possible harmful effects of sexual media. Their statements were often confused and seemed unconvincing even to themselves: for instance, young children and even some older teenagers speculated that nudity might make children want ‘to wear no clothes’, whilst parents seemed undecided about whether promiscuity was the effect of the media or of ‘peer pressure’. One possible explanation here might be that sexual media material has been increasingly drawn into the domain of personal ethics, as an occasion for individuals to scrutinise their own desires, conduct and responses, rather than that of social harm. For this reason, it may be harder for regulatory bodies to

obtain the degree of consensus that is necessary to win legitimacy, at least when it comes to controlling sexual material.

We have pointed to children's insightfulness, to their ability to contribute to public debates about matters of morality and ethics, and to their competence as media consumers. Our conclusion, in effect, is that children should be considered as active consumers rather than only the passive objects of interventions from above. In this sense, we are proposing that the definition of the modern citizen and the privileges of self-government should in certain (limited) ways be extended to young people to a greater degree than at present. This might be seen as a form of 'empowerment' - a transfer of power to individuals who were previously denied it. Yet it might equally be seen as a matter of simply extending the technology through which government creates self-regulating and responsible individuals.

Certainly, there are costs to this process. Our interviewees spoke frequently of the structured inequalities of power they experienced (although not in those terms); for instance, when girls described forms of harassment by boys, or when boys both enacted but were also critical of the divisiveness and aggression within homophobic male culture. They were also aware of the limits of their capacity to manage their own lives, caught as they were between conflicting pressures. Yet the discourses of voluntarism, autonomy and individuality that are so dominant today provide little space for other explanatory frameworks that might offer different ways of making meaning of their lives. If children are to be allowed to enter the sphere of modern citizenship, they must also conform to its norms and rituals; and these impose burdens which, we would argue, may well prove heavier for some than for others.

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NOTES

¹ This project was entitled 'Young people, media and personal relationships'. It was funded by a consortium of British broadcasting and regulatory bodies: the Advertising Standards Authority, the British Board of Film Classification, the BBC, Broadcasting Standards Commission and the Independent Television Commission. A report based on the research can be downloaded from www.asa.org.uk or from www.mediarelate.org; and we have also published a book based on the project, Young People, Sex and the Media: The Facts of Life? (Buckingham and Bragg, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2004).

選擇進入或退出童年：青少年、性、和媒體

摘譯：幸曼玲

Introduction

現代的孩子成長得太快了，快到幾乎他們的童年都被剝奪。尤其是孩子經驗到的媒體環境，其中「性」的界限很快的被打破；孩子經驗到許多消費的文化等等都剝奪了孩子的「天真無邪」。這樣的想法不僅存在在保守主義的人身上，甚而自由主義的人對媒體也有同樣的批評。

抱持這樣觀點的人顯然認為孩子是缺乏獨立性的，他們僅僅是媒體惡魔底下的無辜受害者，飽受媒體的摧殘。當論及孩子受到媒體中「性」的影響時，隱含的意義是他們在過去並未受到「性」的影響，而現在才被影響。但是，這種論述是有爭議的。也就是說，從十九世紀以來，孩子的生活是很難遠離「性」的影響；甚而在其他領域，童年也經常用來作為維持社會次序的工具。不論左派右派都利用威脅孩子作為管束、規範的一種方式。

Researching children's Perspectives

大體來說，孩子本身的想法都不在上面的這些論述中。因此，本文意圖從孩子的觀點來看這些議題。這個研究計畫是 2001-2002 年，訪問了 9-17 歲的 120 個孩子得到的結果。此外還包括了 70 個父母，另外還以問卷調查了 800 人。

我們的研究清楚的說明了孩子其實知道眾人間有關性與媒體的爭議；孩子在受訪時不可避免的修整他們說的故事，也很小心在故事中呈現自己。孩子會根據成人關心的內容建構相反的論述。就有如 Carol MacKeogh 所言，孩子將自己建構成媒體的理解者 (media savvy)，而非成人所言的「易受傷害者」。而且在此情境中，孩子也認為自己是性的理解者 (sex savvy)。孩子經常認為自己「全都知道」，有時候也覺得自己「需要知道」與性相關的知識。這兩方面都可解釋孩子為何特別重視媒體作為「性」和「與人相處的關係」知識的來源。

媒體所呈現的「性」和「關係」的內涵，通常會被作為是測量兒童發展或是是否促成其快速成長的衡量指標。雖然，一般人總是誇大媒體中有關性的內容，但這些內容不可避免的是一個現代童年意義的重要指標。比起前一代，孩子可能比較了解有關性的內容，但也可能比較不了解性的內容。但面對媒體這個媒介物，孩子有較多的可能來選擇，他們是否想要維持作為一個「孩子」(a child)。

Constructions of competence

在我們的研究中，孩子的反應有兩種。一種是孩子覺得自己「全都知道」(knowing it all)。另一種孩子覺得自己「想知道某些事情」(having desire for knowledge)。雖然，「全都知道」有不同的意義，但從孩子的訪談中可以發現，這個世代的孩子比上個世代更為知識廣博，也更為墮落。

作為「有慾望想知道多點事情」的孩子而言，他們的父母並不知道他們會對某些事物好奇。尤其，讓父母知道他們已經知道某些事物更令人困窘，更何況要進一步問父母相關的事情。

在我們進一步探究之前，媒體經常在家庭中提供孩子獲得「不適當」的知識，或是滿足其好奇心的場域。

Learning about sex

從實徵研究的資料顯示，孩子顯著的喜歡使用媒體作為訊息的來源。根據受訪者表示，學校中的性教育沒什麼新的東西，甚至多半是「醫學的」或是「科學的」。有受訪者表示，「學校多是掃興的，因為他們把事情弄得很嚴肅，...學校應該提供你洗歡的事」。

有些受訪的孩子的確認為父母可以提供有關性教育的訊息。但僅僅非常少的父母可以如此。而且，父母經常教孩子他們已知道的事情，討論時也會彼此都覺得尷尬。

相反的，媒體就扮演一個提供訊息的重要管道。如肥皂劇、雜誌等等。這些媒體多半直接的切入問題，而這些問題多半是和父母難以啟齒的。

從這個觀點看來，在兒童媒體的相關其他領域中，已經摒棄了受年輕人保護的製作人。媒體必須從孩子的程度出發，將之視為理解者或是成熟的人。因此，有品質的 **teenager** 的雜誌，多半採取幽默的取向，避免採用傳教士的方式來進行性教育。這些觀念也擴及到肥皂劇的製作上。

媒體有「匿名」的性質，尤其是閱聽人是私下觀賞時。媒體也不像學校教育時的「強迫性」。大體而言，孩子會拒絕媒體中有太多的「性」。當有些較大的孩子控訴媒體中的性過於浪漫的同時，也有些孩子會表現出「負面」的觀點--也就是說，當媒體傾向於警告孩子有關性的危險時，同時也在鼓勵他們過早的進行「性」。

從孩子的觀點看來，學習有關性的事物包含了許多「獨立性」的問題：從許多訊息來源中主動的選取訊息，從一堆衝突的訊息中下判斷。這經常是一個集體的過程，在同儕團體中進行。有的孩子會和年長的兄姐談論，但是當有疑慮時，他們通常會自己解決。

Opting into childhood

這意味著，活在這個浸潤在媒體的環境中需要對身為一個孩子有清楚的自我意識和反思。在我們的研究中的孩子經常會校正自己在這個世代所佔的位置，而且會假設在不同世代的孩子該知道什麼，能做什麼，能看什麼。「快快長大」是有力的誘因，但是「長大」的定義也有許多不同的方式。有些人仍然選擇停留在作為一個「孩子」(child)。

以上有許多觀察都顯示孩子是將自己放在一個持續發展的故事中。故事中有些知識需要在有些時候才需要知道。他們依照什麼是適當的、什麼是需要知道的來刻劃自己的故事。在此過程中，他們與主導的成人協商童年的意義；抗拒和生產自己童年的意義。因此，孩子不再很輕易的從成人認為不適當的素材中躲掉。他們很正面的選擇進入童年，而不是經驗到一個他們無可避免的狀態。

It's so embarrassing...”Family viewing

當我們在勾勒闔家觀看電視時，協商是其中最明顯的特徵。對許多孩子而言，闔家觀賞是一個獲得性知識的場景。其中可能慾望得到滿足，也可能被忽視。在此，家庭中成員對電視的解釋方式，提供機會讓孩子宣告童年或放棄童年，宣告進入成人角色或是放棄進入成人角色。

闔家共同觀看電視時，電視中出現的有關「性」的內容讓人尷尬。有這些尷尬的現象並不稀奇，但我們在此要討論如何「解釋」這個尷尬。一般而言，「覺得困窘」是結構在世俗成規中的。它代表的意義是身分 (identity)、在家庭中的地位 and 成熟度。它也代表著一種對於性的身分認可的需求，或是代表「性」的不可見的需求。事實上，父母和孩子要透過我們所謂的「困窘的交換」(embarrassment exchange) 來建構彼此的身分 (identity)。

因此，父母或是年長的兄姐藉由取笑孩子來展示他們的權威或是地位。有些父母面對電視上的親熱動作時，展現的並不成熟。他們會將 **Kissing** 視為玩笑，或是眼神轉向別處。有時候這類玩笑會導致受訪者的不滿。

雖然，有人認為父母的這些行為是投射自己本身的不安，但是，這些玩笑或眼神不但會引起相關對象的不安，也同時表示電視上的這些親熱行為是有問題的或是不適當的。

雖然，描述父母不安的行為也可使得孩子顯得的比父母世故。但也有些孩子，在描述自己的不安時，也顯示出是和父母一起觀看電視才有的狀態。他們必須將自己從場景中移出，或是跳脫出尷尬的眼光，才能重新思考。

有時青少年聲稱他們根本不想觀看媒體中與「性」有關的素材，他們對這些素材的拒絕代表著拒絕進入成年期。而「尷尬困窘」不但意味著孩子的身分和成人是不同的；同時也代表著孩子認知到自己有進入成人期的需求。

因此，尷尬不安的結果是指孩子他們想和父母一起觀看父母看的節目，也意味著如果孩子的房間有電視，他們想自己觀看這類的節目。有時，孩子會決定自己溜到樓上一個人看，這時父母的態度應該是「不要問」「不要告訴別人」，父母此時心知肚明，是了解而非挑戰孩子的決定。

“Overprotective parents”：accounts of parental regulation

孩子在解釋父母管束他們的觀看行為時，需要釐清「意識形態上的兩難」。也就是說，孩子一方面要考量父母的「過度保護」，另一方面有要顧及他們的「不負責任」。

其實，孩子知道如果父母不約束孩子看電視，等於承認他們不是好父母，而且會被其他人看扁。孩子知道好父母是會約束孩子的父母，孩子會小心的從正面的角度解釋父母的行為，這些現象顯示出孩子是非常成熟的，也因此父母信任他們。

雖然如此，孩子也會有許多策略來逃離父母的監管。他們會在朋友家、樓上觀看這類節目或是當聽到父母接近時趕緊轉台。但是，從對父母的訪談中也發現父母知道孩子的技倆，只是傾向不去追究。就如 **David Buckingham** 所言，孩子在家庭中並非毫無力量，雖然他們經常放棄誇大他們擁有的力量。

“too young to understand” or “fast at growing up” ?

