

The Origins and Development of Media Education in Scotland

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Abstract

This study combines analytical and narrative modes of historical enquiry with educational policy sociology to construct a history of media in education in Scotland. It uses the development trajectory of a single case, media education in Scotland's statutory education sector, to deconstruct and reconstruct a history of the institutional relationship between the Scottish Film Council (SFC) and the Scottish Education Department (SED) that stretches back to the 1930s.

Existing literature describes media education in Scotland as a phenomenon located in the 1970s and 1980s. This study disaggregates media education discourse and dissolves chronological boundaries to make connections with earlier attempts to introduce media into Scottish education in the context of Scotland's constitutional relations within the UK. It employs historical and socio-cultural methods to analyse the intersections between actors and events taking place over six decades.

The analysis and interpretation of the data is located in three time periods. Chapter 3 covers the period from 1929 until 1974 when, on the cusp of the emergence of the new texts and technologies of film, the SFC was established to promote and protect Scottish film culture and audio-visual technologies. During this time, the interdependence of teachers, the film trade and the educational policy-making community led to the production, distribution and exhibition of new and popular forms of text to national and international acclaim. By juxtaposing public and private documents circulating on the

margins of statutory education, this chapter generates a new understanding of the importance of film and its technologies in Scotland in the pursuit of a more culturally relevant and contemporary model of education. It also describes how constraints upon Scotland's cultural production infrastructure limited its capacity to effect significant educational change.

In the 1970s, cultural, political and educational ferment in pre-devolution Scotland, created a discursive shift that gave rise first to media education and then to Media Studies. Articulating documents with wider discourses of educational and cultural change and interviews with key players, Chapter 4 describes a counter-narrative gaining momentum. The constraints of the practices of traditional subjects and pedagogies combined with the constraints on Scottish cultural production gave shape and form to the media education movement. Significantly for this study, the movement included influential members of Scottish education's leadership class.

Between 1983 to 1986, the innovative Media Education Development Project (MEDP) aimed to place media education at the centre of teaching and learning in Scottish education. This was fully funded by the SED, managed by the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET) and the SFC and implemented by the Association for Media Education in Scotland (AMES). The MEDP overlapped briefly with another initiative in SCET, the Scottish Microelectronics Development Project (SMDP). During this period, Media Studies enjoyed rapid success as a popular non-advanced qualification in the upper secondary and further education sectors. Media education, however, did not.

Chapter 5 explores the links between the MEDP and the SMDP through the agency of three central actors: SCET, the SFC and AMES in the context of a second term of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government.

This study concludes that between 1934 and 1964, the SFC was a key educational bureaucracy in Scottish education. The SFC's role as an agent of change represented the recognition of a link between relevant and contemporary Scottish cultural production and the transformation of statutory education. Between 1929 and 1982 three iterations for media and education in Scotland can be discerned. In 1983, the MEDP began a fourth but its progress faltered. The study suggests that if a new iteration for media and education in Scotland in the twenty-first century is to emerge, an institutional link between media culture, technology and educational transformation requires to be restored.

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List of Abbreviations

ADES:	Association for Directors of Education
AMES:	Association for Media Education in Scotland
BBC:	British Broadcasting Corporation
BFFS:	British Federation of Film Societies
BFI:	British Film Institute
CCC:	Consultative Committee on the Curriculum
CETUK:	Council for Educational Technology for the United Kingdom
CNAA:	Council for National Academic Awards
DCMS:	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DES:	Department of Education and Science
DOI:	Department of Industry
EBWP:	Educational Broadcasting Working Party
EFS:	Educational Films of Scotland
EFVA:	Educational Foundation for Visual Aids
FMG:	Forrester Media Group
FSFS:	Federation of Scottish Film Societies
GTC:	General Teaching Council
GUMG:	Glasgow University Media Group
HMI:	Her Majesty's Inspectorate
IBA:	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ICEM:	International Council for Educational Media

ILEA:	Inner London Education Authority
IMEC:	International Media Education Conference
IoE:	Institute of Education
ITA:	Independent Television Authority
ITFC:	International Film and Television Council
JPC:	Joint Production Committee
LTS:	Learning and Teaching Scotland
MASSCOT:	Central Association for Media Education
MECC:	Media Education Coordinating Committee
MEDC:	Micro-electronics Development Centre
MEDP:	Media Education Development Project
MEDPAC:	Media Project Advisory Committee
MEJ:	Media Education Journal
MERP:	Media Education Research Project
MOI:	Ministry of Information
MSC:	Manpower Services Commission
NCAVAE:	National Committee for Audio-Visual Aids in Education
NCET:	National Council for Educational Technology
NCVAE:	National Council for Visual Aids in Education
NICCER:	National Inter-College Committee on Educational Research
RIU:	Research and Intelligence Unit
SAC:	Scottish Arts Council
SBCS:	School Broadcasting Council for Scotland

SCCC:	Scottish Consultative Committee on the Curriculum
SCDS:	Scottish Curriculum Development Service
SCE:	Scottish Certificate of Education
SCEEB:	Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board
SCET:	Scottish Council for Educational Technology
SCFL:	Scottish Central Film Library
SCOTBEC:	Scottish Business Education Council
SCOTEC:	Scottish Technical Education Council
SCOTVEC:	Scottish Vocational Education Council
SEB:	Scottish Examination Board
SECS:	Scottish Educational Cinema Society
SED:	Scottish Education Department
SEFA:	Scottish Educational Film Association
SEFT:	The Society for Education in Film and Television
SESAME:	South East Scotland Association for Media Education
SESSA:	Scottish Educational Sight and Sound Association
SFC:	Scottish Film Council
SFPF:	Scottish Film Production Fund
SFT:	The Society of Film Teachers
SMDP:	Scottish Microelectronics Development Project
STV:	Scottish Television
SQA:	Scottish Qualifications Authority
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

1. Introduction and background

1.1 Introduction

Political, social and economic interest in the relationship between children, young people, media and popular culture has been evident since the 1930s (Oswell, 2002, Smith, 2005, Messenger Davies, 2010, Richards, 2010). Media and popular culture occupy a central role in the lives of many children and young people and arguably are the most potent and ubiquitous means by which discourse is circulated. Debates about whether the study of media and popular culture has a place in the formal school curriculum have circulated on the margins of education in the UK since the early 1960s (Hall & Whannel, 1964). An abundance of award-bearing courses currently on offer in the UK in the secondary, further and higher education sectors demonstrates media education's rapid development as a specialised qualification. Whilst Media Studies may have achieved something of an uneasy place at the post-14 stages of education, there is less evidence of the systematic development of media education in primary and early secondary education. Furthermore, recent concerns expressed about the media literacy of children and adults in the UK (Jowell, 2004, European Commission, 2007, OfCom, 2008) have indicated a developing urgency in the debate that not only highlights interest in media education at these stages but also reveals competing ambitions held for it (Buckingham, 2007, 2010)¹.

¹ Concerns about media literacy levels have been expressed by those with responsibilities for and to the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). The extent to which that Department can influence the shape of media literacy may depend on the "effective incorporation of media education into the school curriculum" (Hill, 2004, p38).

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The UK has come to be regarded as a world leader in the field of media education (Buckingham, 2001)², its early development promoted in the 1950s by the campaigning activity of a grass-roots group of teachers interested in the benefits media and popular culture would bring to teaching and learning (Bolas, 2009). The contributions made by the British Film Institute (BFI) and the Institute of Education (IoE) at the University of London have achieved international recognition. Despite this, education policy-makers in the compulsory sector in England appear unconvinced of the arguments for an entitlement to media education in the core curriculum of primary and secondary schools (Bazalgette, 1999).

In Scotland, on the other hand, a proposal for an entitlement to media education³, applicable to all sectors of education in Scotland, emerged from the educational policy-making community itself. The publication in 1979 of what might usefully be described as a policy document, set in train events that four years later would position Scotland at the leading edge of developments in media education in the statutory education sector in the UK. In 1983, the Scottish Education Department (SED) funded two parallel initiatives, the Media Education Research Project (MERP) and the Media Education Development Project (MEDP), for a period of three years. Both initiatives appeared to signal political interest in the provision of media education in the statutory sector. The MEDP was facilitated by a partnership between the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET), the Scottish Film Council (SFC), and the Association for Media Education in Scotland (AMES), a grass-roots teachers'

² Also claimed more recently in a Media Education Association (MEA) briefing paper for the Associate Parliamentary Media Literacy Group: Teaching Media Literacy in Schools. 28 April 2009.

³ Anderson, DF (1979) Media Education in Scotland: Outline Proposals for a Curriculum (4.2.2)

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group. Together, they promoted a development that attracted international attention at the time.

In the same year as the MEDP began, Margaret Thatcher's Conservative administration was re-elected for a second term of office in the UK with a more convincing mandate than that obtained in 1979 (Hutchison, 2001). The Thatcher government took office at a time of profound economic difficulty resulting from what was popularly perceived as the ineptitude of successive governments throughout the 1970s. The re-election of the Thatcher government in the UK in 1983 brought with it the further entrenchment of neo-liberal economic and neo-conservative social policies designed to shift the ideological terrain upon which the public sector had been built in the years following the Second World War. This study seeks to understand why media education and the MEDP manifested in Scotland at this particular time, in a climate of significantly reduced budgets in the education sector and political discourse advocating a return to traditional subjects, pedagogies and assessments (Chitty, 2004, Lawton, 2005).

The ground-breaking work on media education begun in the late 1970s in the statutory sector in Scotland came to something of an abrupt halt at the end of the 1980s, however, and has not recovered since. Accounts of media education and its development in the UK focus on the work of key individuals, professional organisations and bureaucracies operating outside the policy-making mechanisms of statutory education in England (Buckingham, 2001, 2003, Masterman, 2002, Bolas, 2009, Messenger Davies 2010)(1.2.2.i). The development of media education in

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Scotland tells a different story, however, and one that thus far has only been made visible in the form of MEDP project reports (Butts, 1986, Dick, 1987), unpublished Masters' dissertations (Instrell, 1983, Brown, 1986) articles published by AMES in the *Media Education Journal (MEJ)*(5.1.3) and in AMES' newsletters.

First and foremost, and with an emphasis on the school sector and the work of the SFC and SCET in Scotland (1.2.2.ii), this study sets out to explore the role played by Scottish education in the origins and development of media education. It presents a historical account of the activity of selected institutions, organisations and individuals located in nationally and regionally defined frameworks and spans a period of six decades (1929-1990). The study is an analytical history (Tosh, 2006) that chronicles developments in media education in Scotland. Tosh distinguishes between historical narrative and analytical history thus

The multiple nature of causation in history demands that the narrative be suspended and that each of the relevant factors be weighed in turn, without losing sight of their connectedness and the likelihood that the configuration of each factor shifted over time

[2006, p155]

Tosh concludes, however, "this does not mean that narrative is completely at a discount" because "historians need to write in ways that do justice to both the manifest and the latent, both profound forces and surface events. And in practice this

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requires a flexible use of both analytical and narrative modes" (p156).