一般而言，孩子對外來的約束充滿敵意。雖然，他們了解「分級」的意義，但是他們卻會抱怨對電影，或是電腦遊戲的分級。較大的孩子覺得自己 16 歲，可以有性行為，所以也應該可以觀看與性有關的節目。有些人反對一切的約束，認為一切都是「個人的選擇」，反正規則沒有任何拘束力。有些人認為「對媒體做決定」和對生活中的其他事物做決定一樣。當孩子認為自己是主動的做決定者時，外在的束縛是沒有用的。因為，外在的規章代表著「不自由」，他們將之視為敵人。

雖然，規則在孩子的身分認定和媒體實務上扮演積極的角色。規則幫助刪除某些孩子想要看的內容，而且幫助我們去尋找想要的內容。如影片的年代，或是分類，或是播出時間，都可以讓我們預期可能的內容。

這意味著，規則讓我們思考孩子與媒體間的關係。但是，規則提供給孩子的常模經常與孩子自己認為的發展階段相牴觸。多半的狀態是，孩子總覺得自己的發展階段超前。比如說，一個十歲的孩子 Bea 買了 teenager 雜誌，因為她覺得自己長大得很快。對她而言，「長大」不是發生「在她身上」(happened to her)，而是她可以達成的 (she can achieve)。而媒體的消費對她而言則是測量她長大的速度和是否成功長大的指標。

有些孩子甚至認為會對待自己的孩子更為嚴格；當談到比自己更為「年輕」的閱聽者時，孩子認為規範和約束是必要的，而且這樣的規約使得孩子成熟且有能力。

孩子通常自己認為自己是有「自我約束」能力的。當面對與「性」有關的素材時，許多孩子主動的選擇不去看它。當他們不小心撞見這些節目時，他們也會覺得反感。而且這些孩子會發展出一些適應策略來面對這些素材。

The dilemma of autonomy

我們的研究非常強調孩子的能力和主動性。但這個觀點也顯示出過度強調孩子作為「能自我控制的媒體消費者」可能有的困境。事實上，這樣的觀點也反映出成人面對孩子處於新環境時所有的壓力和兩難。

我們的受試者中沒有人依賴權威或是宗教。雖然如此，所有的孩子都會依靠雜誌或是肥皂劇來幫助他們學習。這些文本邀請孩子主動的參與他們提供的兩難問題或是議題的討論，而且孩子要對他們的行為負責。我們的受訪者對這些素材也會質疑，他們重複的表達自己喜歡更開放的故事形式或是呈現的方式，以便自己可以做決定。

事實上，青少年幾乎都不看雜誌上提供的勸說，但是雜誌上的信件也不能說沒有作用。有時候，青少年會做雜誌上提供的測驗題，這也是提供孩子自我評量的方式，或是提供訊息的方式。這樣的媒體可以提供閱聽者自我評鑑其慾望、態度和行為。雖然，孩子有時會拒絕雜誌所提供的結論，但是他們有時也會回應雜誌所提供的論述：包括他們可能是哪種人，他們的慾望在哪裡，當然最重要的還是他們自己對於性的行為的決定在哪裡。

至今，其實我們看到了獲得責任感的證據。孩子變的更是自我約束的媒體消費者，而且對自己的道德的發展和幸福負責。

我們已經指出孩子的洞察力，他們去覺知社會中對道德和倫理爭論，和作為一個媒體消費者所要有的能力。我們的結論是，孩子應該被視為一個主動的媒體消費者。在此，我們必須提出，應該更為強調現代公民的定義，而且作為一個現代公民要有的自我管束的基本權利。這會是一種形式的「增權賦能」，透過簡單的延伸技巧，政府就能培養出自我約束且負責任的個體。

當然，這個歷程要付出代價的。我們的受訪者多半提到他們經驗到的不公平的權力。如果孩子能被允許進入現代公民的領域，他們必須遵從社會規範和既有的儀式。而這些規範對某些人而言是非常沉重的。

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一個多元文化教育的新課題

林子斌

摘要：

隨著大眾媒體快速增加與全球化程度的增加，使台灣深受其影響。目前台灣學生花在看電視與使用其他媒體的時間日漸增加，而且當代社會中媒介訊息成為構築個人認同的主要來源。然而媒體並非全然呈現真實世界，反而在媒體文本內常充斥著許多與族群、性別、階級、次文化等議題相關之刻板印象、偏見與錯誤的再現。這些媒體內容在個人社會化過程中有相當的影響力。為使學生能悠游於數位時代的多元社會中，應該將媒體素養教學視為多元文化教育的一個層面。在本文中首先探討媒體全球化與台灣媒體環境變遷對台灣多元文化教育所帶來之衝擊與挑戰。其次，採用美國與英國的實際例子說明如何運用媒體素養教學作為實踐多元文化教育的一種方式。文末建議媒體素養應被視為台灣多元文化教育所面對的新課題，並且應該被整合進多元文化教育的實踐中。

關鍵字：多元文化教育、媒體素養、媒體全球化。

壹、前言

2002年十月由前任教育部長召開記者會公布「媒體素養教育政策白皮書」，正式宣示台灣將由教育主管機關來推行媒體素養教育⁽¹⁾（Media Literacy Education）。放眼國際，媒體教育（Media Education）在許多國家早是正式課程的一部份，由歐洲的英國、法國、芬蘭、德國到北美的加拿大、美國及南半球的澳洲與紐西蘭等國，皆設有媒體教育相關課程，並且常作為一個跨課程領域的要素或與多元文化課程或公民教育相關課程結合。

首先，以歐洲的英國與芬蘭為例，英國早在1930年代便開始有與電影媒體相關的媒體課程，是全球推行媒體教育歷史最悠久的國家，並且是正式學校課程的一部份（Boyd-Barrett, 2000; Buckingham, 2003; Masterman, 1998）；芬蘭則在1994年將媒體素養教育列入官方正式課程（Tuominen, 1998），並在赫爾辛基大學內成立媒體素養研究中心。其次，澳洲媒體教育肇始於1970年代多元文化主義的興起，並作為回應西歐與美國好萊塢流行文化對當地文化影響的一種方式（教育部，2002）。美國媒體教育的發軔約與澳洲同時期，主要是以電視為媒體教育的主軸，教授批判性收看電視的技巧（television critical viewing skills）（Brown, 1991）。而且由於媒體在當代流行文化中所扮演的關鍵角色，在1990年代初期開始，美國批判教育學界將媒體教育納入其論述之中（McLaren & Hammer, 1996; McLaren, Hammer, Sholle & Reilly, 1995）；此外，媒體中所塑造並傳遞的種族、性別與階級等等形象與意識形態所具有的影響力也使得媒體內容成為美國多元文化教育所關注的重點之一。而在加拿大的學界與熱心人士會主動譴責媒體中對少數族裔團體不平衡、有偏見與不正確的報導，並且將媒體與少數族裔團體的關係視為是該國推動多元文化社會中重要的環節之一（Fleras, 1995）。

⁽¹⁾ 媒體素養教育（Media Literacy Education）是目前台灣所採用的名稱。在美、加多以媒體素養、媒體素養課程/方案（Media Literacy Curriculum/Project）來稱呼此一教育實踐；英國、歐陸及澳洲、紐西蘭則是以媒體教育（Media Education）為名。在聯合國教科文組織（UNESCO）1982年、1992年、2000年與2001年的出版物中，皆使用媒體教育此一名稱。以下為行文方便將統一使用媒體教育一詞。

本文旨在探討媒體全球化影響下多元文化教育的因應之道 – 應以媒體教育所培養之媒體素養⁽²⁾作為資訊時代傳遞多元文化價值的方式。文中第一部份為背景的介紹，說明媒體全球化之現況與台灣目前的媒體環境。其次，討論前述兩者對多元文化教育帶來之衝擊與挑戰；接著以英國與美國的教育實踐為實例，說明媒體素養如何與多元文化教育結合。最後提出數位時代的台灣多元文化教育之可能走向作為結論。

貳、媒體全球化與台灣的媒體環境

一、媒體全球化

全球化做為一個概念，其所代表的是一種時空的壓縮以及世界是一個整體之意識的強化（Robertson, 1992）。全球化不僅是由經濟的層面來看，而且還包括著文化的層面。而媒體全球化則為廣大全球化現象中的一環。

廣義地說來，媒體所包含的範圍由傳統的印刷媒體（書籍、報紙與雜誌等）到影音媒體（電影、廣播、電視、錄影帶等）與新興的數位電子媒體（網路、DVD、數位影像、第三代行動電話等）。這些透過不同媒介傳遞資訊的種種形式已成為當代生活中不可或缺的一部份，甚至某種程度上形塑著個人的認同。正如Barker（1999）論及電視時所提到的，電視儼然成為全球文化資本中的主要源頭之一。而Giddens所舉的例子便可說明媒體全球化所帶來的影響力（陳其邁譯，2001）：

我有個朋友在中非研究村落生活。幾年前她第一次遠行，進行田野調查。她抵達的那天，便獲邀前往當地家庭參加晚間宴樂。她希望在這偏遠村落能得見傳統時光，結果卻是看「第六感追緝令」（Basic Instinct）的錄影帶，當時這部片子連倫敦的戲院都還沒上映。（11）

當然，這是個比較特別的例子（尚牽涉到著作權、盜版等議題），但是卻很傳神地表達出媒體傳播的速度其實是遠超過我們一般人想像；並因此顯現出媒體

⁽²⁾ 媒體教育與媒體素養並非同意詞：媒體教育是代表整個教育的過程；而媒體素養則是其結果（詳細的討論請參考 Buckingham, 2003）。

全球化的影響力。

媒體是現代最主要的文化表現與溝通媒介，想成為能主動參與公眾事物的人，個人必須具有使用現代媒體的能力（Buckingham, 2003; Sunstein, 2001）。媒體在現代社會中成為社會化過程裡最主要的力量。同時，Silverstone（1999）指出，媒體是「位居經驗的核心，並且決定我們是否有能力理解我們所生活世界」。而Buckingham（2003）更提出媒體是日常生活中「象徵資源（symbolic resources）」重要來源的觀點，象徵資源所代表的就是我們日常生活中用來經營及詮釋人際互動關係並用於界定認同的資源。

例如，1980年代的芝麻街（Sesame Street）到1990年代英國國家廣播公司（British Broadcasting Company, BBC）所製播的天線寶寶（Teletubbies）節目，透過各國的無線、有線電視系統播放已經成為許多幼童的童年記憶。對兒童來說，迪士尼（Disney）的卡通人物更是熟悉的文化產品。同時對某些成人而言，迪士尼的世界代表著一種對童年的懷想；但在其他人眼中，迪士尼便成為帝國主義侵略的先鋒（相關的論述可參考 Byrne & McQuillan, 1999）。再以美國的連續劇為例，從早期的朱門恩怨（Dallas）到最近的六人行（Friends）、慾望城市（Sex and the City）在美洲、歐洲以及亞洲地區皆掀起收視熱潮並成為一種文化現象更可證明媒體文本的全球流通性。新媒體科技的出現與媒體全球化的情況改變媒體的環境，並且使得資訊的流動加速。

同時，隨著媒體全球化引發出文化帝國主義（cultural imperialism）的相關論述，這些論述展現出一種恐懼 – 人們畏懼原屬於自身之文化認同與世界上之文化多樣性將可能消失在全球化的過程裡。早在1983年，法國文化部長就將「朱門恩怨」影集視為是美國文化帝國主義的象徵（引自馮建三譯，1994）。媒體工業與通訊科技的發展使得人們不用出門就能在家中看到世界各地的風俗民情、最新時事，人們變成了「搖椅中的旅行家（armchair travellers）」（Barker, 1999）。然而，媒體的全球化是否就像法國人（或世界上許多其他人們）所擔心的將產生一個一致性的全球（美式好萊塢）媒體文化呢？事實上，文化帝國主義的觀點在1980年代以降便遭受到許多挑戰。雖然目前媒體文化與相關的文化論述之潮流，雖然主要是由西向東、有北向南傳播，但這並非必然

趨勢而且非西方價值就絕對處於支配的地位。在全球化的過程裡，同化與異質化這兩種力量是同時存在的（Barker, 1999）。

此外，根據Tomlinson的看法，媒體涉入日常生活無法構築一個同質的媒體文化經驗，反而帶來冷淡與疏離 – 將人們與遠方的事物隔絕開來（鄭榮元、陳慧慈譯，2001）。不僅在全球的範疇，即使在國家內媒體的個人化（如寬頻電視、數位電視等可由使用者決定收視的節目種類與收視時間）潮流也會使得公民參與公共事務、聆聽不同聲音的意願降低（Sunstein, 2001）。但是，不論媒體全球化將帶來何種結果？是高同質性社會文化的出現抑或是分眾市場、個人化的興起。然而媒體文化對當代生活的影響 – 尤其是形塑認同上之影響力 – 是不容小覷的。正如Kellner（1995）所指出的：

媒體影像有助於形塑我們的世界觀與深層價值 人們由出生到死亡都活在一個媒體與消費社會裡，因此學著如何了解、詮釋及批判媒體之訊息與意義是十分重要的。

（xiii）

綜上所述，媒體全球化並不一定會造成一個同質性的全球（媒體）文化；不同的在地文化社群也好、個別閱聽人也好對同樣的全球性媒體文本會有著多元的回應。因此，會像Featherstone（1990）所認為的全球化過程下所產生的將會是許多全球文化（global cultures）。而在媒體全球化過程中，近年來台灣脈絡中的媒體環境也有著很大的改變，並且在社會與教育上造成許多影響。

二、台灣的媒體環境

自從1987年解嚴之後，臺灣日漸走向改革開放，且在全球化的推波助瀾之下。臺灣社會在各個層面出現許多變化，其中媒體工業的快速增長，便是其中之一。在傳統媒體中，以平面媒體為例，自1988年報禁解除後到民國91年，報紙由31份成長至474份，而雜誌由約3000份增長成8140份（GIO, 1999, 2002）。電子媒體方面，根據行政院新聞局的統計，臺灣家戶擁有電視機的比率，已經是達到百分之百，無線電視臺由三台（台視、中視及華視）變為五台（增加了

公視及民視) (GIO, 1999)。而有線電視自從1993有線電視法通過之後，不到十年之間，臺灣家戶中擁有有線電視比率已經高達百分之八十，成為亞太地區有線電視普及率最高的國家。而在新媒體的使用上，根據數據顯示台灣上網人口普及率高達41%；寬頻普及率為世界第二(林子強，2003)。