This work might also be usefully considered a socio-cultural history in that it offers some insight into the part played by the formal education sector in the nurture and development of Scottish screen culture. It draws upon both historical and ethnographic methods to explore the use of history, as context, process, comparison and explanation (Tosh, 2006, Haney & Horowitz, 2006). The role of media in education between 1929 and 1979 is frequently interpollated with educational technology discourse (Cowle, 1981, Dick, 1987). However, by "piecing together" (Medhurst, 2007, p127) "the conditions that [made] the emergence of a particular policy agenda possible" (Gale, 2001, p387), an archeology of media education in Scotland seeks to re-consider the relationship between media in education (1929-1979) and media education (1979-1986). In addition, therefore, the sociological orientation of the thesis enables it to throw light on the ecology (Weaver-Hightower, 2008) of educational policy-making in Scotland revealed by the formation of a new curriculum subject: Media Studies. This micro-analysis seeks to explore the processes of policy-making in the more peripheral spaces than those available in other accounts (Humes, 1986, McPherson & Raab, 1988).

The interdisciplinary influences informing the academic development of Media Studies in the UK and underpinned by social, cultural, communication and literary theory have been explored by others (Newbold, et al, 2002, O'Malley, 2002).

However, the "tensions between sometimes connected, oft times separated, styles of

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knowledge acquisition" (O'Malley, 2002, p157) remain. This work employs elements of historical and sociological approaches to explore its main unit of analysis, media education in Scotland, and in that sense can be regarded as employing a "methodological pluralism" (McCulloch, 2004, p129). In addition, whilst this study should not be considered autobiographical, or "vanity ethnography" (Troyna, 1994, p9), the author draws upon both present and past experiences as a heuristic that informs the collection and analysis of data.

1.1.1 Why this study?

Stephen Ball (1990) has argued that the technicalities of research should include the social repertoire of the researcher herself. Explication of the role of the researcher as instrument is required if she is to be understood in the same way as those Ball describes as the more technical tools of the trade. Such reflexivity might take the form of a researcher biography and criticised by some for the risks exposure may pose in the dynamic of power relations in the academic community (Drake, 2010). Troyna (1994) comments, in addition, that such an approach risks undermining the validity of qualitative research. Others have called for a more explicit inclusion of researcher values in the process of knowledge acquisition (Skeggs, 1994, Ozga, 2000, Sikes, Nixon and Carr, 2003, Sikes and Potts, 2008). Discussing questions of ontology, epistemology and methodology, Skeggs notes "our social location and situatedness in the world will influence how we speak, see, hear and know" (Skeggs, 1994, p77).

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Some account of the experiences of the author prior to embarking upon this work, therefore, may be relevant at this point. The central aim of doing so is to locate her in relation to the chronology of events under scrutiny in chapters 4 and 5. In addition, the account described below may be usefully considered a part of the process of progressive focusing characteristic of ethnographic research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) and influencing both the subject and form of this study at its "pre-theoretical" (Ozga, 2000, p55) stage.

1.1.1.i From the personal to the professional: from inside to outside?

The tensions between "insider and outsider histories" (McCulloch, 2008, p61) have been likened to those between amateur and professional but such an analogy suggests a polarisation that does not adequately account for the ways in which such positions can produce different insights. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) point more helpfully to the different perspectives that can be generated by occupying both positions, providing access to the "inside" whilst simultaneously working to be "outside" its influence. The ways in which this might be achieved in practice, however, are not clear. Writing about the risks of insider influence, Drake's (2010) early experience in the research process suggests that insider positionality may offer the prospect of a more immediate intimacy of vision but one that the researcher may not yet be ready to see. Mercer (2007), on the other hand, argues these positions are multiple and permeable, existing on a continuum and dependent "upon the intersection of many different characteristics, some inherent and some not" (p13).

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I graduated as an English teacher in 1980 and my early professional engagement with the development and implementation of media education and Media Studies began in 1981 (4.3.2). Working in a community college where third generation unemployment, a powerful indicator of systems failure, presented considerable challenges, my complicity with an education system that seemed resigned to its cultural irrelevance for increasing numbers of that community was untenable (1.2.2.ii & 1.2.3.i). Media education offered the hope of re-connecting my teaching, not necessarily my subject, to the lived culture of students' lives and in that sense could be aligned with the pedagogies associated with adult education in general and the Workers Educational Association (WEA)⁴ in particular (O'Malley, 2002). The English department was a dynamic collection of experienced teachers, most of whom had been living and working in the area for a number of years. We were in close contact with the Forrester Media Group (4.2.4.vi) in Edinburgh who were developing Scotland's first national qualification in Media Studies. What remained a powerful individual and collective memory⁵ (Sandon, 2007) of that time, was the belief that we were a grass-roots movement, campaigning for a new and radical educational initiative, that seemed to experience success relatively quickly and relatively easily.

In that first year of teaching, I also joined the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS), the biggest teaching trade union in Scotland, and was elected on to its regional executive committee in Fife. On that committee, my political affiliation was with a

⁴ In his analysis of the tensions between history and social science, Tom O'Malley comments on the association of key early influences in the field of Media Studies, notably Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams, with the Workers Educational Association.

⁵ In her re-visit of accounts of the BBC Television Service between 1936 and 1958, Emma Sandon writes "the process of remembering is a constant negotiation of the past with the present" (p101).

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small, critical and left-thinking pressure group that aligned itself with Rank and File, a socialist federation of teachers operating within the EIS in Edinburgh. Two years later, in 1983, the media education movement (McArthur, 1994)⁶ in Scotland increased in number and visibility when the local groups, working on the ground for two years, became a national federation coordinated by the Association for Media Education in Scotland (AMES) (5.1)⁷. At the same time, however, an industrial dispute began brewing that would lead to a lengthy campaign of non-cooperation with curriculum development in which the EIS took a lead (5.1.4). Media education was a curriculum innovation and vulnerable to boycott, by accident rather than design, as a consequence. My formal involvement with AMES, and with the development of media education and Media Studies, ceased at this time, therefore, and did not begin again until the industrial dispute was settled in 1986 (5.1.4).

1.1.1.ii Consolidation

One of the outcomes of the settlement was the creation of a new promoted Senior Teacher post available exclusively for curriculum development work and negotiated locally. In 1990, I was appointed to this new post and claimed the development of Media Studies to it. As a Senior Teacher of Media Studies, a new subject identity had been created and qualification credentials acquired by return. I undertook a part-

⁶ Colin McArthur (1994) describes a 'movement' as "a historically specific grappling with the contradictions of the Scottish past and present, a set of recurrent themes and styles discernibly amounting to a collectivity" (p115). For the purposes of this study, this term is used as a broad umbrella to include all those with an interest in media education and Media Studies. In policy terms this was represented in Scotland by the Anderson document (1979)(1.1.2, 2.1.5 & 4.2.2) and signalled the 'move' to establish a codified set of practices for teaching and learning about media in Scotland. This study attaches the term to the establishing of the Scottish Council for Education Technology (SCET) in 1974 (Chapter 4). It does not imply, however, that prior to this point teaching and learning both about and through media did not take place.

⁷ I chaired AMES from 1997-2003.

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time postgraduate certificate in media education at the University of Aberdeen, followed by a diploma at the University of Strathclyde.

The preparations for curriculum change post-16 in Scotland in the 1990s created another opportunity for Media Studies and I worked as National Development Officer for Media Studies with the Higher Still Development Unit in 1997. Becoming an Examination Officer with the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) three years later in 2000 symbolised, for me, the final step in the institutionalisation of Media Studies in Scotland, almost twenty years after my first encounter with it. Professional and bureaucratic (Humes, 1986) legitimacy for Media Studies had been achieved⁸.

1.1.1.iii

Another critical incident

In 1998 I embarked on a further postgraduate qualification at the University of Strathclyde but rather than pursue another specialised media education qualification, I registered for an advanced professional studies course. Tosh (2006) argues that

[i]t is precisely our position in time relative to the subject of our enquiry that enables us to make sense of the past - to identify conditioning factors of which the historical participants were unaware, and to see consequences for what they were rather than what they were intended to be.

[p193]

⁸ The Scottish Higher marked the "advanced" as distinct from the "non-advanced". The distinction was broadly one between academic and general education

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The historical understanding of a particular occurrence proceeds by enlarging the inventory of causes, while at the same time trying to place them in some sort of pecking order. Narrative is entirely inimical to this pattern of enquiry.

[p154]

Simultaneously, I was working on a small 100 day pilot research project, investigating media education at the primary and early secondary curriculum stages, the purpose of which was to inform a more ambitious research proposal (Powell, 2002). Funded by the newly formed Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) and managed by the newly formed Scottish Screen, the project set out to collect empirical data using survey, focus group and classroom observation methods to explore understandings of what counted as media education and to observe instances of practice. The assets gained from the experience of Methods of Professional Inquiry (Stark, 1994) enabled a snapshot to be constructed using a case study approach. Three clusters of schools were identified, each comprising one secondary together with two of its associated primaries and representing rural, town and city environments with different socio-economic profiles. How to interpret the findings, however, presented a much greater struggle.

The historical narrative of the MEDP, constructed as a descriptive 'acts and facts' account, began to challenge the construction of a narrative of struggle between a popular grass-roots collective (AMES)(5.1) and a reactionary and elitist 'leadership class' (Humes, 1986)(2.2.2.ii) circulating within the media education movement

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(Instrell, 1983, Bazalgette, 1999, AMES, 2001, Masterman, 2002)(2.1.1 & 2.1.2).

However, despite the 'evidence' of an 'ensemble' (Ball, 1994)(2.1 & 2.2) of documents, selected using the trajectory of a single case, media education, and organised as a chronology (Tosh, 2006, Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), I had "narrativised" (Steedman, 2001, p68) the account. My "pre-theoretical assumptions" (Ozga, 2000, p55), discursively constructed by my experiences within the media education movement, were continuing to allow me to read past what may and may not have been there.

Furthermore, the research simultaneously undertaken for SEED had shown that there was no systematic approach to media education at the 5-14 curriculum stage. On the other hand, it demonstrated that the majority of teachers surveyed supported the concept of media education. Using other methods, therefore, but remaining at the pre-theoretical level, these findings supported the discourse in circulation within the media education movement in Scotland and beyond. The scale, scope and purpose of the SEED research project, situated in the context of policy-driven research, had militated against critique and interpretation. Its effect, therefore, was to further embed my pre-theoretical assumptions, discursively constructed by insider positionality, until a later stage in the process (2.2). 'Leaving the field' (Sikes & Potts, 2008), for me, required leaving the present of media education to enter another 'setting', one located in a more distant past (2.2.1). The process of acquiring a perspective "outside" the influence of the "inside" and developing a dialogue between them only began at this point.

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1.1.2 Media Studies, media education and institutional complexity

One of the complexities this work is required to confront is the degree to which the term media education has been used interchangeably with Media Studies. Such a phenomenon becomes observable during the process of the formation of Media Studies as a new and autonomous academic discipline (4.3). Historically, both terms, media education and Media Studies, have been collapsed in the UK for a period of more than thirty years and used to indicate a specific paradigmatic and pedagogic⁹ approach to the study of media in schools (Masterman, 1980, 1981/2 & 1985, Dick, 1987 & 1988, Bazalgette, 1989, Bowker, 1991, Alvarado & Boyd-Barrett, 1992, Buckingham, 2003). In its broadest sense, therefore, media education has been defined as the

process of increasing awareness and understanding of how the mass media function, as production processes, institutions and industries within contemporary society, and of how we interact with media processes and products

[Butts, 1988, p54].

Media Studies is used to denote an autonomous specialist course, successful completion of which results in a formal qualification in any sector offering post-14 education provision. Media education, on the other hand, includes Media Studies

⁹ The paradigm of producer/text/audience combined the concepts of institution, audience, representation, narrative, language and categories in the critical analysis and production of media texts.

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courses but also refers to a broader range of specialised media qualifications drawing upon a Media Studies paradigm and pedagogy. In addition, the term media education is used to denote a specialised mode of teaching and learning about media that draws from a Media Studies framework but exists as a permeating element in other educational contexts.

When accounting for the interchangeable use of both terms throughout the 1980s, it was argued that the underpinning conceptual framework and pedagogic practices of both media education and Media Studies was uncontested and the difference between them "administrative" (Dick, 1987 & 1988). Debates circulating in the field for a period of thirty years, however, suggest that differences exist both within and between its conceptual, pedagogic and administrative spheres that continue to demonstrate the difficulties of reconciling theoretical and institutional difference across paradigms and pedagogies (Woollacott, 1982, O'Malley, 2002, Hampton, 2005).

The development of media education in the statutory sector has been particularly adversely affected by those difficulties¹⁰ but this study proposes to focus on the nature and significance of "administrative" difference to its development in Scotland. A second context, however, relates to the management of the development of media education and Media Studies itself by those who were in key positions of influence (2.2.2 & 2.2.3). The administrative factors in play were of more fundamental

¹⁰ Minkinen (UNESCO, 1978) stresses the paradigms observed in aesthetics (arts), communications (language) and social studies (social sciences) and confirms that whilst one or more of these paradigms may dominate it isn't possible or desirable to separate them in the analysis of the relation between form and content. She recognises the difficulty of trying to bring the paradigms together in the curricula, however. Whilst aesthetics and communications are fairly well developed in schools, "the sociological approach has not been sufficiently systematic" (p23).

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importance to the success of the media education initiative in Scotland than the media education movement has acknowledged thus far (2.1.1 & 2.1.2).

The emergence of Media Studies as a post-14 curriculum option set in motion a conceptual framework and a pedagogic practice that, it was argued, was transferable to all educational contexts. Using the deceptively simple critical tools of audience, producer and text (Hall, 1980), media texts and practices were subject to critical scrutiny, to make visible the relations of power operating in these increasingly influential modes of communication. It seems clear that the media education movement in Scotland and in the UK was interested in the critical apparatus offered by the developing shape of Media Studies (Messenger Davies, 2010). The portability of its critical frame located questions of power explicitly in cultural, social and institutional contexts and expressed thus

media education can enable the good teacher to illumine relationships between education and its social, cultural, ethical, economic and political dimensions in a way difficult to parallel in other curricular disciplines [UNESCO, 1977, p8].

The challenge, therefore, extended beyond “established literary culture” (1.1.1.i & 4.3.2) to the structures and processes of institutions and was symbolic of a wider class politics (Buckingham, 2003)(1.1.1.i, 1.2.2.ii, 1.2.3 & 4.3.2).

The emergence of media education as a term was used to signal its theoretical and

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pedagogic distance from the genre of educational film and television¹¹. Unlike its predecessors therefore, the intrinsic aim of media education was to teach children and young people about the mass media (Minkkinen, 1978). Educational media, it was argued, employed media and technology to deliver more extrinsic educational outcomes. For the purposes of this work, however, media technology and screen culture in education can be seen to have converged institutionally within the SFC between 1934 and 1974 (Chapter 3) and then within SCET between 1974 and 1990 (Chapters 4 & 5). This institutional blurring may have created asymmetries of power that this work seeks to explore.

1.2 Background

1.2.1 Scottish education: an institutional overview

The systemic complexity of Scottish education is compounded by the oblique operations and processes of its professional and bureaucratic networks, exacerbating attempts to identify those in positions of influence and the relationships between them (Humes, 1986, McPherson & Raab, 1988). In light of the central importance of the curriculum to the educational process, it is surprising how little is known about curriculum initiatives arising from contexts other than the dominant centre-periphery model. Such a model is mainly understood as operating at a national level and is top-down (Gatherer, 1989). In Scotland, despite the apparent requirement for political

¹¹ Little is known, however, about the conjunctions between audiences, media and education pre-media education. Whilst the term has been used to signal the difference between using everyday media for learning and teaching rather than designated educational programming, the latter was evaluated using narrowly defined subject-specific educational outcomes.

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imposition to effect curriculum change, the operations of its education system pre-devolution appeared to have eluded even Bruce Milner, the then Secretary of State for Scotland in 1976-1979 (McPherson & Raab, 1988).

Throughout the 1970s in Scotland, questions of representation and accountability were emerging in the domains of politics, economics, education, broadcasting and culture (1.2.2.ii, 1.2.3.i, 2.1.7 & 2.1.8). Such questions exposed the institutional tensions evident in the constitutional problematic of a “stateless nation” (McCrone, 1992) particularly during a period of profound societal change. Since the Act of Union in 1707, Scotland had always maintained autonomous powers in education, although the degree to which complete autonomy was possible was open to question and is of interest to this study (Paterson, 1997). A number of writers claim the existence of links between national identity, culture and education in Scotland and this work seeks to understand how this might have played out in the media education movement (Humes & Paterson, 1983, Paterson, 1997, Anderson, 2003, McCrone, 2003).

Prior to devolution, Scotland's education powers were operationalised through the Scottish Office (Brown, 1999). The SED relied heavily on the advice of a network of people both inside and outside the bureaucracies governing education in Scotland (Humes, 1986). That network was generally regarded as the policy-making community and invitation to join extended only on the basis of ‘deference and trust’ (McPherson & Rabb, 1988). In its capacity as the ‘leadership class’ (Humes, 1986)(2.2.2.ii) in Scottish education, therefore, this community of formal and

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informal advisers had significant influence on the educational agenda in Scotland. Whilst its transmission systems, subjects, pedagogy and assessment, shared general structural similarities with those in England, the bureaucracies with responsibility for them appear to have had a different relationship with government than that in evidence in Scotland. Such operational distinctiveness, it has been argued, presented a number of opportunities for the media education movement in the statutory sector that were not available in England (Axford, 1983).

Scottish local authorities hold legal responsibility for schools and the education provision contained therein but the relationship between the national and the local is very difficult to map (McPherson & Raab, 1988)(2.2.2). In their influential work on the sociology of educational policy in Scotland, McPherson and Raab (1988) have offered an account of the decision-making apparatus that suggests the internal politics of the leadership class itself is complex. Furthermore, Paterson (1997) pointed to the impact of Scotland's position as a stateless nation (McCrone, 1992) within the UK and the influence of policies generated in Westminster on Scottish educational politics (Paterson, 1997). The desire to protect Scotland's educational traditions, demonstrated by the practices of its educational leadership class, appeared to test the patience of Michael Forsyth when he was in the Scottish Office (Humes, 1995). The Michael Forsyth factor was felt most keenly by those in the education policy-making community in Scotland

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Forsyth had a true hatred for what he saw as the enfeebling impact on Scottish life of the socialist consensus and tried to transform the comfortable, gentrified old Tories into a group of hard-nosed professionals who ideologically would take no prisoners.

[Kemp, 1993, p180]

This work focuses its attention on the period between 1929 and 1990. In 1929, the Film Society of Glasgow was established and the beginnings of a local interest in film in education created the conditions by which the Scottish Film Council would emerge. In 1990, the institutional symbiosis that developed in the intervening years between the Scottish Education Department and the Scottish Film Council formally came to an end. That period has been organised into three chapters and represents different phases in the relationship. 1929 to 1974 covers the phase when the SFC had responsibility for both the development of audio-visual technology and film culture (Chapter 3). 1974 to 1983 covers the phase whereby both responsibilities were conjoined under the umbrella of a new education bureaucracy, the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET) and the emergence of the media education movement (Chapter 4). 1983 to 1986 covers the term of the Media Education Development Project (1983-1986) and the phase when the relationship between the SFC and the SED begins to change (Chapter 5). These periods function as broad organisational categories but in practice this study finds it necessary to move between them and beyond them at times (Tosh, 2006)(1.1). Within those periods changes to the ways in which education was organised, delivered and developed in Scotland were

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made and it is the substance of those "administrative" changes that informs the shape of this work.

1.2.1.i 1929-1974 (Chapter 3)

According to Robert Anderson, the distinctiveness of Scottish education "has been a mark of national identity to be defended against assimilation with England" (Anderson, 2003, p219). David McCrone also sees strong links between culture, nationalism and Scottish education in his analysis of the endurance of the egalitarian myth of Scottish education. In his view any attack on Scottish education is "perceived as an attack on Scottish culture and identity itself" (McCrone, 2003, p244). The historical association of its schools and its universities shaped a perception of Scottish education that was liberal and egalitarian. Responsible for the emergence of the Scotch Education Department, the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 also introduced compulsory elementary education from the age of five to thirteen, rising to fourteen in 1901. Scottish local authorities took responsibility for the delivery of education in 1929 (Limond, 2002) and is where this work begins.

The influential Association for Directors of Education (ADES) was formed in 1920 and both ADES and HMI were significant sources of advice for the SED (Humes, 1986). The development of two distinct sectors, elementary and secondary, promoted a core general curriculum for the working class in the main, and a more elite curriculum for the growing middle-class who were looking for professional and academic qualification credentials (Anderson, 2003). Following the Second World

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War, further changes were made that would give access to secondary education for all but the elitism was maintained by the creation of two types of secondary school, the 'junior' three-year and the 'senior' five year school, allocation to which was determined by selection. In 1965, selection was abolished and the process of providing six year secondary schools for all in Scotland began (Paterson, 2003).