根據吳知賢(1998)的研究，目前臺灣社會一般家庭以看電視作為主要休閒活動，每天平均開機時間約七個小時，兒童看電視時間遠超過遊戲或看書時間，這些孩子們在十八歲以前，累積花在電視螢幕前的時間大概是在學校時間的兩倍。此外，若再加上使用新興數位科技與媒體的時間，個人在使用媒體所花費之時間更是驚人。由此可見，媒體對一般大眾的影響其實遠遠超過學校教育，而教育主管機關也承認媒體的影響力；因此教育部在2002年公佈媒體素養教育政策白皮書並在2004年成立媒體素養教育委員會。根據教育部(2002)所公佈之政策白皮書提到：

教育學界大多數人都注意到「學校」這個體制，如何改變了一百多年來國人的教育過程和教育內涵，尤其是學校如何取代家庭，成為主要的教育場所。但是較少人知道，電視興起以及大眾傳播媒介發達的過去這四十年，媒體已經成為國內青少年和兒童的第二個教育課程，甚至直逼「學校」，有取而代之成為第一個教育體制的可能。媒體在教育上，不但進一步邊緣化了家庭的教育角色，也逐步瓦解、威脅與動搖了學校的權威地位。(1)

在教育主管機關把媒體稱為「第二個教育課程 (Second Curriculum)」並認為有可能取代學校「成為第一個教育體制」；教育主管機關已開始意識到媒體對學生的影響以及其對教育體制所帶來的挑戰。綜上所述，可見媒體不論在全球與台灣的脈絡中皆已成為年輕世代最主要的生活經驗來源。

參、媒體全球化對多元文化教育之影響

一、台灣의多元文化教育

一般認為，多元文化主義 (multiculturalism) 是隨著60年代美國的民權運動而興起的，爾後再加入女性以及其他弱勢團體的努力，而在80、90年代開始

受到重視，而進入興盛時期。然而對於多元文化的定義正如其名稱一樣多元，正如Kincheloe & Steinberg（1997）所指出「多元文化主義指涉一切而同時卻又一無所指。....當人們使用多元文化教育這個詞時，他至少與下列議題之一有關：族群、社經地位、性別、語言、文化、性傾向或是身心障礙。」

而這股多元文化主義思潮反映在教育實踐上，便出現了多元文化教育，其所涵蓋的教育議題亦如Kincheloe & Steinberg所述，是相當多元。正因為最初是由種族議題引發多元文化教育熱潮，在台灣往往就有人將其等同于原住民教育，但如此一來便窄化多元文化教育的內涵。在臺灣本土脈絡下的多元文化教育，根據不同學者的界定，至少包含性別、階級、族群關係、原住民教育及鄉土教育等面向（張建成，2000；譚光鼎、劉美慧、游美惠，2001）。而莊勝義（2001：10）則提出多元文化教育中的兩個重要概念是「文化差異」與「身分認同」：「文化差異被擴大並加以褒貶之後，往往造成錯誤的認同或錯誤的肯認」。

綜上所述，認同在這些與多元文化教育相關的教育實踐裡，是個無法迴避的議題。認同的形成是個多層面、變動的過程，而根據孟樊（2001）所指出認同可分為個人認同與社會/文化認同 – 個人認同主要是指一種個人的心理狀態、自我的建構；而社會/文化認同則是代表個人在各種社會情境中所感受到的人我關係。在本文中將主要探討文化認同。在一個多元文化的社會中，個人或是社群應有一種傳遞、表達其文化認同的文化權力（cultural rights）存在（Parekh, 2000）。這種權力正如公民權、政權、經濟權一樣，應該是人權的一部份，而多元文化教育的目的正應維護不同族裔、社經背景學童對自身文化的認同。但是，文化認同並非指涉一個普同的、固定的認同，反之應為一在獨特歷史、文化脈絡下所形成社會建構之認同（Barker, 1999）。影響文化認同的因素相當多，而在現代社會中，媒體所具有之穿透力與傳播能力使其成為構成文化認同的主要來源。

二、媒體對多元文化教育的衝擊與挑戰

目前我們所處的是一個媒介充斥的社會，而在當代社會中媒體所具有的特色可歸納為下列幾點：

- (1.) 媒體並非真實呈現世界；媒體只是提供一種對於真實世界的再現。
- (2.) 媒體絕非價值中立：不同的社會力量會影響著媒體的再現，例如：記者、製作人、政府等等都會影響著媒體的內容。換言之，媒體內容是經過選擇、裁剪、重新組合等過程的；而不同社會團體有可能將其所偏好的意識形態加入媒體文本中。
- (3.) 傳播通訊科技的發展會決定並改變媒體內容的形式，例如：數位科技的發展導致虛擬實境這類媒體文本的出現。

由於媒體的這些特色，所以在學生所獲得的日常媒體經驗中，難免會出現一些具有偏頗、刻板印象甚至是某些特定的意識形態。Marsh & Miilard (2000) 提出在某些媒體中會夾帶著許多關於「族群、階級與性別」刻板化印象之訊息，而這些都與商業市場有關。以下便以媒體與族群、性別、青少年次文化及跨國媒體（商業化）間的關係來作討論。

(一)、媒體與族群

首先在族群認同這個層面，正如Shohat & Stam (1994:6) 所述，媒體在「當代多元文化主義的討論中佔有一個重要的中心地位」，因為媒體在國族認同以及社群歸屬的複雜關係裡扮演著吃重的角色。以加拿大為例，從多元文化主義的角度來看待媒體如何呈現少數族裔此一問題，發現媒體常以下列幾種方式呈現少數族裔 (Fleras, 1995) 少數族群被：

- (1.) 描繪成隱形的、不相干的、
- (2.) 以刻板印象形式呈現、
- (3.) 視為一個社會問題、
- (4.) 作為娛樂或節目點綴的代表。

同時，在英國身為少數族裔一份子的文化研究學者Hall (1974) 就提到，要改變對少數族裔的負面印象，不是僅靠螢幕上多出現一些少數族裔的面孔或是幾個探討議題之紀錄片可以消解的；他並指出媒體大多只是反應主流中產階級的經驗。此外，美國黑人女性主義者hooks (1992) 也曾經就媒體與少數族

群關係做出評論，她提到：

在再現這個領域中鮮少有變動。打開一份雜誌或一本書、打開電視、看部影片或看一幅陳列在公共空間的攝影作品，我們常常看到黑人的形象是在增強與強化白人的優越。

(1)

而且除了影像的呈現外，媒體更以一些細微的方式來表現出種族主義的意識形態。Giroux (1998) 提到媒體除了以歷史性錯誤的再現了非白人的形象，更將此類意識形態以強調不純正的英語腔調、語言使用來彰顯其不同於白人，甚至於用來塑造關於語言誤用的刻板印象。而當美、加與英國發現這類問題存在於媒體與少數族群間時，在課程中納入媒體素養教育這一項是他們所採用的方法之一。

媒體對於少數族裔的再現是否公允，不僅影響該族裔的自我認同更同時影響整個社會（甚至是全球）對該族裔的觀感。因此Cortés (1991, 1995) 提到媒體有讓不同族裔背景的人得到增能或是減能（disempowerment）的功用。例如，在新聞節目以及娛樂節目中出現的族群印象，會與閱聽人原有的知識庫產生相互增強的效果，而造成刻板印象的增強。此外，Cottle (2000) 亦提到當代媒體一方面報導一些關於仇外的、種族主義的敘述，但是同時卻又常公開地承諾要塑造一個具有包容性的多族裔、多元文化的社會。由此可見，媒體在族群議題的塑造與再現上扮演著一個值得爭議的角色。

以台灣為例，對於這類媒體與族群議題的處理上，在學術研究上浦忠成 (1997) 曾提出原住民教育除了在學校層面的實踐外，還需要重視學校外的經驗（傳播媒體則為其一）之影響。而原住民文化行政層面則有行政院原住民委員會在「原住民族發展方案」內關於原住民的教育文化政策部份裡的立即措施之一提到「辦理原住民教育文化傳播媒體工作」；規劃辦理事項中亦有一項「健全原住民教育文化傳播媒體事業」（高德義，2000）。此外，2003年12月行政院原住民委員會發佈兩項新法規：一為「行政院原住民族委員會補助暨獎勵原住民族傳播事務作業要點」；另一為「行政院原住民族委員會扶植原住民族傳播團體推動傳播事務作業要點」。這兩項作業要點旨在透過補助來鼓勵台

灣社會大眾與原住民族內部進行與原住民族相關的傳播工作（製作與原住民文化傳統相關之節目、紀錄片等）並運用媒體來保留原住民文化、推展原住民相關之政策宣導、文化產業行銷等。此外，在原住民教育體系內，目前在國立東華大學原住民學院中設置有原住民語文暨傳播系。由這些措施可見台灣原住民族已開始重視媒體在其教育文化政策上所扮演的重要角色。

在教學實踐上，在劉美慧（1999）的《多元文化取向的社會科教學研究》中課程的設計裡，當處理泰雅族紋面議題以及介紹原住民文化時就利用田貴實的網路資源與介紹原住民文化特徵的影片－「山海的子民」－進行教學。而學生對於收視影片相當認真，這種方式能引起學生的學習興趣。這可算是結合多元文化教學與媒體內容的實例之一。

（二）、媒體與性別

在性別這個層面，媒體中的女性常被化約成好女人與壞女人兩種類別。若是對照男性的角色再現，兩性在媒體中所呈現的特質是非常不同的且有鮮明的刻板印象。例如Krishnan & Dighe歸納出最普遍的男女角色對比（引自 Barker, 1999）：

男性角色

自我中心
果斷
自信
找尋在廣大世界中的定位
放縱
有威嚴的
控制的

女性角色

犧牲奉獻
依賴
情緒化的/感性的
渴望被取悅
由家庭關係來定義世界
母性的

而且正如Derrida對二元對立的分析解釋，他認為在這種二分過程裡，會有一個優勢類別與一個從屬類別存在（引自 Marsh & Millard, 2000）。在一般的媒體論述中，女性通常都是處於從屬的狀態。以台灣媒體中亦充斥的一些性別刻板印象為例，吳翠珍（2002）曾探討台灣廣告中的性別角色比較：男性是外表陽

剛、有力；天生具有領袖特質；提供高經濟財貨給家人；窺視女人是男人天性。而相對的，女性是屬於家庭與家庭產品密不可分；照顧為天職；職場與家庭須兼顧；接受命令的服從者；個人的價值來自於男性的肯定；在容貌上須與其他女性競爭；女性被物化。具有性別刻板印象的媒體文本對追求兩性平等的社會是一大威脅，因為媒體文本在社會化與形塑個人認同過程裡是一個重要的資訊來源但錯誤或不當的資訊會讓人們產生錯誤的價值觀與不當的認同。以上述的兩個研究結果為例，男性與女性特質在媒體再現裡是一種互相排斥的關係，男性與女性的角色模範是互補的但不能對換 – 換句話說，男性特質不太可能出現在女性角色上而且反之亦然。偶有例外的情況時，具有某些男性特質的女性角色（或具有某些女性特質的男性角色）則常是帶有負面意涵的。以性別刻板印象對兒童的影響為例，根據吳翠珍（2002）的資料顯示，「收看電視越多的兒童對兩性角色模式與性別態度反而最易刻板化」。

張錦華（2000：23）提出「推動兩性平等教育時必須正式台灣媒體環境的問題」，因為學校教育的力量抵不過媒體這個潛在課程的影響力。此外，羅燦瑛（2001）也認為大眾媒體中的性別再現是一種刻板印象的複製與偏見的強化，而且更進一步強固了社會中既存之父權體制。而游美惠（2004：19）在探討小學多元文化性別教育的發展方向時，所提出的建議之一便是「配合媒體識讀教育⁽³⁾，發展相關的性別教育教學策略」；然而，文中並未詳述如何結合。綜上所述，將媒體素養與多元文化性別教育結合是個可行之道。不過，關於將這類理念轉化成中、小學內之教學實踐尚須更多結合媒體與多元文化性別教學的相關實證研究與教材編制。

（三）、媒體與階級議題

與媒體相關的階級議題可分為兩個層面：一個是由於社會階級不同所造成的數位落差（digital divide）；另一個為媒體文本中所充斥的中產階級文化與價值。首先，由於傳播科技的進步，在全球與在地的脈絡中皆造成數位落差的出現。所謂數位落差指的是不同的國家、社群或個體在媒體近用（access）程度間

⁽³⁾ 媒體識讀教育是Media literacy education的另一種翻譯，但根據教育部的政策白皮書是將其譯為媒體素養教育。

之差距。在台灣媒體脈絡中，方念萱曾指出「數位落差牽涉到與科技的運用、接近使用的權力關係和階級關係」（引自黃威葳，2004：9）。根據 Buckingham（2000）的調查，在英國勞動階級孩童接觸個人電腦的機會不到中產階級兒童的一半。此外，根據另外一項在1990年代於英國所進行的研究發現，中產階級兒童在家使用多媒體電腦的比例大約是勞工階級兒童的三倍，而網路使用則更為勞工階級兒童的八倍（Livingstone and Bovill, 1999）。而根據行政院研考會在2001年所進行之調查發現，在台灣擁有電腦與使用網路的比率與年齡及社經背景（學歷、收入、居住地區等）是呈現正相關。年齡較輕、學歷高、收入高以及居住地都市化程度越高者在電腦擁有率與網路使用率上也是呈現越高的情況（李孟壕，2003）。