The Education (Scotland) Act of 1963 established a body with statutory responsibility for the conduct of the Scottish Certificate of Education (SCE)(Paterson, 2003). The Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board (SCEEB) was constituted to conduct the public examinations taken by secondary school students at the age of sixteen and beyond and to advise the Secretary of State for Scotland on related matters. A complex bureaucracy developed in which a number of committees, subject panels and examining teams were serviced by a permanent administrative and professional staff (Humes, 1986).

Before a statutory assessment body was set up, the Scottish Education Department (SED), in partnership with its executive body, Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI), had had responsibility for administering its public examinations (McPherson & Raab, 1988). The responsibility for advising the Secretary of State on curriculum matters fell to the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland (3.2.3.i). This was replaced in 1965 by the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (CCC). Statutory responsibility for the curriculum, however, lies with local authorities and the CCC was in a less influential position, therefore, than the SCEEB. Tensions between these two bodies have emerged at a number of junctures since their establishment in the

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1960s.

Scotland maintained the structural independence of its curriculum and assessment functions but the practice of dual membership of the committees forming the different bureaucracies together with the patronage operated by HMI worked as a mechanism for central control (Humes & Paterson, 1983). The purpose of keeping the functions distinct, however, may have been to preserve an illusion of the independent integrity of the curriculum. On the other hand, such an arrangement may have had another purpose that relates to the shared view of Anderson (2003) and McCrone (2003). Criticism of the SED and its partnership with HMI was predicated on what was perceived to be an undemocratic process of decision-making in the educational sphere. The SED and HMI, however, may also have been anxious to preserve the distinction of Scottish education in order to resist its assimilation. Maintaining influence, therefore, in its key transmission systems, the curriculum and assessment bodies, was crucial to the preservation of Scottish culture and identity.

The two most powerful internal bureaucracies of the SED's armour, the SCEEB and HMI, have combined effectively as its innovators and regulators in this way. In practice, therefore, the internal self-regulatory mechanisms evident in Scotland's main education bureaucracies operate as effectively as external legislation.

1.2.1.ii 1974-1986 (Chapter 4 & 5)

The CCC adopted a similarly complex bureaucratic system of operation to that

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demonstrated by the SCEEB and gained considerable influence in the 1970s (Humes, 1986) but in 1974 a third bureaucracy emerged that would disturb the educational body politic. The Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET) was established to "help the education system use media effectively in the classroom or lecture theatre" (Paine, 1999, p191). Such a description considerably underplays the ripple SCET created in the educational pond but more interestingly it also underplays the role of the Scottish Film Council (SFC) in its formation (2.1.3). Paine cites SCET's origins in the Scottish Central Film Library (3.1.1.ii & 3.2.2) but this work seeks to uncover the complexity of the relationship that existed between the SFC and the SED in the period before the establishment of those three bureaucracies, CCC, SCEEB and SCET(Chapter 3).

SCET emerged from the educational technology movement in the UK (4.1). The Scottish educational policy community created a new Scottish education institution for the purpose of developing educational technology out of the pre-existing SFC. From the outset, the political salience of curriculum issues was evident in the positioning of CCC as the senior body with responsibility for curriculum development. SCET did not have the complex bureaucratic structures and procedures forming the SCEEB or the CCC and appeared to have greater autonomy as a consequence¹². With the unlikely remit of developing film culture and educational technology in Scotland, it may be that a degree of flexibility was important. However, SCET was initially conceived of as a service and research agency and as

¹² Humes' (1986) argues that SCEEB and CCC are dominated by the interests of professional educationists and self-serving as a consequence. SCET was not governed in the same way but Humes argues that it was more directly under the control of the SED itself, through the RIU.

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such may have been considered to be something of an educational outsider. The political, economic and cultural context within which the Anderson paper (1979)(2.1.5 & 4.2.2) emerged from SCET, therefore, is significant (Chapter 4).

One further educational outsider of significance to this work, however, was comprised of the bureaucracies established to administer the vocational qualifications offered by the further education sector in Scotland. The Scottish Technical Education Council (SCOTEC) and the Scottish Business Education Council (SCOTBEC) were set up to standardise vocational education in that sector (Humes, 1986). The first Media Studies course available to the secondary and further education sectors in Scotland was administered by SCOTBEC (4.2.4.vi). A merger between SCOTEC and SCOTBEC created the Scottish Vocational Education Council (SCOTVEC) in 1985 and, like SCET, it caused significant ripples in Scottish educational politics and is important to an understanding of the fortunes of the media education movement (Chapter 5).

1.2.1.iii Post-devolution postscript

From 1974 to 1999, the three bureaucracies informing the operations of Scotland's curriculum, assessment and resource functions experienced substantial structural changes following the first devolution referendum in 1979 and leading up to the second in 1997. The SED also survived eighteen years of a Conservative administration in Scotland that began to lose its mandate in that territory throughout the 1980s (Hutchison, 2001). Whilst education in Scotland was able to shield itself

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from the full impact of the radical changes brought by that Conservative administration, the creeping marketisation of mainstream education in England in particular, it did sustain casualties in the process.

The SCEEB became the Scottish Examination Board (SEB) in 1983 when a new system of assessment was put into operation for the 14-16 curriculum stage (Humes, 1986)(4.2.3). Prior to this, the secondary sector in Scotland had resisted offering vocational pathways but developments in England forced change (Paterson, 1997). In 2000, however, a new unitary assessment body was created with responsibility for all qualifications on offer at the post-14 stage whether presented in the upper secondary or further education sectors (Paterson, 2003). The merger between the SEB and SCOTVEC resulted in the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) and was the culmination of a process that began in the early 1980s (4.3.5 & 5.1.1). When Media Studies appeared as an option for school students in Scotland's National Qualification framework in 1999 it acquired status as a qualification credential, available as an object of exchange to the university sector, for the first time.

The CCC became the Scottish Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (SCCC) in 1988 but effectively lost its curriculum development function in the process. In 1990 the SCET and the SFC became independent bodies once again and in 2000, SCET merged with the SCCC to form Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS). The SFC became Scottish Screen in 1997.

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1.2.2 Institutional and national contexts: an overview of the emergence of media education in the UK

1.2.2.i The BFI and SEFT: the study of film and television in higher education

In the 1950s and mainly as a reaction to the work of Leavis and Thompson (1934)¹³, a radical interest in film and its potential in education began to emerge from the margins. As a consequence, an early grass-roots collective of teachers established themselves firstly as The Society of Film Teachers (SFT) and then as the Society for Education in Film and Television (SEFT) in 1959. During its lifetime, SEFT produced a number of publications including, *The Film Teacher*, *Screen Education* and *Screen*. Terry Bolas, an early member of SEFT has documented an account of screen education in Britain (Bolas, 2009) and whilst useful to note the continuing absence of Scotland's story, it is not the intention of this work to engage with its detail.

The place of film "in its own right" in higher education in particular, had been argued on the grounds that its instrumental use in schools and colleges had been established for some time but that until a framework for film study was developed in the academy, the use of film in schools and colleges could not evolve (Whannel, 1970).

The tone of Paddy Whannel's article reflected the optimism felt at the beginning of

¹³ Leavis, FR & Thompson, Denys (1934) *Culture and Environment*, London: Chatto and Windus. Denys Thompson later edited "Discrimination and Popular Culture" (1964) in which the role of 'appreciation' in discriminating between cultural texts of value (elite) and those which were not (mass) was continued.

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the 1970s following the educational policy decisions taken in the 1960s to expand provision in all its sectors (Lawton, 2005). New thinking about its transmission systems subsequently emerged and the new sociology of education (Young, 1971) questioned the efficacy of a curriculum shaped by subject traditions and pedagogies and offered the hope, at least, of change.

The hegemony of textual studies and literary criticism informing the development of Film Studies at that time was challenged by the arrival of a more sociologically informed interest in the media (O'Malley, 2002). Promoted in the main by the work of the Birmingham School and the University of Leicester, the development of academic interest in television and popular culture generated an interesting tension that would lead to the development of Media Studies (3.3.1.i). Scholars mapping the history of the theoretical framings of Media Studies (Gurevitch, Bennett, Curran & Woollacott, 1982; Collins, Curran, Garnham, Scannell, Schlesinger & Sparks, 1986; McQuail, D, 1987; Curran & Gurevitch, 1991; Boyd-Barrett & Newbold, 1995; Marris & Thornham, 1996) construct narrative trajectories suggestive of an even and unified process emerging from the field's own internal dynamic. The institutional determinants shaping the tensions between aesthetics and sociology, however, revealed a number of battles over spheres of influence. The multi-disciplinary origins of Media Studies emerging from a number of pre-existing paradigms, therefore, gave rise to power struggles not only between disciplines but also between institutions in the early stages of its formation. A broad interest in the growth of the media industries and its impact on social, cultural and educational relationships was in general evidence although the particular motivations underpinning such an interest

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were frequently conflicting and contradictory.

In partnership with SEFT, the British Film Institute (BFI) began to exercise a more influential role in the development of Film Studies in Britain particularly in the 1960s and 1970s (Bolas, 2009). Its remit to develop film as art and a budget with which to support limited production had been proposed by the Radcliffe Report of 1948 (Radcliffe, 1948). The Labour government of 1964, however, provided political support for its artistic endeavours thanks to the patronage of Jenny Lee in particular (Nowell-Smith, 2006). The pioneering work of the BFI included conferences, summer schools and the funding of associate lectureships. The developing influence of critique emerging in the main from European film informed much of the work of the BFI's education department in the 1960s but led to a crisis at the BFI in 1970 that was precipitated by the British film industry. *Screen's* interest in emergent European film theory resulted in accusations that the BFI was not supporting the British film industry and for a public body this was potentially damaging. A number of resignations followed including that of Paddy Whannel, the head of its education department (Nowell-Smith, 2006). According to Bolas, however, when Philip Simpson replaced Whannel and direct funding from the DES (Department of Education and Science) financed the BFI's work, a more strategic approach to an intervention in mainstream education began to emerge (Bolas, 2009).

The developing partnership with the BFI, however, had resulted in SEFT becoming more centralised and its capacity to speak as a grass-roots body was contested on a number of occasions and SEFT disbanded in 1989. Bolas notes the irony of the

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demise of SEFT coinciding with the appearance of a limited curriculum instruction for media education in the newly imposed National Curriculum (Bolas, 2009). The BFI's capacity to represent the interests of teachers and schools has also frequently been challenged (Clarke, 1986) but its Charter, at least, required it to promote the study of cinema and television in education (Learmonth & Sayer, 1996). Without the assistance of political influence or a network of schools and teachers, however, its capacity to undertake that charge was limited.