其次，媒體文本中所傳遞的多為主流與中產階級的意識形態的情況亦是受多元文化教育者們所批判的。最典型的例子就是天才老爹（The Cosby Show）－一個與黑人家庭相關的節目內容傳遞的不是黑人文化的價值或反映大多數美國黑人的生活實況，反而是套用白人中產階級的形態與價值（Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997）。媒體文本中所傳遞的社會階級價值多是單一的、中產階級的，然而卻忽略了社會階級之多樣性。以近來台灣的連續劇－例如：台灣龍捲風這類的戲劇－所描繪的多是中上階級之生活。但是就國內多元文化教育相關研究中，與階級相關之研究並不多，所積累的研究上不足以深入的探討多元文化教育脈絡下之階級議題。正如張建成（2000：V）提到：

過去國內學者雖不乏關切社會流動、教育階層化，或階級與教育之交互作用者，惟其研究若非以量化的統計程式來考驗社經地位、教育成就等變項的回歸係數或預測路徑，便多是引用西方社會學的觀點及學說，來旁證國內可能存在的文化再製現象。以致國內有關階級文化及其教育對應之田野資料，尚不夠具體，很難用來完成一篇有份量的報告。

綜上所述，雖然社會階級的議題在台灣並不若族群、性別等議題顯著。不過根據前述統計資料發現台灣人的媒體使用隨著社會階級的不同而異；而且台灣媒體文本內容對社會階級的再現也是相當單一，並未反應社會的真實階級狀況。由這兩點可見媒體的階級議題是存在台灣社會中，只是相關的研究不足。

（四）、媒體與青少年次文化

此外，以青少年這個群體來看，媒體經驗是構成青少年次文化的重要因素。回應次文化的議題也是多元文化教育的任務之一。如何教導下一代面對迅速變動的媒體環境？教育體制中如何能適當回應學生的生活經驗？如何將學生的經驗整合入教學中？目前所見的大多數教師與校方所採用的策略是防堵多於教育。作為一個從事多元文化教育的教育工作者，了解、同理與因勢利導會比防堵、禁止、試圖消滅來的有用。由於新媒體的推波助瀾、一日千里的發展，使得學校課程內容與學生經驗脫節的情況日漸顯著。目前正式的學校課程中幾乎沒有教受學生如何面對與解讀媒體內容，如何妥善運用現代媒體並獲得適當的媒體素養以便悠游於資訊社會中。

以早期對電視媒體暴力影響青少年的行為到近來網路咖啡的現象為例，媒體似乎成為一個造成學生行為問題、中輟的主因。但事實上真是如此嗎？回顧一下當成年人在面對新興科技與科技在年輕世代中所衍生出的次文化時，所採用的策略多為負面的，諸如：限制使用時間或是禁止。有多少成年人（教師與家長）會聽聽孩子或學生的聲音、了解年輕世代的新興次文化呢？

但是，在一個多元文化的社會情境中，成年人是否忽略這些電子媒體本身並無害，而是使用者的使用方式、使用過程中出了問題。正如 Buckingham (2000: 103) 指出的，「對於成長於電視時代的人們來說，新興的電子媒體越來越難以理解及控制」。不了解、不知如何引導等原因都可能產生恐懼，並且因此將網路污名化以便避免成人可能面對的此種窘境。目前成人與年輕世代在數位媒體使用上已出現代溝 (generation gap)，成長在數位時代的世代對電子數位媒體掌握暨使用能力可能優於許多成長在電視時代的成年人。

由歷史發展角度來看，我們所謂的童年，其定義會隨不同社會文化脈絡而異。學術研究方面，對於兒童發展的研究受發展心理學 – 認為兒童心理發展有一定的階段性；以及結構功能論 – 強調兒童是未社會化的並且重視兒童社會化的過程 – 這兩種觀點所主導 (Jenks, 1996)。然而，在社會學主流論述中並未將兒童視為一個獨立社會分類，但是1980年代中期由 Jens Qvortrup 開始對兒童及童年議題採用一種全面的社會學取向來探討，使情況改變 (Mayall, 2003)。兒童不再僅被視為一無所知、純潔的需要成年人來照顧的社會分類，代之而起

的是一些對兒童在社會結構中定位的分歧觀點，例如：將兒童視為是媒體傳播的受害者、具有能動性（agency）的個體或是一個有潛力的消費群體等（Buckingham, 2000）。

除了對兒童或青少年這些社會分類的重新定義之外，對次文化看法的一有不同。因此，難道成人不該來反思新世代的流行事物真的都是對他們不好的這種觀點是否也該有所調整呢？網路及線上遊戲真的對新一代只有負面的影響力嗎？當前許多人由於對網路這個新興媒體的恐懼，使得他們害怕網路將毒害下一代、增加青少年犯罪率，使國家民族未來的希望沈淪於虛擬實境的世界裡！然而，回想1970、1980年代，家長們不也諄諄告誡青少年與兒童不可以多看電視。將當年對電視的恐懼與如今對網際網路的恐懼相比，情況是否有相似之處呢？當前是否正因為成人對網路世界的陌生，使得我們害怕它呢？正如，Hammer與Kellner（2001）提到對電腦與互動式多媒體的偏見可能反映出無法掌握這些科技與形式的教師對科技（使用）能力的缺乏與害怕。

此外，除了族群、性別、青少年次文化等這些面向外，在媒體中對弱勢團體形象的塑造、社會議題的再現、流行風潮的引動、對歷史事件的呈顯及鄉土意識的構築等等都影響著人們的認同。例如媒體對愛滋病的呈現，其實很嚴重地影響著社會大眾，造成人們認為愛滋病患都是同性戀的印象；甚至在某種程度上媒體將愛滋病給污名化⁽⁴⁾。

（五）、跨國媒體產業所帶來的影響

部分教育學者認為具有全球影響力的跨國媒體產業，例如迪士尼的卡通和電影、某些跨國企業的商业廣告與夾帶強大媒體工業力量的好萊塢，是傳遞白人優越、種族歧視以及性別刻板角色的幫兇（Giroux, 1994; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Tobin, 2000）。正如 Tobin（2000）所指出的：

許多迪士尼的兒童電影，包含海角一樂園，存有許多侮辱性的族群刻板印象，尤其是在那些壞人的角色刻劃方面。那些對媒體族群再現複雜關係缺乏了解的幼童很可能被這些刻板印象迷惑或誤導。這是個值得憂慮的現象，許多兒童可能像身處在美國社會的少數

⁽⁴⁾ 關於媒體對愛滋病的呈現，國內相關研究請參考徐美苓（2001）所進行之研究。

族裔兒童萊皙 (Lacey) 情感上可能被電影中所塑造關於他們族群的負面再現所傷害。

(55)

這種情況可能會造成少數族裔的兒童不認同自己的文化與族群，甚至可能將白人或社會中優勢文化的價值觀內化。在流行的媒體文化中常見將西方的歷史神聖化同時貶抑非西方的歷史，學生常常自然而然的吸收這類觀點而不自知。

相較於電影的影響，電視的全球化所帶來的改變是將某些特定的文化價值與認同更全面、更有力的滲透到人們的日常生活中。Barker (1999) 提到：

由於電視傳布一種我們所認同或反對的階級、性別、族群、年齡與性的拼貼式再現，所以全球化時代中的電視是文化認同建構的關鍵點。也就是說，電視是一個持續增殖與持續全球化的資源，一個文化認同建構與不同意義競逐的場域。(169)

尤其在台灣在電視與有線電視的普及率上是亞洲第一，幾乎所有家戶都有電視與有線電視。所以電視的影響力更是不容忽視。雖然報紙、雜誌、廣播、電視、電影這些媒體，也許只反映部份的真實人生，但如果其中包含對某些族群、性別或是階級的刻板印象，對接收媒體訊息的閱聽人所造成的衝擊難以避免 (黃葳威，1999)。

跨國媒體、跨國企業其最主要的目的之一便是要有獲利。所以媒體的商業化很難避免，甚至已成為其本質之一。以迪士尼為例，在該公司的網站內與投資相關的網頁有著這麼一段文字 (林佑聖、葉欣怡譯，2001：39)：

迪士尼最重要的目標就是以創造、策略以及與金融為基礎，建立一個世界級首屈一指的娛樂公司，以便創造更多的利潤。

然而媒體的商業化與多元文化教育有何關係呢？在此，以Ferguson (2003) 對另一個全球性跨國公司 — 可口可樂1980年代末期在英國所製播的廣告中意識形態分析為例：來自世界各地的兒童在英國利物浦 (Liverpool) 以十九種語言拍攝，一位金髮的女孩先以英文唱出主題曲，其他膚色、種族的兒童漸次快樂地手牽手加入，象徵著四海一家的景況，最終出現一行小字，「一個來自可口

可樂製造者的希望訊息（A message of Hope from the people who make Coca Cola）」。明顯地試圖以一種多元文化的方式呈現可口可樂是一個所有族群都可以享受、大家共同喜好的飲料，而且生產可口可樂的人們希望能有一個多元、平等的世界。乍看之下，這是個符合多元文化理念的廣告，其背後所蘊含的卻是鼓勵人們消費、購買可口可樂的訊息並忽略目前全球資源分配極度失衡的狀態。例如，消費可口可樂需要某種程度的經濟基礎，遠非許多處於飢餓狀態、三餐不繼的人們所可以消費的。包裹著多元文化糖衣的廣告內卻隱含著一個，「沙文主義、種族主義與恐外症糾結」的事實（Ferguson, 2003）。由此可見，透過對媒體文本的分析，可以揭露這些隱藏的意識形態。

在台灣的情境中，媒體商業化的情況也很明顯。媒體有其商業利益考量，必須不斷推出高收視率的節目，所以常常會發生一種情形，電視節目為追求高收視率，依照主流需求來製作節目，而閱聽人們在收視的過程之中又受到電視節目的影響，更可能複製主流的文化價值形成一種迴圈過程。所以在教育部（2002）的白皮書中提到台灣媒體高度商業化的本質，其實就是媒體亂象的主要成因。

三、媒體素養與多元文化教育

（一）、媒體素養的意義

媒體素養（media literacy）此一概念是由素養（literacy）這概念延伸而來的，所以在說明合為媒體素養前，需要先了解素養的意涵。不過正如Graff（1987）指出的，素養是個持續變動的概念，所以若要討論素養則必須先給它下個定義。一般而言，素養最簡單的一個定義就是「具有讀與寫的能力（an ability to read and write）」（Brereton, 2001；Graff, 1987）；而且最初素養這個概念是「多與印刷媒體相關」（Potter, 1998）。而國內研究中則是將素養一詞區分為兩個層次：一為人們日常生活中所需要之基本能力；另一為則是為基本的讀寫能力（張一蕃，1997）。這些論點或多或少都反應出素養這個概念是與書寫、識字能力脫不了關係。早期或許是如此，然而隨著時代的演進，自從電影出現後圍繞在人們日常生活中的媒介已不再是只有文字（或者說印刷媒介）而已。所以有些人認為，在現代社會中必需要將傳統的素養概念將以擴充，以

符合這個時代多變的媒體環境。例如，張一蕃（1997）提出在資訊時代中的素養是「個人與外界做合理而有效的溝通或互動所需具備的條件」。

在目前資訊社會的脈絡中，人際間的溝通多是透過媒體。媒體素養便是這種情況下的產物，其出現受到下列因素的影響：1. 學術理論創新（如符號學），使語言、文字不再被視為是唯一的符號系統、2. 媒體科技的發展，使得動態影像的製作、改變與傳布越來越簡易方便、3. 多元素養（multiliteracies）理論（Cope & Kalantzis, 2000）的提出，使得不同層次、不同媒介的素養能力得到重視。

Buckingham（2003）提出媒體素養一詞指涉為了使用與詮釋媒體所需要的知識、技術與能力；更指出媒體素養並非只是一種功能性的素養，還必須是個具有社會性、批判性的能力。這正回應前述張一蕃對素養定義中的要素，具有社會性就代表著個人與外界的互動關係、批判性則代表進行合理與有效溝通的必要條件。換言之，媒體素養代表著使用與詮釋媒體的能力；但同時它代表著一種對媒體各層面廣泛的分析性理解。

（二）、多元文化教育中的媒體素養

媒體內容常被視為無益於學生學習，甚至是讓學生「變笨（dumbing down）」；許多教師對於媒體內容甚至會有不適的感覺，因為他們對那些隱藏在其後的暴力、族群、性別與其他壓迫形式的意識形態感到不安（Marsh & Millard, 2000）。這種對於傳播與媒體的不信任與恐懼，早在英國作家喬治·歐威爾（George Orwell）於1948年出版的小說「1984」⁽⁵⁾中有著深刻的描述與呈現，書中充滿對媒體宣傳的不信任與受到媒體監視的恐懼。在某些人的想法裡，媒體是國家宣傳意識形態與監控的機制；媒體是一種意識形態國家機器（Althusser, 1977）。不可否認的，對媒體的畏懼一直延續至今，例如在1998年好萊塢電影「全民公敵（Enemy of the State）」中所呈現對傳播科技的無孔不入、對媒體再現之不可信任與國家機制操控媒體通訊及衛星科技的恐懼。新科技的出現似乎代表著新恐懼的發生。

⁽⁵⁾ 書中描述1984年的世界，分成三個政治勢力。書中主要描述主角生活在一個極權統治的國家，媒體是政治宣傳與監控的工具。「老大哥正在看著你（Big Brother is watching you!）」是書中名句；也是後來流行歐美窺視節目「Big Brother」名稱的來源。

這種恐懼媒體的觀點似乎可由「道德恐慌（moral panic）」的角度來解釋。現代社會對這些新媒體所帶來之文化現象的回應（部份亦是受到媒體傳播的增強）。正如Brereton（2001）所述：

道德恐慌[的情況]是在媒體的助長之下引發或強化社會大眾對社會中某些特定因素的恐懼或不滿 大眾媒體本身亦為這種恐懼的焦點，在每個對新媒體的反對運動中總是會找到一些理由關於新媒體最危險之處在於其運用新的偽裝技術[行欺騙大眾之實]。
(115)

對於新通訊與媒體科技的恐懼，受到媒體本身的傳布使社會大眾對於媒體之恐懼、不滿日漸增加。對於媒體的道德恐慌情況，亦是透過媒體傳播變成一般大眾的恐懼來源之一。然而，身為家長與教育工作者的成人們是否有考慮到，目前傳播科技與新媒體的發展一日千里；而且這種發展是個不可逆的潮流。我們是要繼續讓我們的下一代在成人所認為安全的環境中（也就是遠離令人害怕的媒體環境，例如電視、網路等）停滯不前還是積極的了解這些改變並尋找適當的方式來讓下一代適應新時代的挑戰呢？

在這種社會脈絡下，應該如何界定媒體素養與多元文化教育的關係？首先，根據Shohat & Stam（1994）的觀點，西方文明被視為帶來毀滅的普羅米修斯（Prometheus）⁽⁶⁾，對於世界上其他文明是一種威脅；同時他們認為在當前全球流行文化與大眾媒體中則充斥著西方文明的代表 – 歐洲中心主義（Eurocentirsm）；他們認為以多元文化主義的角度來解讀媒體文本可以減少其影響力（請參考Shohat & Stam, 1994）。

其次，在McLaren 與 Hammer（1996）的文中曾指出批判媒體素養（critical media literacy）能建構出轉型及解放的基礎 – 一個讓「差異政治（politics of differences）」能夠立足的基礎；同時，批判媒體素養所培養的批判能力有助於大眾發展成「抵拒的社群（communities of resistance）」，提供一個反主流支配的領域及一種「對抗的教育（oppositional pedagogies）」型

⁽⁶⁾ 普羅米修斯是希臘神話中的人物，為了人類而由奧林帕斯山上將火帶到地面給人類。從此人類才有火，並開始進入有火的文明時代。

態，因此使一般大眾能夠抗拒主流所支配的、看似合法的傳播形式。因此，McLaren 與 Hammer建議將後現代主義納入批判媒體素養，使這種媒體素養能夠分析媒體對於主體性以及所謂客觀真實之建構，並發現資本主義如何巧妙的透過多樣的媒體知識，將其自身注入社會的實踐以及個人的訊息接收裡（引自 Pinar, 1995）。能夠肯認差異就能夠容許多樣的、不同的文化認同共存；並且進一步建構反主流論述的場域，形成反主流霸權且能與主流霸權競逐的論述。不過，批判媒體素養教學除了培養批判能力外，教師還必須注意在教授批判觀點時也應該重視學生的「自我反省（self-reflection）」能力之培養；批判與自省應是同樣重要，否則很容易淪為只是灌輸給學生們一種教師所偏好的批判觀點（Buckingham, 1996, 2003）。

此外，Sleeter（1991）提到多元文化教育應該幫助學生主動的去發現自己的問題並從此過程中獲得增能。媒體素養教育就是藉由教授媒體的內容，由學生最日常的經驗中出發，讓學生能夠瞭解媒體中所呈現的問題，而在這些問題中又有哪些是與他們切身相關的，應該如何去面對。利用這些現成的媒體訊息，藉由媒體素養教學的實施，達到多元文化教育的目標。例如，媒體對青少年身體的再現、或是對減肥的強調或多或少都影響著青少年 – 減肥廣告傳遞一種瘦才是時尚，然而實際上過瘦亦是一種不健康的狀況；或者是媒體中所存在之族群、性別刻板印象。

綜合這些觀點，多元文化教育所養成的多元文化觀點有助於解讀媒體再現、減少其影響力，而媒體素養所培養的批判能力與自我反省可以轉化為差異政治存在的基礎；並進而提供一個反主流論述的利器 – 讓不同的群體能夠有發聲的機會。多元文化教育與媒體素養可是為相輔相成，有利於彼此的實踐；並且形式上是採用最貼近學生日常生活經驗的一種形式來進行。

肆、傳遞多元文化價值觀的媒體素養課程

在這個部份將以美國與歐盟（以英國為主）的實例來說明如何運用媒體文本分析（textual analysis）、媒體操作技術相關之媒體素養課程方案來協助兒童與青少年了解多元文化教育的內涵。將以Carlos E. Cortés的社會性課程理論、

Joseph Tobin在夏威夷所進行的實證研究與歐盟一項六國研究計畫「移民相關傳播中的兒童（Children in Communication about Migration, CHICAM）」為例。其中，Tobin的研究可與Cortés的多元文化媒體課程觀點互相印證。

一、媒體作為一種多元文化課程

Cortés（2000）指出在學校的教師開始談多元文化教育之前，由電視、電影等媒體所生產之媒體內容形成一種媒體教科書（media textbook），大眾媒體已經透過這種媒體教科書形式傳播多元文化教育的內涵。媒體教科書的性質與學校中傳統使用的教科書形式雖異但本質並無不同，同樣具有教育功效並且在有意或無意間傳遞知識給人們。媒體是教授差異性（diversity）的一項利器，Cortés（2000）認為學校教育中不應把這個有利於推展多元文化教育的媒介排除在課程外；他更強調如果教育工作者不認真的看待、了解媒體對「他者（otherness）」的再現，學校推行多元文化教育的成效將是有限的。

在此，社會性課程（the societal curriculum）的概念被提出，學生由這些非學校內的學習經驗習得涵蓋差異性探討等的議題。而社會性課程可以分成以下四類（Cortés, 2000）：

- (1.)直接課程：來自於家、家庭、同儕與鄰近地區的影響。
- (2.)機構性課程：來自一些人們能產生互動與學習的組織與機構如青少年團體、宗教機構與自願性協會。
- (3.)意外所得的課程：來自隨機出現的個人經驗，例如與陌生人互動或是出國。
- (4.)媒體課程：來自於不同形式的大眾媒體。

然而，上述四種社會性課程中，媒體是與現代人關係最密切的也是最重要的。在媒體的影響力以漸漸取代一些傳統的社會化力量（例如家庭、學校、社會團體，甚至是宗教）之時，媒體課程已經成為社會性課程裡最主要的一環。在其論述中，Cortés（2002）將媒體課程視為是所有社會性課程中最重要的並與其他三種產生交互作用增加其影響力。

媒體文本的分析與討論可以作為一種多元文化教學過程，並可將培養媒體

素養的媒體教育視為是多元文化教育中的一個實踐層面。Cortés (2003) 提出好萊塢電影亦能作為一種大眾的多元文化課程 (public multicultural curriculum) 概念 (可參考Cortés對好萊塢電影裡對跨族群愛情描繪之研究) ; 並認為媒體可以增加或減少族群自信心, 是個傳遞多元文化概念的利器。此外, 在性別層面他也提到在美國一些女性主義者擔心「艾莉的異想世界 (Ally McBeal)」這類影集會影響專業婦女的形象。在Cortés關於社會性課程的論述中, 媒體課程與多元文化教育間的關係多重於理論上的探討, 雖有舉例但缺少實際教室教學實踐的例子。然而, Tobin (2000) 的研究則正好提供一個教學實踐上結合媒體文本與多元文化教育的例子。

二、夏威夷媒體素養課程之研究

夏威夷是個多族裔族群並存的地區, 因此多元文化教育在夏威夷是個重要議題。而Tobin (2000) 則是利用媒體素養的理念在夏威夷一所小學為一群學生進行關於媒體暴力、族群、性別、殖民主義等議題之教學。

該研究所使用的媒體文本是收視兩部影片 - 《海角一樂園》 (Swiss Family Robinson)⁽⁷⁾及《黑神駒》 (The Black Stallion) 中所選取的片段。從中選取不同議題讓學生進行討論。他所採用的方法為參與觀察、焦點團體以及對部份參與者所進行的深度訪談。

(一)、性別層面

在性別議題的討論過程裡, 研究者觀察發現兒童與同儕團體一起觀看與談論影片的情境中, 這些兒童會將社會中可能出現的男性與女性互動呈現在對話中。例如, 在焦點團體訪談中男孩們會嘲笑喜愛芭比 (Barbie) 的女孩, 並藉這個共同點形成男性團體。此外, 男孩與女孩會採用不同方式展現男性與女性特質, Tobin (2000) 的觀察結論是:

男孩藉由展示他們對物理世界的知識... 與電影製作的知識... 藉由強調必須有比海角一

⁽⁷⁾ 1960年版的海角一樂園最近一次在英國電視公開播放的時間是2004年4月12日在英國國家廣播公司第一頻道 (BBC 1)。

樂園中更血腥與真實的場景才能使他們害怕來展現男性特質。... .. 女孩傾向以對影片中暴力受害者的同情與呈現她們是易受影片中暴力再現影響來展現女性特質。(41)

此外，在這個研究中還有其他發現，值得更深入的討論。例如，當討論的主題由媒體消費轉到媒體製作議題時，焦點團體中男女學生的權力關係突然變換：討論消費時，話題幾乎都由男性主導；然而到製作議題時，卻轉由女性控制。對於教師而言，這是了解學生對性別角色了解程度與展現性別特質的好機會；且在這種教學中可以試圖導人性別平等、彼此尊重與性別差異等概念。

(二)、族群層面

在族群方面，一群7至8歲的女孩（皆為少數族裔或混血）在收視《海角一樂園》的影片片段之後，開始一段關於族群議題的討論（Tobin, 2000）：

訪談者：那誰是那些壞人呢？

瑪麗亞（Malia）：那些在外面的人。

洛林（Loreen）：那些後來出現的人。

訪談者：你們如何判斷哪些是好人、哪些是壞人呢？

潔林（Jaylynn）：因為壞人會攻擊。

萊哲（Lacey）：不是，因為他們看起來、看起來

訪談者：因為他們會攻擊人？

萊哲：不是，因為他們看起來像，他們看起來比較壞而[好人]比較好。

訪談者：什麼使得壞人看起來壞？我不懂你的意思。

萊哲[拉住她的眼角]：像單眼皮（Chinese eyes） (54)

該片背景應為某太平洋小島，但是片中的海盜惡人清一色是由東亞人來飾演，而非符合真實的波里尼西亞人。影片中主要的壞人角色恰巧是由一位單眼皮日本人所飾演的。所以，對這些學生而言，單眼皮便成為壞人的特徵。然而，說出單眼皮看起來像壞人的女孩萊哲本身就是一位具有亞裔血統的美國人。由此段對話可以看出影片對兒童的影響。由於影片的再現使得少數族裔的兒童認同了白人導演所塑造的壞人形象 – 在這部片中壞人是亞洲人。不過，與這部影片

相比，該研究的焦點團體訪談過程中也發現學生對某些流行文化的角色認同是正面的，例如：快打旋風（Street fighter）遊戲中的東方女性角色春麗，因為這類角色是被以較正面的手法來塑造。

然而，反觀今日掌控全球電影市場之好萊塢電影與兒童頻道、電影之迪士尼影片中的壞人，大多數皆為有色人種而英雄多為白人男性。當少數族裔兒童看到自己的族群被媒體文本以負面方式呈現之時，他們會是怎樣的反應呢？是接受媒體的內容進而內化白人意識形態而厭惡自己的族群；或是能夠了解媒體的再現與產製過程、不受媒體影響甚至進一步扭轉媒體對其族群的錯誤再現呢？

雖然根據萊哲的例子無法推斷每個兒童收視後都會有一樣的回應；不過，媒體對兒童是有其影響力存在。然而，兒童受媒體影響的程度會根據其所處的社群與所接受教育方式不同而異（Tobin, 2000）。該研究提出的建議之一就是進行這種媒體素養的多元文化教學必須重視、配合當地社群的情境。因此，兒童所受的教育是否能提供他們對這些議題適當的了解，絕對會影響他們未來所表現出的態度。