The BFI's advocacy of the study of film and television in schools and colleges should have been considerably strengthened by the recommendations of the Newsom Report (Ministry of Education, 1963). His report stated that the study of film and television would enhance the school curriculum and was deserving of a place. Newsom attributed education's failure to improve social mobility for working class children in part to the growing disjunction between the popular cultures and practices operating outside schools and the more traditional cultural practices operating inside.

However, the BFI has had little success lobbying for the statutory inclusion of media education in the pre-14 curriculum despite its apparent gains at the level of policy.

The Thatcher administration introduced statutory curriculum orders for the teaching of all subjects and the BFI successfully lobbied for media texts to be included in the teaching of English. The vagueness of the terms of reference for the teaching of such, however, enabled media texts to be assimilated within a traditional paradigm and pedagogy. Audits of practice in the teaching of media in English identified a synonymous association between "non-fiction" and "media" in the practice of English

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teachers affected by the statutory curriculum order. The lack of familiarity with the paradigmatic and pedagogic practices of Media Studies had resulted in a preference for print media forms over film and television drama (Hart & Benson, 1993, Dickson, 1994, Learmonth & Sayer, 1996, Barratt, 1998) . Exceptions to this pattern were found only where the influence of Media Studies post-14 was in evidence and also in the emergence of the specialist school sector that generated opportunities to develop a media specialism (Burn & Durran, 2007). A more systematic investigation of the impact of this is only just beginning, however, and at too early a stage of development for comment¹⁴.

In comparison to Scotland, educational provision in England is less cohesive (Axford, 1983)(1.2.1). Arguably, statutory curriculum instructions may be necessary in the bewildering complexity of local education provision that lurched from one government policy initiative to the next and described as a "policy epidemic" (Ball, 1999). Analyses of a rapidly changing education system taking the brunt of substantial shifts in public sector ideology informed by choice and accountability discourses throughout the 1980s, 1990s and beyond have been done elsewhere and beyond the scope of this study (Ball, 1994 & 2003). However, for the purposes of this work it has been important to keep policy developments in education in England firmly in view.

¹⁴ Developing Media Literacy: Towards a Model of Learning Progression is a three year ESRC funded project led by David Buckingham and Andrew Burn and located in six schools associated with the Media Arts specialism.

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1.2.2.ii The SFC & SCET: culture and technology in compulsory education

In Scotland, the media education movement was facilitated by a partnership between educational technology and film culture that was located within an education bureaucracy in the compulsory sector (4.1). In part, this difference can be explained by the administrative and operational distinctiveness of the two education systems. However, it also betrays a significant difference of approach to the media education initiative itself in Scotland that has been shaped by the existence of historical antagonisms within and between some of its key actors, the SED and the DES, the SFC and the BFI.

What appeared to have been a long-standing and productive partnership between the Scottish Film Council (SFC) and the Scottish Education Department (SED) at that time resulted in the groundbreaking Media Education Development Project (MEDP) in 1983 and was unrivalled by anything similar in England, Wales or Northern Ireland (4.3.4). By 1986, the MEDP had delivered a number of Media Studies qualifications in the vocational sector post-16, a network of education practitioners spanning sector and subject and a catalogue of published teaching resources that included in-service and CNAA-accredited course provision for teachers regardless of sector and subject locations. It had not, however, made any significant inroads in provision in the statutory pre-14 general education sector.

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The low priority given to the cultural production of Scottish film may have encouraged the SFC to ghettoise its cultural production work because the maintenance of its historical attachment to compulsory education was important to its survival (3.2.1.iii, 3.2.3.iii, 3.2.3.iv, 4.1.1 & 4.1.2). In addition, that attachment had sustained a long relationship between media technology, culture and education in its broadest sense and positioned the SFC favourably when the SED looked to establish a Scottish Council for Educational Technology (4.1). At this point, the SFC effectively became an SED bureaucracy and moved from the periphery closer to the centre of its policy-making community. Whilst the official conjoining in Scotland of educational technology and film culture, of SCET and SFC, created a number of problems, it also presented a number of opportunities that were fully exploited by both (Chapter 4 & 5). For the purposes of this work, an exploration of the SFC's long partnership with the SED has facilitated a more nuanced understanding of the institutional, organisational and individual complexity of the development of media education and Media Studies in Scotland.

The media education movement in Scotland may have demonstrated a desire circulating within and between its cultural and education spheres, to consolidate a sense of “Scottishness”. Drawing attention to the constitutional problematic of broadcasting and culture in Scotland, Schlesinger writes about the extent to which “the self-conscious identification with Scotland of the Scottish-based press, radio and television promotes a sense of distinctive Scottishness amongst the public” (Schlesinger, 1998, p62). Whilst it may be difficult to make explicit the links between the public’s consumption of Scottish-based media and “Scottishness”, a

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“reciprocal connection” may be “assumed”. McCrone (2003) and Paterson (1997) draw attention to the influence of a national consciousness in the shaping of Scotland's institutional "particularity" (Limond, 2002).

The SFC protected its distinctiveness from the BFI and in so doing appeared to find favour with an education department that sought also to protect its distinction from the DES (2.2.2.i). The impact of that approach, however, ricocheted within their distinct communities of practitioners, the Scottish film-makers and teachers, whose agency was constrained by the cultural and educational politics of Scotland's relationship with the UK (1.2.3.i, 2.1.7 & 2.1.8). In the 1930s, Scotland's film society movement, inextricably bound to its relationship with Scottish film-making at that time, had expressed unease about the developing relationship between the SFC and education in the early stages of the SFC's constitution (3.2.1). Similarly, in the 1970s, Scotland's film-making community gave voice to frustrations at the limited opportunities for film-making in Scotland, and located the responsibility for that with a backward-looking SFC (Bruce, 1996). In his book about cinema and Scotland, David Bruce oversimplifies the complex history of the SFC's relationship with the SED and marginalises the role influential members of Scotland's education 'leadership class' played in what became an independent SFC in 1990 (Bruce, 1996)¹⁵. However, the SFC and the SED appeared to have had a more interdependent relationship than he may have been able to acknowledge.

¹⁵ David Bruce was Director of the SFC from 1986 to 1994. Prior to that he was a Depute Director of SCET from 1969. Specifically, he "was brought in" (Bruce, 1996, p133) to develop the role of the SFC in Scottish film culture.

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At the same time, Scottish teachers working in areas of social and economic disadvantage during the education expansion of the 1970s became increasingly frustrated by the education system's apparent inability to change and meet the needs of a generation of a young people (1.1.1.i, 1.2.3, 4.2.4.vi). Scotland's administratively devolved education system (Pickard & Dobie, 2003) was unable to negate the impact of class on the life histories of working class children in the social, political and economic context of the 1970s and 1980s. According to some, although access to Scotland's educational institutions had been extended and expanded as a result of a number of Education Acts since 1945, its transmission systems continued to maintain the hegemony of a liberal and elite ideology (Anderson, 2003). Issues of representation in and of Scotland, in the spheres of film and broadcasting and education, therefore, came to the fore at this time.

At its constitution in 1934, the SFC argued that its position as a Scottish film cultural agency was distinct from the BFI's other regional offices and as such merited greater autonomy. Its argument was powerfully supported by its relationship with the SED (3.2.1). The BFI, on the other hand, clearly positioned the SFC as a regional office through which BFI policy decisions that were formulated in London would be implemented across Scotland. A forerunner of the SFC, however, already had a history of working with film in schools in Glasgow that took the shape of the Scottish Educational Cinema Society (3.1.1.i), the Scottish Educational Sight and Sound Association established itself in Edinburgh soon afterwards (3.1.1.ii). Its established educational connections and record of work in the sphere of education generally and in the compulsory sector particularly, enabled it to petition for and subsequently rely

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on annual funding from the Scottish Education Department. This is an important difference between the SFC and the BFI as the latter came from the adult education rather than the school sector. SFC's stronger association with the school sector may have been a consequence of the compulsory sector's early systemisation in Scotland¹⁶.

1.2.3 The renewal of curriculum and culture in Scotland

1.2.3.i The Bill Forsyth moment

David Buckingham referred to the politics of the Channel Four moment (1982) when talking about media education and Media Studies developments in England (Bolas, 2009). In Scotland, however, whilst that stimulus was undoubtedly present (Dick, 1990, Bruce, 1996, Petrie, 2000)(5.1.2), another factor may have been the constraints upon film production opportunity in Scotland (Bruce, 2008). Filmmakers such as Bill Douglas and Bill Forsyth, had been working to develop a new Scottish cinema in the 1970s (McIntyre, 1984, 1985, Caughie, 1990) but had to look to sources outside Scotland for financial support. Douglas' *Trilogy* (*My Childhood*, 1972, *My Ain Folk*, 1973 & *My Way Home*, 1978) was financed by the British Film Institute's Production Fund and Forsyth's *Gregory's Girl* (1981) was part funded by the National Film Finance Corporation. No source of institutional finance for independent production was available in Scotland until 1982 when a joint initiative between the Scottish Film Council (SFC) and the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) resulted in the establishment of

¹⁶ Whilst this difference is important institutionally, the media education movement in Scotland adopted education discourse circulating in the adult education movement irrespective of the institutional spaces in which they were mobilised.

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the Scottish Film Production Fund (Dick, 1990).

The SFC was frequently criticised by its film-making community with regard to the incapacity of its infrastructure to support the production of Scottish film. However, the tipping point may have occurred when the SFC joined forces with the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET) in 1974, a move that would bring it financial security but mark it institutionally as an education bureaucracy. The SFC appointed its first film education officer, a former secondary school English teacher soon afterward. Concerned that SFC was now constituted first and foremost in educational terms, separate development of Scottish independent film production initiatives, *Film Bang* in 1976 and *Cinema and a Small Country* in 1977 (Bruce, 2008), may have signalled a final loss of patience with the SFC. The publication of Colin McArthur's sharp critique of representations of Scotland on screen additionally worked to undermine what were generally regarded as the outmoded representational practices of film-making in Scotland that were largely maintained by the SFC (McArthur, 1982).

The SFC's capacity to promote a Scottish film and television culture was constrained by the constitutional restrictions imposed upon broadcasting and film production. In 1980, BBC Scotland had proposed axing its School Broadcasting Council in a bid to rationalise expenditure. The 1978 revision of the license fee had not been enough to "stem the erosion of inflation" (McDowell, 1992, p266) and cuts across the Corporation were required. The School Broadcasting Council for Scotland accused BBC Scotland of not fulfilling its Charter obligations and the latter subsequently

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approached the SED for funding but was refused. Resistance to the potentially greater influence of Scottish education emerged from within the Scottish arts community at this time which opposed funding from the SED on the grounds that the broadcaster's neutrality would be compromised. Dedicated schools' broadcasting provided Scotland's wider cultural community with audience exposure that might be lost if it became more heavily circumscribed by the SED (McDowell, 1992). What was beginning to emerge, therefore, was the complex of institutional and organisational interdependency in the spheres of media culture, technology and education in Scotland.