根據此一研究與其結論，可以發現經由這類對媒體文本的討論，教師可了解兒童對多元文化議題所具有的原初意識形態並進而能找出適當引導方式來協助兒童建構合宜的多元文化觀。此外，亦可減低媒體錯誤或不當再現對兒童的影響。這個在教室進行的民族誌研究正好可以回應前述Cortés的媒體課程概念。

三、歐盟計畫

「在移民相關傳播中的兒童（CHICAM）」是由歐洲議會所贊助的六國（英國、德國、希臘、義大利、瑞典與荷蘭）研究計畫⁽⁸⁾。該計畫所探討有三個主要層面：1. 全球移民的增加、2. 新傳播科技的出現、3. 兒童的需要。主要的實證研究部份是著重在10至14歲移民或難民兒童如何使用新通訊科技來進行跨國界的彼此溝通。

⁽⁸⁾ 關於CHICAM計畫的相關文件可參考<http://www.chicam.net>。

在英國部份研究重點是著重在全英少數移民較密集的倫敦地區。透過媒體素養中所教授的媒體製作，使這些參與研究計畫的兒童具備使用數位攝影機與簡單錄影帶製作的能力。透過製作描述自己生活之錄影帶的過程，協助移民兒童探索、反省他們在新環境中的適應情況與所遭遇到的文化衝擊。在這個過程裡，兒童能夠有發聲、描述自己生活經驗的機會並探索屬於移民兒童的一種混雜認同。這些透過媒體製作所獲得之資料有助於教師、社會工作人員更深入了解移民兒童與推動多元文化教育。

在美國的例子裡可以發現媒體教育多著重於媒體文本的分析以及如何運用這種分析達到消除刻板印象的增能效果；但是，在英國卻是著重以媒體實作方式讓學生探索自我、文化認同，藉此達到增能的效果。這也正反映在媒體教育中的兩大取向：一重教師的意識形態啟蒙（媒體作為一種文本）；另一個則是重視學生自我探索（媒體作為一種書寫、探索的工具）。這兩種取向所強調的重點皆在將學生由媒體再現、媒體文本所建構的世界中「解放（liberate）」出來，並進一步地透過對媒體本質的了解達到「增能」的成果，最終獲得能讓個人悠游於數位媒體時代中的素養能力。

伍、數位時代的多元文化教育（代結語）

目前社會的特徵是疏離感與個人化增加，長久以來存在的社會信念體系及生活方式正處於一個解組的過程。全球化影響下所帶來的社會與空間流動性正消解傳統社會聯繫；而目前的年輕世代成長於更異質化、多元文化的社會，在台灣社會中不同的道德概念與相異的文化傳統（漢民族與原住民、不同世代次文化等）共存。國際上，不同文化間的相互影響與混雜的現象在媒體全球化的過程中日漸增多。在這種脈絡中，認同產生的過程以及個人在使用與詮釋文化現象的過程也會變的多樣。正如之前所提出的問題，教育該如何回應新媒體時代中（數位）媒體所帶來的嶄新挑戰呢？如何回應多元文化社會中學生多樣的媒體經驗呢？怎麼做才能讓下一代能有足夠能力面對新媒體時代呢？教育者不能再將自己視為傳遞正統文化價值（何謂正統？正統本身就是個該受質疑的概念）與規範學生的角色；反而必須了解學生的背景知識、文化內涵。他們最該

扮演的是讓學生了解多元真實（multiple realities）並引導學生探索多元知識形式的詮釋者（interpreters）角色（Buckingham, 2003）。

由於在這種社會文化脈絡下，一般教育所教授（以讀寫技術為主軸）的傳統素養已無法滿足學生在當前社會的需求。正如Hill曾指出的「過去二十個世紀的素養技能將無法帶領我們的學生進入下一個世紀」（引自 Bodin, 2001）；此外Bantock在1960年代末期曾指出學校教育內容無法反映大眾的真實生活，他認為（許瑞雯譯，1999）：

對勞工階級的孩童來說，接受教育的結果不但未能成功地引導他們完全地進入所謂的高層文化，相反地，卻是使他們對於唯一的生活方式與生活周遭的文化更加疏離。
「隱藏在學校多樣化課程中的世界是難應付與無法返歸單純的真實世界」（52-53）

時至今日，學校中所培養學生的素養能力，仍是無法完全回應學生的生活經驗。與學生相較，教師、學校方面對於電腦遊戲、網際網路、線上遊戲、聊天室等等議題的了解是不足的；因此更遑論將這些轉化入課程中。

然而，上述文化間的差異與傳播媒體的快速變遷等，意味著素養教學的內容也因該與時並進；因此，多元素養的概念被提出（Cope and Kalantzis, 2000），素養不再是單一層面的讀、寫能力的組合，而應該擴展至個人在現代數位資訊社會參與中所需要的各項能力，媒體素養則為其中最重要的一環。在文化多元、認同混雜且碎裂的數位科技時代，多元素養之培養應該是多元文化教育所需注重的並應以多元素養的培育作為多元文化教育的目標之一。然而，多元文化教育不應只針對少數族群；因此對全部學生所進行的多元素養教學是改變主流（Transforming the Mainstream）的一種方式（Kalantzis & Cope, 1999）。此外，根據Banks（1999）提出多元文化教育的目標之一便是協助學生發展基本讀寫與迎接電子時代之能力；而且Bodin（2001）更指出「一個具有探討媒體訊息裡潛在課程的教學技術就是一個全球規模的多元文化教育」。

根據前述的討論可以發現在當代社會最具影響力的非媒體（包括數位與傳統媒體）莫屬，而媒體文本及其再現又深深地影響著人們的文化認同、對社會群體的了解、對重大議題的認知等等層面，在在皆與多元文化教育息息相關。媒體所包括的議題之廣正提供教師許多選擇，如何運用媒體文本與培養學生之

媒體素養來增進他們對多元文化的理解並且更能適應新的數位資訊時代將是無法避免的趨勢。換言之，學校教育以及教師的任務應該在於提供學生機會與能力去解構那些在媒體中、流行文化中所具有的各種意識形態及權力關係。而這也正是目前在台灣的多元文化教育工作者必須正視的議題。

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New Aspect of Multicultural Education

– Media Literacy

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Abstract

Primary and secondary school students in Taiwan spend more time watching TV and consuming other media. Mediating messages become the main source of constructing one's identity in contemporary society. However, media do not represent the real world. On the contrary, there are lots of stereotypes, biases or misrepresented images about race, gender and subcultures in media texts. These improper representations have its influences on the process of individual socialization. It is suggested that media literacy should be a new task for multicultural educators and be a part of the broader project of multicultural education in Taiwan in the end of this paper.

Key words: Multicultural education, Media (literacy) education, globalization of media, identities.

本文載於

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原住民教育中媒體素養議題初探

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摘要：

媒體在現代社會中的影響力越來越大，在2003年底原民會新頒佈了兩項與媒體相關之規定。原住民族與媒體傳播的關係受到重視，而首先本文以探討原住民族與媒體之關係為起點，其中以媒體如何影響認同為切入點。其次，輔以三個國外媒體素養與族群教育之相關研究作為參考。最後，探討在台灣原住民教育中實施媒體素養教育的可行之道與可能會面臨之問題。

關鍵字：原住民教育、認同、媒體素養

壹、前言

傳媒科技隨著一波波的革新而愈加廣披。廣播在美國花了四十年才擁有五千萬聽眾，個人電腦推出後只花了十五年就有五千萬使用者。至於網際網路，從可供大眾使用至今不過四年的光景，就有五千萬的美國人經常上網。

– Anthony Giddens (陳其邁譯，2001)

2003年12月行政院原住民委員會發佈兩項新法規：一為「行政院原住民族委員會補助暨獎勵原住民族傳播事務作業要點」；另一為「行政院原住民族委員會扶植原住民族傳播團體推動傳播事務作業要點」。這兩項作業要點旨在透過補助來鼓勵台灣社會與原住民族內進行原住民相關傳播並運用媒體來保留原住民文化、推展相關政策宣導、文化產業行銷等。這可視為是原民會開始推動原住民相關傳播事業的正式起點；並且亦可當做原住民族在維護其文化認同、增進族群間了解的一個新措施。

然而，大眾傳播媒體與原住民族（及其認同）有何關連呢？為何當此政府經費有限之時特來推動這項獎勵補助措施呢？其中可能受到多方因素影響，而其中之一是因為現代人的生活中，媒體已是最重要的資訊來源；媒體在個人社會化的過程中所扮演的角色甚至於已經凌駕學校教育，而被稱為「第二課程 (Second Curriculum)」(教育部，2002：1)。事實上，對於原住民族與媒體關係的重視最初可在原民會民國87年的「原住民族發展方案」之內容中關於原住民的教育文化政策部份裡找到，在立即措施之一便是「辦理原住民教育文化傳播媒體工作」；而規劃辦理事項中亦有一項「健全原住民教育文化傳播媒體事業」(高德義，2000)。可見原民會已開始重視媒體在原住民族教育、文化上扮演的角色。

而且除了這類的政策宣示之外，學術研究方面亦有學者做出相關討論，例如：傳播媒體在原住民教育文化上之所扮演之重要角色(浦忠成，1997；胡台麗，1999)、或新聞報導中對原住民再現之相關研究(倪炎元，2003)、原住民對新聞報導內容之研究(黃葳威，2004)而且在傳播教育領域中亦有學者開始試圖以多元文化主義的觀點來檢視國內外新聞採寫教科書與原住民族之關係

（張錦華，2003）。不過這類研究多是由傳播、再現的角度切入，顯少有與原住民教育相關之研究。

本文將提出將近年來台灣地區由教育部所提出的媒體素養教育理念來融入進原住民教育（政策）內的建議，並視此種素養的培育為提升原住民傳播的紮根步驟。故在本文中，首先將探討媒體與原住民族的關係；並探討目前在台灣原住民相關政策中與傳播媒體相關之部份。接著，解釋何謂媒體素養；並說明其在原住民教育中可能之實踐方式與可能面對之問題。

貳、媒體與原住民族

一、媒體的重要性

自從民國77年解嚴之後，臺灣日漸走向改革開放，造成媒體工業的快速增長。在傳統媒體中，以平面媒體為例，自1988年報禁解除後到民國91年，報紙由31份成長至474份，而雜誌由約3000份增長成8140份（GIO, 1999, 2002）。電子媒體方面，根據行政院新聞局（1999）的統計，臺灣家戶擁有電視機的比率，已經是達到百分之百，無線電視臺由三台（台視、中視及華視）變為五台（增加了公視及民視）。而有線電視自從民國82年有線電視法通過之後，不到十年之間，臺灣家戶中擁有有線電視比率已經高達百分之八十，成為亞太地區有線電視普及率最高的國家。

根據吳知賢（1998）的研究，目前臺灣社會一般家庭以看電視作為主要休閒活動，每天平均開機時間約七個小時，兒童看電視時間遠超過遊戲或看書時間，這些孩子們在十八歲以前，累積花在電視螢幕前的時間大概是在學校時間的兩倍。此外，若再加上使用新興數位科技與媒體的時間，個人在使用媒體所花費之時間更是驚人。由此可見，媒體對一般大眾的影響其實遠遠超過學校教育，而教育主管機關也承認媒體的影響力。根據教育部（2002）所公佈之媒體素養教育政策白皮書提到：

教育學界大多數人都注意到「學校」這個體制，如何改變了一百多年來國人的教育過程和教育內涵，尤其是學校如何取代家庭，成為主要的教育場所。但是較少人知道，電視

興起以及大眾傳播媒介發達的過去這四十年，媒體已經成為國內青少年和兒童的第二個教育課程，甚至直逼「學校」，有取而代之成為第一個教育體制的可能。媒體在教育上，不但進一步邊緣化了家庭的教育角色，也逐步瓦解、威脅與動搖了學校的權威地位。(1)

廣義來看，大眾媒體所包含的範圍由傳統印刷媒體（書籍、報紙與雜誌等）到影音媒體（電影、廣播、電視、錄影帶等）與新興數位電子媒體（網路、DVD、數位影像、第三代行動電話等）。這些透過不同媒介傳遞資訊的種種形式已成為當代生活中不可或缺的一部份，甚至某種程度上形塑著個人的認同。更進一步成為個人社會化中的主要力量。同時，媒體是現代最主要的文化表現與溝通媒介，想成為具有主動參與公眾事物能力的個人，他必須具有使用現代媒體的能力（Buckingham, 2003; Sunstein, 2001）。

此外，Silverstone（1999）更指出，媒體是位居經驗的核心，並且決定我們是否有能力理解我們所生活世界；再加上Buckingham（2003）所提出媒體是日常生活中「象徵資源（symbolic resources）」重要來源的觀點，象徵資源所代表的就是我們日常生活中用來經營及詮釋人際互動關係並用於界定認同的資源。綜上所述，可以發現媒體在現代社會中已成為社會化過程裡最主要的影響力之一。

二、媒體與原住民族/少數族群：文化認同的建構

媒體在族群/民族認同的建構過程中所扮演的角色，可在Anderson《想像的共同體：民族主義的起源與散布》一書中發現。他認為傳播媒體（主要為平面媒體中印刷技術）的進步所帶來報紙與小說這兩種想像形式的流行、普及是近代民族主義興起的重要原因（吳叡人譯，1999）。隨著傳播科技的進步，我們已經從平面媒體過渡至動態影像媒體並演變至今日的數位動態影像媒體 – 換句話說，目前的時代已由報紙、小說這些平面媒體進步到電影、電視等，在進展至網際網路、數位影音數位電視、互動式多媒體、第三代行動電話等的時代。在這個新時代中，族群、文化認同也深受這些新媒體的影響。

不容否認的，在一個多元文化的社會中，個人或是社群應有一種傳遞、表達其文化認同的文化權力（cultural rights）存在（Parekh, 2000）。這種權力正如公民權、政權、經濟權一樣，應該是人權的一部份，而教育的目的正應維護不同族裔、社經背景學童對自身文化的認同。但是，文化認同並非指涉一個普遍的、固定的認同，反之應為一在獨特歷史、文化脈絡下所形成社會建構之認同（Barker, 1999）。影響文化認同的因素相當多，而在現代社會中，媒體所具有之穿透力與傳播能力使其成為構成文化認同的主要來源。

而在當代社會中媒體所具有的特色在於：

- (1.) 媒體並非真實呈現世界；媒體只是提供一種對於真實世界的再現。
- (2.) 不同的社會力量會影響著媒體的再現，例如：記者、製作人、政府等等都會影響著媒體的內容。換言之，媒體內容是經過選擇、裁剪、重新組合等過程的；而不同社會團體有可能將其所偏好的意識形態加入媒體文本中。
- (3.) 傳播通訊科技的發展會決定並改變媒體內容的形式，例如：數位科技的發展導致虛擬實境這類媒體文本的出現。

因此在學生所獲得的媒體經驗中，難免會出現偏頗、刻板印象甚至是某些特定的意識形態。首先在族群認同這個層面，正如Shohat & Stam（1994：6）所述，媒體在「當代多元文化主義的討論中佔有一個重要的中心地位」，因為他們肯認媒體在國族認同以及社群歸屬的複雜關係裡扮演著吃重的角色。由上述的討論，可以發現媒體在個人認同以及族群/文化認同界定上扮演著關鍵角色。

一般而言，除了媒體對個人認同及整個社會的強大影響力探討之外；對於媒體在少數族群文化維繫、認同建構以及教育實踐上之影響力，已是許多國家在推行多元文化教育或原住民教育時關注的重點之一。以加拿大為例，在《加拿大社會中的通訊傳播》（Communications in Canadian Society）一書中，便有專章探討媒體與少數族群的關係；其中提到加國的媒體機構在推動多元文化社會上扮演一個相對消極的角色（Fleras, 1995）。此外，Fleras（1995）更指出加國媒體明顯忽視國內原住民及族群多樣性之議題；並且歸納出媒體對少數族群的呈現，有著一些特徵：少數族群被描繪成隱形的、不相干的；被以刻板印象

形式呈現；被視為一個社會問題或者僅是作為娛樂或節目點綴的代表。加國的情形就像Cottle（2000）提到當代媒體一方面報導一些關於仇外的、種族主義的敘述，但是同時卻又常公開地承諾要塑造一個具有包容性的多族裔、多元文化的社會。簡言之，媒體公開擁護所謂的包容性社會的理念被證實只是一種幌子。例如，在英國身為少數族裔一份子的文化研究學者Hall（1974）就提到，要改變對少數族裔的負面印象，不是僅靠螢幕上多出現一些少數族裔的面孔或是幾個探討議題之紀錄片可以消解的；他並指出媒體大多反應主流中產階級的經驗。此外，美國黑人女性主義者hooks（1992）也曾經就媒體與少數族群關係做出評論，她提到：

在再現這個領域中鮮少有變動。打開一份雜誌或一本書、打開電視、看部影片或看一幅陳列在公共空間的攝影作品，我們常常看到黑人的形象是在增強與強化白人的優越。

（1）

當美、加與英國發現這類問題存在於媒體與少數族群間時，在課程中納入媒體素養教育這一項是他們所採用的方法之一。而這也正是本文所提出的方法，將在本文的第參與第肆部份加以討論。

當然，在此舉用國外一些看法與例子，並非要完全引用在台灣的情境中，因為這絕對是忽略掉文化脈絡情境的做法。美、加與英國的觀點與情況僅是作為一種參考。而在台灣本土多年來也有許多原住民、人類學者、傳播學者關心這類少數（弱勢）族群在媒體中再現的議題。國內媒體對原住民的再現呢？例如：胡台麗曾提到媒體所呈現之原住民形象以負面的較多（引自黃葳威，1999）。台灣的媒體如此普及的情況下，對於削減刻板印象、原住民文化的保存、增進族群間了解等似乎沒有太多貢獻。相較於部份西歐國家，媒體是扮演公共財的角色，目前台灣媒體是屬於過度商業化。正因為媒體有其商業利益之考量、收視率掛帥的情況下，難免須以主流價值觀來製作迎合多數人之節目¹。但是不可否認的，媒體在許多公眾議題的引導、討論上卻扮演著關鍵的角色。

¹ 根據今年初由台灣媒體觀察教育基金會所進行的台灣原住民族電視節目評鑑，七個或推薦的節目，其中有六個皆為公共電視所製播的。可見商業電視台較不重視原住民議題。

正由於媒體對於少數族裔的再現是否適切，不僅影響該族裔的自我文化認同更同時影響整個社會（甚至是全球）對該族裔的觀感。對於媒體全球化現象與文化、族群之關係，李天鐸（2000）做出一個很生動的說明：

像原本來自西班牙的〈麥卡蓮娜〉舞曲也只有藉助美國的音樂工業才有幸流行於全球；台灣原住民的音樂也必須藉助奧林匹克的運動盛會才得以浮現於「國際樂壇」；西藏獨立的議題在好萊塢《火線大逃亡》（*Seven Years in Tibet*）的演繹下，方更為世人所注目；中國的民間故事「花木蘭」也只有仰賴影視巨獸迪士尼的動畫繪製才有幸躍登「世界童話」之列。（ix）

由此可見全球媒體所具有的強大力量。一方面從宏觀的願景來看，目前台灣推出兩兆雙星計畫中有一點便是對文化創意產業的重視；原住民若想將本身獨特的文化發揚光大，甚至推向世界舞台，媒體是個不可或缺的力量。或者，由微觀的角度，如何維繫、傳承各族的特有文化？僅靠少數人以文史工作室或者教學的形式，其效力遠不及透過大眾媒體、數位媒體傳播的迅速、宏大。這些都使得媒體與原住民族之關係更顯重要。

正如Cortés（1991, 1995）提到媒體有讓不同族裔背景的人得到增能或是減能（disempowerment）的功用；因為在新聞節目以及娛樂節目中出現的族群印象，會與閱聽人原有的知識庫產生相互增強的效果，而造成刻板印象的增強。關於這點部份原住民已經意識到這種問題，尤稀·達袞提出應該已擁有屬於原住民自己的傳播媒體，以便建立屬於原住民族的反論述 – 一種批判漢族主流中心論述之論述（引自黃葳威，2004）。

其次，雖然台灣是個媒體相當普及的環境，但是正如胡台麗（1999）指出的，許多原住民由於居處較為偏遠無法收視到公共電視。如此一來，造成公視所製播關於原住民議題的節目反而無法為原住民所收視。所以在傳播媒體的使用上，原住民族也是處於較不利的地位。此外，新數位媒體興起的同時所引發之「數位區隔（digital divide）」現象也是個值得注意的議題。所謂數位區隔也就是指人們在近用（access）數位科技時所有的差距。數位區隔可分為兩種，一為國與國間的落差 – 第三世界國家兒童接觸到數位科技的機會絕對少於已開

發或一些開發中國家的兒童；另一為單一國家內部的數位落差 – 以英國為例，根據Buckingham（2000）的調查，在英國勞動階級孩童接觸個人電腦的機會不到中產階級兒童的一半。此外，根據另外一項在1990年代於英國所進行的研究發現，中產階級兒童在家使用多媒體電腦的比例大約是勞工階級兒童的三倍，而網路使用則更為勞工階級兒童的八倍（Livingstone and Bovill, 1999）。反觀台灣的情況呢？部份原住民除了在電視收視情況不佳外，是否在數位媒體科技的近用上也與其他族群存在著落差呢？根據譚光鼎（1997）對近五十年來台灣原住民教育研究所做的詳細分析，可以發現目前國內仍缺乏這方面的相關實證研究。而自1997年後仍有許多與原住民教育相關的論文出現，與原住民學童媒體環境、新科技使用等媒體素養教育相關的研究卻仍然付之闕如。

除了原住民媒體使用環境之相關研究缺乏外，回顧國內與原住民教育相關的文獻、書籍。譚光鼎與湯仁燕（1993）肯認媒體在認同塑造上之影響力而提出一般大眾對原住民族所具有「偏見的負面刻板印象」是受到大眾傳播媒體的影響所產生的。他們進一步提出應在社會文化層面注重「廣泛運用媒體，傳播原住民生活文化資訊」的建議；但是僅是點到為止，而沒有提到在原住民教育體系中應如何處理媒體對認同之影響的議題。浦忠成（1997）亦提到目前台灣原住民教育尚可努力之方向，其內容有些與本文可以相呼應：

惟若能將範圍擴及於學校以外，涵蓋親職教育、傳播媒體等，塑造一個相互了解、尊重的環境，可能較為周延，因為學童有許多的觀念不見得全是由學校習得，... .. 所以目前針對原住民文化的開展應該朝向「文字化」（口傳故事的採錄、記音、翻譯、記錄，歌曲的錄音、習俗舞蹈影像的攝錄等）。（138）

然而，根據該文作者後續的解釋、說明，其中所談到將原住民文化給予「文字化」似乎應該更改成「（數位）媒體化」 – 因為包括文字記錄、錄音、錄影等媒體的使用。相較於譚光鼎與湯仁燕的論點，浦忠成更進一步的認為原住民教育需要擴展至學校以外的場域（例如媒體）並且提出以「（數位）媒體化」來作為保存原住民文化的方法之一。

其他作者在探討原住民文化認同上皆有精闢之見解，但多關注於族群體制

內部文化傳承或體制內透過學校教學來傳播（陳枝烈，1997；吳天泰，1998；譚光鼎，1998；黃森泉，2000）；然而缺乏探討學校外與部落外許多影響原住民族群、文化認同的其他因素。

雖然在原住民教育體制上，目前在國立東華大學之民族學院中已成立原住民語言及傳播系。這是個很好的開始，但是若僅靠有限的原住民大學畢業生來推動，效果恐怕仍是有限。媒體素養的理念若是能融入原住民教育的實踐中，應可更快速地、更全面地提升原住民在媒體中之形象與運用媒體傳播作為傳播原住民文化之手段。

接下來第參部份將說明媒體素養教育的基本概念；第肆部份則是以國外實行的例子作為參考。最後進一步探討在目前台灣原住民教育中將媒體素養相關議題融入之必要性與可行性。

參、何謂媒體素養

一、媒體素養的意義

媒體素養（media literacy）此一概念是由素養（literacy）這概念延伸而來的，所以在說明合為媒體素養前，需要先了解素養的意涵。不過正如Graff（1987）指出的，素養是個持續變動的概念，所以若要討論素養則必須先給它下個定義。一般而言，素養最簡單的一個定義就是「具有讀與寫的能力（an ability to read and write）」（Brereton, 2001；Graff, 1987）；而且最初素養這個概念是「多與印刷媒體相關」（Potter, 1998）。而國內研究中則是將素養一詞區分為兩個層次：一為人們日常生活中所需要之基本能力；另一為則是為基本的讀寫能力（張一蕃，1997）。這些論點或多或少都反應出素養這個概念是與書寫、識字能力脫不了關係。早期或許是如此，然而隨著時代的演進，自從電影出現後圍繞在人們日常生活中的媒介已不再是只有文字（或者說印刷媒介）而已。所以有些人認為，在現代社會中必需要將傳統的素養概念將以擴充，以符合這個時代多變的媒體環境。例如，張一蕃（1997）提出在資訊時代中的素養是「個人與外界做合理而有效的溝通或互動所需具備的條件」。

在目前資訊社會的脈絡中，人際間的溝通多是透過媒體。媒體素養便是這種情況下的產物，其出現受到下列因素的影響：1. 學術理論創新（如符號

學)，使語言、文字不再被視為是唯一的符號系統、2. 媒體科技的發展，使得動態影像的製作、改變與傳布越來越簡易方便、3. 多元素養理論（Cope & Kalantzis, 2000）的提出，使得不同層次、不同媒介的素養能力得到重視。