Bill Forsyth's first feature film, *That Sinking Feeling* (1979), premiered in the same year as an unsuccessful devolution referendum. Made on a shoestring budget, it used the location of a permanently damp Glasgow as the space where a group of young unemployed men resort to robbing a stainless steel sink factory in order to fulfil their dream of selling Irn Bru abroad. The representations on offer created an image of a city failing to imagine a future that would nurture and sustain generations of its young people. Failed by an education system that had ceased to be relevant in a failing economy, their crime signals a poverty of ambition evident at every level. *That Sinking Feeling* spoke to the concerns of its education and film-making community alike. Working as an allegory, it represented a nation that was on the slippery slope in all its spheres, education, economics, culture and politics.

A further treatise on representations of Scottish nationality and identity was mobilised in *Gregory's Girl* (Forsyth, 1980), Forsyth's second feature film. Using the location

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of a modern Scottish comprehensive school in a west of Scotland, central belt New Town, *Gregory's Girl* projected an image of Scotland in 1981 that was distinctly different from the standard filmic fare previously on offer. A new generation of young people, yet to leave school, play with representations of gender in a context that displays none of the discursive signifiers identified by McArthur as redundant. The emergence of technology, aspiration and enterprise replaced the poverty of ambition symbolised in Forsyth's previous film. This alternative vision transferred power from outmoded and irrelevant institutions to the agency of its young people and in the wake of the unsuccessful devolution referendum in 1979, suggested new ways of imagining Scotland as a post-colonial, post-industrial, post-modern space.

Scotland's cultural renaissance in the realm of cinema, sparked by a "radical political reaction to the dissatisfaction of the late 1970s" (Petrie, 2000), may also have been emerging in the sphere of education. For some in that sector, the conceptual and pedagogic framework beginning to emerge in Media Studies offered the possibility of educational change (Chapter 4). Media education would, it was hoped, challenge the efficacy of traditional subjects and pedagogies rendering visible, thus, the operations of both the media and education as "consciousness industries" (Collins, 1976). The catalyst for such a synergy may, as Petrie suggests, have been a dissatisfaction with the 1970s but the 1980s had a substantial impact on the operations of both the cultural and education sectors in Scotland.

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1.2.3.ii Smoke and mirrors?

The BFI had experienced difficulty exercising influence in the compulsory sector in England but in partnership with SEFT, it had more success in the higher education sector in the UK. The availability of film fellowship funding was the catalyst for a number of higher education institutions, to develop intellectual work on film and television (Izod, 1989)(4.2.4.v & 5.1.3). Expansion, competition and specialisation encouraged a plurality of approaches in the higher education sector but debates about the relevance of those approaches to the statutory sector created internal divisions in the media education movement in England (Williamson, 1985, Bazalgette, 1986).

The SFC had no locus in the higher education sector in Scotland but its position in the compulsory sector enabled it to harness the emerging intellectual dynamic between culture and education in the late 1970s (4.2.4). Entering the media education debate at a later point than SEFT and the BFI avoided the theoretical and pedagogical disagreements in circulation at that time. The strategy generated for media education as a consequence involved all Scotland's education sectors in a more productive alliance than that which had prevailed in England (Anderson, 1979)(4.2.4).

The strategy was perceived to be emerging from the peripheral agencies of SCET and the SFC. The establishment of a grass-roots organisation in Scotland did not happen until 1983, four years following the publication of the Anderson document (Anderson, 1979) and was part of the MEDP(5.1). However, when AMES was constituted, media education was seen by some to have made gains as a consequence of the endeavours of a grass-roots collective that won the support of the Scottish educational

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policy-making community along the way (Masterman, 2002, Gormlie & Instrell, 2004/2005). Some members of the media education movement in England, therefore, looked north to the successes of what was regarded to be a partnership between SFC and AMES (2.1.1 & 2.1.2). The BFI laid particular stress upon the gains that could be made in media education in tandem with a grass-roots collective of classroom practitioners, described by Bazalgette (1999) as "enthusiasts" . What may have been less widely known, however, was the support the media education initiative enjoyed from within the policy-making community in Scotland before the MEDP came to fruition (Chapters 3 & 4).

A view that the development of media education in Scotland achieved democratic consensus through the operations of a grass-roots body of classroom activists has often been promoted both within and beyond its national borders. However, there has been little sustained analysis of its origins and development.

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2.1 Gathering an 'ensemble' of discourses, actors and events: culture, education and technology in the 1970s and 1980s

Accounts of the development of media education in the school sector in the UK (Masterman, 1985, Alvarado & Boyd-Barrett, 1992, Buckingham, 1993, 1998, 2003) can be thought of broadly as promotional and campaigning literature and characteristic of a particular evolutionary stage in the development of a new curriculum subject (Goodson, 1981). One of the purposes of documents of this type is to persuade a wider audience of the validity of an identified 'need' by promoting a distinctive body of knowledge and practice. In seeking to establish a foothold in a crowded marketplace, the desire to establish difference, in this particular case between educational¹⁷ and other forms of media in teaching and learning, was manifest. In Scotland, this emergent discourse was promoted in the main through the offices of SCET, that through its subsidiary agency, the SFC, had responsibility for both.

It is not for this study to contribute to the debate about the form and shape of either Media Studies or media education in the compulsory sector in Scotland but the study does point to the need for a better understanding of the relationship between subject as paradigm and subject as pedagogy (John & Baggott La Velle, 2004). Buckingham (2003) states that media education is "the process of teaching and learning about media" (Buckingham, 2003, p4). Such an apparently straightforward explanation

¹⁷ The narrowly instrumental use of media technology and culture in teaching and learning

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elides the struggles to define Media Studies and media education that have spanned almost half a century (1.1.2). He also acknowledged the need to take account of the changing social and cultural contexts within which those debates had taken place but more interestingly for this study, "to relate them to the ongoing struggles for control over educational policy-making" (Buckingham, 2003). To identify and interpret those struggles, this work requires us to refuse the conflation of Media Studies and media education in order to explain the salience of "administrative" differences and spheres of influence. The tensions operating in the educational policy-making community in Scotland throughout the 1970s and 1980s and how these effected the development of media education and Media Studies are a significant interest.

2.1.1 A failed project?

Most writing in this field has been generated by key individuals, institutions and organisations within the media education movement (1.1). The main body of work relating to media education in Scotland has been authored and published by the Association for Media Studies in Scotland (AMES) in the pages of the *Media Education Journal (MEJ)*. Documents published by the Scottish Educational Technology Council (SCET) and the Scottish Film Council (SFC) reporting in particular on the progress of the Media Education Development Project (MEDP) from 1983 to 1986 are also of key import.

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In a keynote address given to an annual AMES conference in 1999, Cary Bazalgette¹⁸, then the BFI's principal education officer, and a leading player in the media education movement in England, took its audience by surprise when she asserted that the media education movement itself was to blame for the absence of media education in the compulsory sector. Almost twenty years earlier, John Caughie had argued for "clear arguments, clear strategies, clear definitions and achievable objectives" at a media education conference held in Glasgow in 1980 (Cowle, 1981)(2.1.5). According to Bazalgette, therefore, this had not been achieved because its "confused and contradictory" purpose was identified as the main reason why "the enthusiasts and the lobbyists" have "failed to sell it to governments" and "the majority of teachers" (Bazalgette, 1999).

Speaking in the wake of Making Movies Matter, the report of the Film Education Working Group (FEWG) delivered to the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in 1999¹⁹, Bazalgette argued "that one definable, coherent and recognisable sector of the media education project is the moving image" so "*we* [emphasis added] should refocus the media education project on the moving image alone". Her argument was made on the grounds that convergence would have the consequence of producing a single access point: the screen. The discourse of failure Bazalgette was

¹⁸ I convened AMES at this time and Cary Bazalgette had been invited to address the AMES conference on the grounds that the BFI was perceived to be the only UK body with any agency in relation to media education at that particular point. AMES had also invited Richard Collins, then head of the BFI's education department, to attend one of its national executive meetings to discuss strategy in Scotland. The institutionalisation of Media Studies in the secondary sector had fully occupied the attentions of AMES throughout the 1990s and the generation of a debate that would focus on media education anew was a key motivation. Discussions with Scottish Screen had not been fruitful in this regard.

¹⁹ It is useful to compare this intervention with an earlier intervention in 1981 by the Department of Industry (DOI) in relation to computers in schools (5.2.1)

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constructing for her Scottish audience was done in the context of a renewed political and economic focus on popular media culture from which the BFI sought to gain advantage. In fact, however, the BFI had not failed to persuade the Department of Education and Science (DES) of the worth of media education at the pre-14 curriculum stage. Media education existed as an element of the National Curriculum for English (Buckingham, 2003). What she meant was that "the majority of teachers" were not delivering the model of media education "codified in the British Film Institute's 'Curriculum Statements', published in 1989 and 1991" (Buckingham, 2001).

The New Labour government of 1997 had signalled a higher priority for the commodification of British culture and renewed interest in film in the UK had emerged from a new government department, the DCMS (Hill, 2004). A tricky strategic manoeuvre was required on the part of the BFI, therefore, to convince an audience committed to media education that a re-focusing on the screen was the solution to its problems. Avoiding the politics of the term "screen education" (1.2.2.i & 1.2.3.ii), however, Bazalgette argued that "moving image" education offered a more relevant and coherent framework than had previously been available in media education.

The BFI seized the opportunity to bring a renewed emphasis to the conceptual and pedagogic practices of media education, therefore, by focusing on film, as a result of DCMS interest in "developing a more "cineliterate" audience for cinema" (BFI, 1999). The relationship between "cineliterate" cinema audiences and film production had been a concern of both the BFI and the SFC since the 1930s and was not,

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therefore, a new idea²⁰. Bazalgette's argument for the shift from "media" to "moving image", however, was not successful in Scotland²¹. Whilst her analysis was considered to be fundamentally flawed (Masterman, 2002, Butts, 2004/05) and the accusation of incoherence rejected with vigour (AMES, 2001)²², elements of the media education movement in Scotland had some sympathy with her view that the failure to persuade policy-makers of the case for media education was a failure that it should take responsibility for (Gormlie & Instrell, 2004/2005).