究竟媒體素養為何呢？Buckingham（2003）提出「媒體素養一詞指涉為了使用與詮釋媒體所需要的知識、技術與能力」；更指出媒體素養並非只是一種功能性的素養，還必須是具有社會性、批判性的能力。這正回應前述張一蕃對素養定義中的一些要素，具有社會性就代表著個人與外界的互動關係、批判性則代表進行合理與有效溝通的必要條件。換言之，媒體素養代表著使用與詮釋媒體的能力；但同時它代表著一種對媒體各層面廣泛的分析性理解。而媒體素養教育則是為培養媒體素養能力而採行之教育實踐。

二、媒體素養教育在台灣

台灣媒體教育之政策基礎是來自於2002年10月教育部所公佈之「媒體素養教育政策白皮書」。其中提出「媒體教育的最終願景，在於透過媒體素養教育的機制，強化全民對媒體的釋放與賦權，建立『健康媒體社區』」並提出「媒體素養的能力 是一種社區本位的教育行動」（教育部，2002：10）；所以媒體素養教育是以整體社區/社群為標的。其次，白皮書中並更進一步提出「文化健康」的概念 – 強調社區/社群的文化健康會影響個人，故需要由個人與其所處的社群一起來作，營造一個具有基本共同文化品味（文化認同）的環境。以目前慈濟大學傳播學系與公衛系計劃合作從事對台灣東部原住民健康環境的調查研究，健康的媒體環境便是其中一項²。

而在媒體素養基本能力培養方面，其中有一點「辨識媒介內容中的年齡、性別、種族、職業、階級、性傾向等各種面向的刻板印象和權力階級間的關係」（教育部，2002：11）。了解媒體文本中存在之族群刻板印象後，可以減少其影響。綜上所述，可以發現在台灣的媒體素養教育政策內，種族再現的議題是其中的一環。這種將原住民族再現議題明列於政策白皮書中，給了媒體素養與原住民教育之結合一個政策上的立足點。

² 資料來自於作者與慈濟大學陳世敏教授之訪談。

肆、媒體素養與族群教育相關研究

由於媒體素養在台灣是個新鮮的議題，相關研究仍屬不足，更遑論與原住民教育研究結合之相關研究。所以在這個部份便以國外一些理論觀點與實例作為借鏡，提供給國內一個參考。本部份將以美國與歐盟（以英國為主）的實例來說明如何運用媒體文本分析（textual analysis）、媒體技術等媒體素養課程方案來協助兒童與青少年了解族群相關議題的內涵。

下列三個例子分別為：Carlos E. Cortés的社會性課程理論、Joseph Tobin在夏威夷一所小學所進行的實證研究與歐盟一項六國研究計畫「移民相關傳播中的兒童（Children in Communication about Migration, CHICAM）」為例。其中，Tobin的研究可與Cortés的多元文化媒體課程觀點互相印證。

一、媒體作為一種社會性課程

Cortés是一位多元文化教育學者，他所提出的多元文化課程理論事已媒體課程為中心。Cortés（2000）指出在學校的教師開始談多元文化教育之前，由電視、電影等媒體所生產之媒體內容形成一種媒體教科書（media textbook），大眾媒體已經透過這種媒體教科書形式傳播多元文化教育的內涵。媒體教科書的性質與學校中傳統使用的教科書形式雖異但本質並無不同，同樣具有教育功效並且在有意或無意間傳遞知識給人們。媒體是教授差異性（diversity）的一項利器，Cortés（2000）認為學校教育中不應把這個有利於推展多元文化教育的媒介排除在課程外；他更強調如果教育工作者不認真的看待、了解媒體對「他者（otherness）」的再現，學校推行多元文化教育的成效將是有限的。而與原住民族相關的族群議題也是「他者」中的一部份。

在此，社會性課程（the societal curriculum）的概念被提出，學生由這些非學校內的學習經驗習得涵蓋差異性探討等的議題。而社會性課程可以分成以下四類（Cortés, 2000）：

- (1) 直接課程：來自於家、家庭、同儕與鄰近地區的影響。

(2.) 機構性課程：來自一些人們能產生互動與學習的組織與機構如青少年團體、宗教機構與自願性協會。

(3.) 意外所得的課程：來自隨機出現的個人經驗，例如與陌生人互動或是出國。

(4.) 媒體課程：來自於不同形式的大眾媒體。

然而，上述四種社會性課程中，媒體是與現代人關係最密切的也是最重要的。在媒體的影響力以漸漸取代一些傳統的社會化力量（例如家庭、學校、社會團體，甚至是宗教）之時，媒體課程已經成為社會性課程裡最主要的一環。在其論述中，Cortés（2002）將媒體課程視為是所有社會性課程中最重要並與其他三種產生交互作用增加其影響力。

媒體文本的分析與討論可以作為一種多元文化教學過程，並可將培養媒體素養的媒體教育視為是多元文化教育中的一個實踐層面。Cortés（2003）提出好萊塢電影亦能作為一種大眾的多元文化課程（public multicultural curriculum）概念；並認為媒體可以增加或減少族群自信心，是個傳遞多元文化概念的利器。而在於族群相關之議題上，Cortés在其對於社會性課程的論述中，媒體課程與族群教育間的關係多重於理論上的探討，雖有舉例但缺少實際教室教學實踐的例子。然而，下一段要探討Tobin（2000）在夏威夷所進行的研究則正好提供一個教學實踐上結合媒體文本與族群教育的例子。

二、美國夏威夷的媒體素養研究

夏威夷是個多族裔族群並存的地區，因此多元文化教育在夏威夷是個重要議題。而Tobin（2000）則是利用媒體素養的理念在夏威夷一所小學為一群學生進行關於媒體暴力、族群、性別、殖民主義等議題之教學。該研究主要是以兩部影片 – 海角一樂園（Swiss Family Robinson）³及黑神駒（The Black Stallion）中所選取的片段作為教學文本。從中選取議題讓學生進行討論，議題中包含種族、殖民主義相關議題。

³ 1960年版的海角一樂園最近一次在英國電視公開播放的時間是2004年4月12日在英國國家廣播公司第一頻道（BBC 1）。

在族群方面，一群7至8歲的女孩（皆為少數族裔或混血）在收視海角一樂園的影片片段之後，開始一段關於族群議題的討論（Tobin, 2000）：

訪談者：那誰是那些壞人呢？

瑪麗亞(Malia)：那些在外面的人。

洛林(Loreen)：那些後來出現的人。

訪談者：你們如何判斷哪些是好人、哪些是壞人呢？

潔林(Jaylynn)：因為壞人會攻擊。

萊皙(Lacey)：不是，因為他們看起來、看起來

訪談者：因為他們會攻擊人？

萊皙：不是，因為他們看起來像，他們看起來比較壞而[好人]比較好。

訪談者：什麼使得壞人看起來壞？我不懂你的意思。

萊皙[拉住她的眼角]：像單眼皮(Chinese eyes) (54)

影片中壞人的角色恰巧是由一位日本人所飾演的。然而，說出單眼皮看起來像壞人的女孩萊皙本身就是一位具有亞裔血統的美國人。由此段對話可以看出影片對兒童的影響。由於影片的再現使得少數族裔的兒童認同了白人導演所塑造的壞人形象 – 在這部片中壞人是亞洲人。同時，反觀今日掌控全球電影市場之好萊塢電影與兒童頻道、電影之迪士尼影片中的壞人，大多數皆為有色人種而英雄多為白人男性。當少數族裔兒童看到自己的族群被媒體文本以負面方式呈現之時，他們會是怎樣的反應呢？是接受媒體的內容進而內化白人意識形態而厭惡自己的族群；或是能夠了解媒體的再現與產製過程、不受媒體影響甚至進一步扭轉媒體對其族群的錯誤再現呢？

雖然根據萊皙的例子無法推斷每個兒童收視後都會有一樣的回應；不過，媒體對兒童是有其影響力存在。然而，兒童受媒體影響的程度會根據其所處的社群與所接受教育方式不同而異（Tobin, 2000）；這點可回應台灣媒體素養教育政策白皮書中對社區/社群文化環境的強調。所以兒童所受的教育是否能提供他們對這些議題適當的了解，絕對會影響他們未來所表現出的態度，因為適當的教育應可建立合宜的文化認同。

根據此一研究與其結論，可以發現經由這類對媒體文本的討論，教師可了解兒童對族群議題所具有的原初意識形態並進而能找出適當引導方式來協助兒童建構合宜的多元文化觀、正確的族群觀念、削減錯誤在線索帶來的影響等等。此外，亦可減低媒體錯誤或不當再現對兒童的影響。這個在教室進行的長期民族誌研究正好可以回應前述Cortés的媒體課程概念。

三、歐盟計畫：

「在移民相關傳播中的兒童（CHICAM）」是由歐洲議會所贊助的六國（英國、德國、希臘、義大利、瑞典與荷蘭）研究計畫⁴。該計畫所探討有三個主要層面：1. 全球移民的增加、2. 新傳播科技的出現、3. 兒童的需要。主要的實證研究部份是著重在10至14歲移民或難民兒童如何使用新通訊科技來進行跨國界的彼此溝通。

在英國部份研究重點是著重在全英少數移民較密集的倫敦地區。透過媒體素養中所教授的媒體製作，使這些參與研究計畫的兒童具備使用數位攝影機與簡單錄影帶製作的能力。透過製作描述自己生活之錄影帶的過程，協助移民兒童探索、反省他們在新環境中的適應情況與所遭遇到的文化衝擊。在這個過程裡，兒童能夠有發聲、描述自己生活經驗的機會並探索屬於移民兒童的一種混雜認同。這些透過媒體製作所獲得之資料有助於教師、社會工作人員更深入了解移民兒童與推動族群教育。

在美國的例子裡可以發現媒體教育多著重於媒體文本的分析以及如何運用這種分析達到消除刻板印象的增能效果；但是，在英國卻是著重以媒體實作方式讓學生探索自我、文化認同，藉此達到增能的效果。這也正反映在媒體教育中的兩大取向：一重教師的意識形態啟蒙（媒體作為一種文本）；另一個則是重視學生自我探索（媒體作為一種書寫、探索的工具）。這兩種取向所強調的重點皆在將學生由媒體再現、媒體文本所建構的世界中「解放（liberate）」出來，並進一步地透過對媒體本質的了解達到「增能」的成果，最終獲得能讓個人悠游於數位媒體時代中的素養能力。

⁴ 關於CHICAM計畫的相關文件可參考<http://www.chicam.net>。

伍、媒體素養與原住民教育（代結語）

目前社會的特徵是疏離感與個人化增加，長久以來存在的社會信念體系及生活方式正處於一個解組的過程。年輕世代成長於更異質化、多元文化的社會，屬於台灣社會一部份的原住民族也不例外。根據前述的討論可以發現在當代社會最具影響力的非媒體（包括數位與傳統媒體）莫屬，而媒體文本深深地影響著人們的文化認同。媒體所包括的議題之廣正提供教師許多選擇，如何運用媒體文本與培養學生之媒體素養來增進他們對原住民族（文化）的理解並且更能適應新的數位資訊時代將是無法避免的趨勢，也是教育工作者必須正視的議題。原住民教育與媒體素養結合之時機與方式、相關措施，有下列幾點是可供參考：

1. 時機適當：由於目前教育部正在推動媒體素養教育且已在部內成立了一個媒體素養教育委員會。將在九年一貫課程中採用融入方式，在相關領域中加入媒體素養議題。這是將會是能增加一些關於媒體與族群議題納入學校課程的好機會。
2. 製播原住民優質節目，平衡傳播：在本文前言中提到原民會的兩項新獎助方案，正可鼓勵多製作一些與原住民文化、認同等相關的優質節目。而這些節目可用於媒體素養教學中。當然不僅是要對原住民學生進行這類教育，漢人學生也需要一同學習，以便達成互相了解之效。因為目前主流媒體幾乎完全是由漢人中心主義為出發點製作的，若能在媒體素養教育中加入較多具有原住民文化內涵的內容，將能收平衡傳播之效。
3. 媒體素養與族群議題融入中小學課程：藉由媒體素養教育在中小學實施，可以與東華大學原住民學院中的相關系所合作，在中小學階段開始培養基本的媒體批判能力、媒體製作技術等。如此一來，可在教育體制內以更全面的方式培養原住民族本身的媒體人才。媒體素養教育的實施若能培養原住民相關專才、凝聚社區共識，並進而透過社區力量爭取更多的發聲機會。

4. 相關配套措施的落實：由於媒體素養在國內亦為新的教育實踐，在教學方法、教材以及師資培訓等層面上仍需進一步規劃相關配套措施。本文第肆部分所舉的一些國外進行媒體素養教育之個案可作為教學實踐上之參考，然而，其它層面則仍需更多的研究者引介國外經驗並再進一步加以轉化成符合本土脈絡教育實踐。

但是，目前實施上最大的問題在於：1. 缺乏相關研究。在這個領域將需要更多的研究人力投入媒體素養與原住民教育實踐中。2. 如何發揮社區、文史工作室的力量一起推動促進族群平等、增進相互了解的媒體素養教育。

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