2.1.1.i AMES responds

In January, 2001, an AMES' newsletter²³ published responses to Bazalgette's intervention from a number of Scottish "enthusiasts", all of whom rejected her arguments. Margaret Hubbard (Appendix C), in particular, drew attention not only to the confused and contradictory principle Bazalgette was invoking to justify the switch from the general to the specific that "strips media education of what makes it matter" (Hubbard, 2001, p8)(2.1.5 & 4.2.2.i)²⁴, she also drew attention to the BFI's position as an institution with a vested interest in moving image. In 2002, Len Masterman, a long-time supporter of AMES and the media education movement in Scotland²⁵, entered the fray (Masterman, 2002). In what constituted a personal attack on

²⁰ It is useful to note the discursive shift from "cineliteracy" back to "media literacy" (1.1). Such a shift speaks to the possibilities of trans/interdisciplinarity (Wheatley, 2007, Bailey, 2009). See also 3.2.4.i.

²¹ Scottish Screen have been promoting such an approach in Scotland, however.

²² Association for Media Education in Scotland, AMES News, January 2001

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ Len Masterman was a contributor to early AMES' conferences. He wrote a celebratory piece for the twentieth edition of the *MEJ* in 2004/2005.

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Bazalgette on the one hand²⁶, but a cogent and coherent analysis of the BFI's institutional role in the media education and Media Studies debate in England, on the other, he drew attention to what Coats (2005) had identified as the difficulties of attaching the 'right' institutions to the 'right' policies. Masterman suggested that it was the institutional incoherence of the BFI rather than the conceptual and pedagogic incoherence of media education that should take the responsibility for any failure (Masterman, 2002).

With that keynote address to AMES, Bazalgette had opened up a number of old wounds that had been, perhaps, more routinely exposed to public scrutiny in the pages of *Screen* and *Screen Education* in the 1980s (Masterman, 1981/82, Bazalgette, 1986, Buckingham, 1986, Clarke, 1986 & Masterman, 1986)²⁷. On this occasion, however, a re-enactment of those battles was being played out in Scotland, a foreign educational field and one that had avoided the tensions evident in the media education movement in England (2.1.5). Bazalgette's subsequent response to Masterman's monograph detailed the complex manoeuvres required by the BFI in the late 1980s and early 1990s to maintain a presence for both Media Studies as an elective in the secondary school sector and for the possibility of media education as an entitlement for all learners in England (Bazalgette, 2002). The appropriateness of such a debate taking place in the context of an AMES conference, however, was questionable.

Furthermore, even in the context of England, questions about the legitimacy of the

²⁶ Bazalgette and Masterman have polarised the media education debate in England since the early 1980s and represent the contests between platform (film and television), form (fiction and non-fiction) and approach (arts and humanities and sociology).

²⁷ Bazalgette also opened wounds inflicted by Paddy Whannel on behalf of the BFI when he addressed SEFA in 1960 (3.2.4.i).

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extent to which the BFI had brought its institutional influence to bear on the media education debate had played out in and through SEFT in the past (Bolas, 2009).

Since the demise of SEFT, AMES was the only body of grass-roots media education practitioners in the UK. The BFI used the AMES annual conference as a space where Bazalgette could argue for a shift in media education 'policy discourse' (Ball, 1994) that reflected the shifting institutional politics of both the BFI and the DCMS. However, her criticism of the media education movement, upon which the shift was predicated, was not relevant to the Scottish context (1.2.2.ii).

Twenty years after the publication of the first issue of the *Media Education Journal* (MEJ)²⁸, Gormlie and Instrell, leading players in the MEDP (Appendix C), produced an account of the development of Media Studies in Scotland (Gormlie & Instrell, 2004/2005). In that account they also identified failures within the media education movement in Scotland for the lack of progress in media education that was suggestive of strategic, rather than conceptual weaknesses on the part of the grass-roots activists. In their view, the lack of attention given to the development in the primary and teacher education sectors was partly responsible for the continued absence of a place for media education in the pre-14 curriculum and constituted a strategic failure on the part of the Forrester Media Group (FMG)(4.2.4.vi) and AMES (5.1). Gormlie & Instrell argued that the media education movement had persuaded policy-makers of the value of Media Studies in the early 1980s but the attention both FMG and AMES paid to Media Studies had marginalised the development of media education. The response of the CCC to the Anderson document (1979) however, suggested that policy-makers had not been persuaded by the argument for Media Studies (McNicoll,

²⁸ AMES, *Journal of the Association for Media Education in Scotland*, no 1, 1984

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1984) and the terms of the MEDP further highlighted this (4.3.4 & 5.1). Whilst there may be some validity in Gormlie and Instrell's claim that the media education movement in Scotland failed to include other sectors in the development (5.1), that Media Studies had the support of the educational policy-making community is doubtful to say the least (4.2.2.i). Documents produced in response to the Anderson intervention make quite clear the support of at least some members of the policy-making community for media education rather than Media Studies (4.2.4).

Also in that celebratory issue, personal contributions from three of AMES' original members, Julie Watt, Margaret Hubbard and John Gray (Appendix C)²⁹, gave some insight into the experiences of a grass-roots movement working to develop a curriculum initiative in the Scottish education system in the early 1980s. David Butts (Appendix C)(4.2.4.iii), an early member of AMES and researcher on the three-year Media Education Research Project (Butts, 1986)(4.3.3)³⁰ and Len Masterman (1980, 1985), a key player in the media education movement both in England and in Europe (Masterman & Mariet, 1994), contributed reflections on AMES' achievements in addition.

Such accounts described the formulation and implementation of a strategy aimed at introducing Media Studies and media education into all levels of the statutory education system from insider positions. There is a clear sense in these accounts that AMES held to a coherent and comprehensive conceptual and pedagogic vision for media education (1.1.2). There is little doubt that the work of the FMG (4.2.4.vi) and

²⁹ Very sadly, John Gray has since died

³⁰ David Butts also chaired the Media Education Coordinating Committee (MECC)(4.3.1)

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AMES were significant factors in the early availability of numerous vocational qualifications in Media Studies that were aimed at the developing post-14 market in education (4.3.5 & 5.1.1). That AMES provided an efficient development and dissemination network was certainly an important part of that process (5.1.2 & 5.1.3). Whilst Gormlie & Instrell take responsibility for the strategic failure of media education, however, it is not at all clear that AMES had the agency with which to determine its strategy in the first instance. A better understanding of the synthesis between the micro and macro-processes of policy development at an institutional level is therefore required.

Len Masterman attributed the successes of the media education movement in Scotland during the 1980s to the developmental and dissemination role of the grass-roots body (Masterman, 2002, 2004/2005). However, his comments appear, once again, to allude to the conflicts that divided the media education movement in England that ultimately resulted in the collapse of SEFT, the grass-roots body operating there (1.2.3.ii, 2.1.5, 2.1.6 & 2.1.8). Referring to the dominance of the higher education institutions in the debate in England and the marginalisation of the needs of those working in the statutory sector, his support for AMES can be read as further criticism of the strategic failures of the BFI. Some clarity is required, therefore, about the extent of AMES' influence in the development of media education and Media Studies in Scotland as it evolved between 1983 and 1986 (5.1). In addition, a clear distinction should be drawn between the different contexts within which developments were taking place (1.2.2.ii. & 1.2.3).

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In the re-telling of this early period of AMES' history, Gormlie & Instrell claimed that the strategy for intervention had not been centrally controlled (Gormlie & Instrell, 2004/2005). Writing in the *MEJ*, however, a former HMI and one of the SED's assessors for the MEDP, Martin Axford (Appendix C), claimed that AMES' greatest advantage was the "structural conservatism" of Scotland's education system (Axford, 1984)(4.2.2.i). The rapid and unexpected development of Media Studies in the post-14 sector observed in 1983 (5.3.5 & 5.1.1) would suggest that sanction had, in fact, been given by one of the policy community's most powerful agencies, the Scottish Examination Board (SEB)(4.3.5 & 5.3.2).

Gormlie & Instrell's article necessarily sweeps across two decades of considerable change that includes two devolution referenda in 1979 and 1999 (Hutchison, 2001). According to this account, a consensus had been achieved across all elements of the policy community in relation to Media Studies and whilst the teachers' industrial action of 1984-1986 was a set-back (5.1.4), it was the "opposition" of Michael Forsyth that brought its "central development" to a halt in the late 1980s (1.2.1). In common with others, Gormlie and Instrell do not acknowledge difference between media education and Media Studies (1.1.2) and their arguments offer only a partial view. In addition, their assertion that a consensus had been achieved in relation to Media Studies is one of the questions this work will seek to evaluate. Moreover, references to media education could be found in the curriculum documents published by the Scottish Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (SCCC) albeit not until 1989 and suggests the usefulness of bringing different types of document into dialogue (McCulloch, 2004)(2.2.1).

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Whilst vague, there was a recognition of the value of media education as a cross-curricular initiative (SCCC, 1989, 1993a, 1993b). It was named for the first time as a stated cross-curricular aspect in the curriculum guidelines for secondary headteachers issued after the final stage of the Munn and Dunning reforms at the 14-16 stage (SCCC, 1989)(4.2.3)(4.4). In 1993, media education was also named in curriculum guidelines for the 5-14 stage for the first time and again featured as a stated cross-curricular element (SCCC, 1993a). In the same year, *Media Education Across the Curriculum* (SCCC, 1993b), was published and distributed to schools to exemplify how media education might be imagined at particular ages and stages. The publication also functioned as an introduction for practitioners unfamiliar with what had emerged through Media Studies as a specific set of conceptual and pedagogic practices (1.1.2).

Contrary to Gormlie and Instrell's claim (2004/2005), however, those documents were published during the period that Michael Forsyth was in office (Humes, 1995). Furthermore, such documents were produced as part of the 5-14 curriculum development (SOED, 1994), a policy that brought Scotland closer to the imposition of a statutory curriculum than anything that had gone before (1.2.1), largely attributed to the influence of Michael Forsyth (Boyd, 1994). The 5-14 development was contentious because it replaced the proposals resulting from discussions that had been taking place throughout the second half of the 1980s for a more flexible and open curriculum at the 10-14 stage recommended by the CCC (CCC, 1986)(5.3.3). Even more perplexing, however, is that all such references to media education in the 5-14

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policy documents published following devolution in 1999 had disappeared (LTS, 2000).

Gormlie & Instrell (2004/2005) are scathing in their criticism of developments in Scottish education post-1987 attributable, in their view, to the arrival of Forsyth in the Scottish Office. Paradoxically, their criticism of the leadership class (Humes, 1986)(2.2.2.ii) would have found favour with Forsyth according to Humes (1995). Existing accounts of the development of media education and Media Studies in the compulsory education sector in Scotland maintains a campaigning purpose and in such circumstances finds it difficult to deal with the complexities involved (1.1, 1.1.1.i, 1.1.1.iv, 2.2.1). On the one hand, the unrepresentative and, arguably, heavily controlled system is the object of its criticism but on the other it seems clear that that system was able to accommodate the MEDP with little outward signs of a struggle. But it disappeared in the same way.

The role the FMG played in the development of Media Studies in the post-14 sector in the early 1980s was certainly influential (4.2.4.vi & 5.1.1) but their intervention was more complex and had a longer history than their work suggests (Gormlie & Instrell, 2004/2005). However, also of interest is Instrell's former role as a Maths teacher who later moved into Computing Studies. He takes an additional swipe at ICT provision and Computing Studies (5.2.1.) almost as an aside in that article but had raised similar concerns about these issues in interview³¹. This study intends, therefore, to explore the intersections, interactions and tensions within and between forms and platforms,

³¹ Interview with Rick Instrell, April 2004

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institutions and individuals in the development of media education and Media Studies in Scotland more closely.

The media education movement in Scotland might be considered a failure in that no further progress has been made to develop a theorised and systematic approach to media education at the pre-14 curriculum stages since 1986 (4.3.4). However, there is considerable evidence that some members of the educational policy-making community, at various times, had accepted that media education was of value. Understanding exactly what value it was perceived to hold, however, may relate to Goodson's notion of need and invention³² (Goodson, 1981) and is a central concern for this study.

Writing in response to Bazalgette's address to the 1999 AMES conference, David Butts (Appendix C), another long-time advocate of media education, also rejected the view that media education was "confused and contradictory", and neither did he accept Bazalgette's argument for the specificity of film and the further marginalisation of other media forms as a consequence (Butts, 2002)³³. However, his consistent concern has been about the inability of the media education movement to reconcile its simultaneous location in both the creative arts and in social subjects (1.1.2). In addition, during the term of the Media Education Research Project (MERP)(4.3.3) and as its principal investigator, he identified a number of issues that remain pertinent

³² Goodson identifies four steps in the evolution of a subject. Invention: the first moves to develop the subject in response to some need. Promotion: eg formation of subject association, political lobbying. Legislation: development of an infrastructure, exam syllabi etc. Mythologisation: the subject is now an unquestioned entity, fixed in the public mind as an essential part of schooling, or part of the grammar of schooling.

³³ Interview with David Butts, April 2002

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in 2009 and question whether media education is a subject or a pedagogy (Butts, 1985)(1.1.2). It is beyond the scope of this work to explore that question but it may offer the possibility of achieving the still unrealised goal of making it a universal entitlement (Gormlie & Instrell, 2004/2005). However, John and Baggott La Velle's (2004) explication of subject as paradigm and subject as pedagogy in relation to information and communications technology may facilitate the development of an understanding of the partnership between SCET, CCC and the SFC.

Butts' involvement in the media education movement in Scotland is of particular interest to this study because he worked with the BBC as an education officer before becoming a radio and television producer (Appendix C). In 1966 he left to set up an audio-visual media department in one of Scotland's colleges of education and was a founder member of the National and Scottish Councils of Educational Technology (*MEJ*, 2004/2005). Butts also recognised the hazards involved when institutions vie for control. He suggests that one of the reasons the media education initiative progressed rapidly in Scotland in the early 1980s was because the MEDP project officer was appointed to SCET and not to the SFC (4.3.4)³⁴, avoiding thus the disputes that were laying waste to the ability of the movement to make progress in England .

It would appear, therefore, that by the end of the 1980s, the media education movement in Scotland may have succeeded in persuading some educational policy-makers of the arguments for an entitlement to media education. By the end of the

³⁴ Interview with David Butts, April 2002

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1990s, however, that situation would appear to have substantially changed. By contrast, Media Studies had been offered as a national vocational qualification at the post-14 stages since 1983 (4.3.5 & 5.1.1) and achieved full academic status within the Scottish Qualification Authority (SQA) framework in 1999. The simultaneous appearance and disappearance of Media Studies and media education respectively after devolution in Scotland in 1997, however, is beyond the scope of this study.

2.1.3 Educational technology and the media education movement

Media education and Media Studies sought to gain critical distance from the educational technology movement emerging in the 1960s and 1970s in Britain (1.2.1). Bolas acknowledges the importance of technological change in education and makes reference to "dissident insiders"³⁵ coming into the emerging field of Media Studies through this route (Bolas, 2009)(4.1.2)³⁶. His explanation of the reasons why such "dissidents" were easy converts to the media education movement is unsatisfactorily located in the expansion of the university sector in the 1960s and the generation of "dissidents" it produced. According to Bolas, with "unfinished business" to attend to, such individuals found a natural home in screen education, media and cultural studies. This appears to do something of a disservice to the educational technology movement (Becher, 1969)(2.1.4) but more importantly, that the media education movement took its first steps under the guidance of SCET rather than the SFC is of interest to this study (4.1).

³⁵ This term might also be usefully applied to education officers working with the BBC (Appendix C)

³⁶ Richard Tucker had been a member of SEFA (3.2). Martyn Roebuck was interested in individualised learning and the work of Kenneth Richmond who had originally worked as an Education Officer for the BBC. Bolas' "dissident insiders" may have been "inside" a number of interconnected spaces

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In the mid-1970s UNESCO commissioned the production of a "general curricular model for mass media education programmes" with the aim of "the understanding and critical use of different media ... in today's world" (Minkinen, 1978, p9)(4.2.1).

Working at an international level, UNESCO's motivation was the promotion of democratic communicative and cultural practices in developed and developing economies. UNESCO's 1982 Symposium on Media Education was held in Grunwald, Federal Republic of Germany and published the Grunwald Declaration on Media Education (4.3.1). The intervention was far-sighted in that it anticipated convergence and divergence and related this to cultures and citizenship well before these were articulated at policy level in the UK. Having an eye to communication and media in the "process of development" it advocated a "reassessment of educational priorities". The Declaration also argued for more research and development "for the benefit of media education, from such domains as psychology, sociology, and communication science" (UNESCO, 1982).

The International Film and Television Council (IFTC) had previously attempted to construct a definition of media education in 1973 that distinguished "the study, teaching and learning of modern methods of communication and expression" from "their use as teaching and learning auxiliaries" (UNESCO, 1984, p8). Whilst appearing, therefore, to separate "study" and "use", UNESCO later acknowledged that technological progress and widespread access to that is also fundamental to the development of media education (UNESCO, 1977)(4.2.1). Drawing attention to the part played by the film society movements, however, it also stakes a claim for cultural and intellectual development in addition to progress in the development of and access

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to technologies. Whilst Bolas recognises the role of those in the 'film appreciation' movement since the 1930s (Bolas, 2009) this study is also interested in the role of those working in the 'educational film' movement at that time and the part they may have played in developing markets for technology and audiences for product (Chapter 3)(1.1.2).

UNESCO was clearly aware of the overlap between educational technology and media education and was careful to express disapproval of those who regarded audio-visual specialists as "gadgeteers". The use of technology "in" education is distinguished from the technology "of" education where the latter is described as

the systematic application of the resources of scientific knowledge to the process that each individual has to go through in order to acquire and use knowledge

[UNESCO, 1977, p9].

More importantly, the document makes clear that the failure to see the "true relationship between media education and the technology of education in this forward-looking sense" may have the consequence of reducing the educational potential of both (5.2.1 & 5.2.2).

Following devolution in Scotland in 1999, the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET) and the Scottish Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (SCCC) merged to form Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS)(1.2.1.iii). As a service and development agency (Tucker, 1981), SCET had previously been

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considered to have had only a marginal role in the educational policy community in the 1970s and 1980s. In their work on governing education in Scotland, McPherson and Raab gave SCET no mention despite it having been in existence during the period of their study (McPherson & Raab, 1988). In his scathing analysis of the educational policy-making community, Walter Humes asserts that because SCET had a research function, it was tightly controlled by the Research and Intelligence Unit (RIU), "the most powerful influence on the nature and direction of research in Scotland over the last ten years" (Humes, 1986, p158).

The RIU came into being in 1972, only three years before SCET (4.1.2). Staffed by members of HMI and research officers from the Central Research Unit, a body that spanned all Scottish Office departments, its Director from 1972 to 1983 was Her Majesty's Chief Inspector (HMCI), JG Morris. According to Humes, Morris succeeded in securing a considerable degree of independence for the RIU both within the inspectorate and within the SED and "must have had a patron in high places" (Humes, 1986, p160). Morris has been described as something of a "maverick" (Brown, 1991) and as a consequence, important to the survival of the Scottish educational research community in lean times. It was precisely this dependency, however, that Humes criticised on the grounds that it compromised the capacity of educational researchers to engage with controversial issues. However, Humes mentions media education only in passing when writing about SCET's activities. Instead, he focuses on what he regards as the failure of the Scottish Microelectronics Development Project (SMDP)(5.2.1.), for which HMCI Morris appeared to have had personal responsibility within the operations of SCET from 1980 to 1983.

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Martyn Roebuck (Appendix C) was an early recruit to the RIU in 1973 and interested in the development of educational programming.³⁷ Roebuck and Morris negotiated the re-organisation of the SFC in 1974 with David Bruce (4.1.2). The SFC's transformation had been transacted by influential members of the educational policy community at various points in its history (3.2.1.ii & 3.2.3.iv) and in that respect, Roebuck's intervention was not extraordinary. Roebuck's place in the RIU was significant, however, and particularly so in relation to its attempts to extend the reach of educational research in Scotland at that time (4.2.4.i). His interest in educational technology and educational broadcasting³⁸, in addition, generated the context for three pieces of research that paved the way for the MEDP (MacIntyre et al, 1981, Hessel et al, 1981, & Lavender, 1986). The fact that the MEDP overlapped the SMDP by one year is significant (5.2).

According to Nigel Paine, the SMDP became "absorbed into its [SCET's] mainstream in the mid-1980s" (Paine, 1999). He skips fifteen years of SCET's history by fast-forwarding to 1998 when the Micro-electronics Development Centre (MEDC) also became "absorbed" into SCET. Neatly sidestepping the educational politics, Paine is keen to focus on SCET's achievements in the field of micro-electronics in education and omits an important component of its story. SCET grew out of the SFC and whilst this is acknowledged by Paine, he claims the organisation started life as a film library in the "mists of pre-war history"(1.2.1.ii). The work that SCET was doing before 1980, therefore is not accounted for but more important to this study, however, is the partnership between the two institutions.

³⁷ Interview with Martyn Roebuck, 2008

³⁸ *ibid.*

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SCET was a product of the 1972 DES publication Central Arrangements for promoting Educational Technology in the United Kingdom, otherwise known as The Hudson Report (DES, 1972)(4.1.1). Addressed to Margaret Thatcher who was then the Secretary of State for Education and Science, its purpose was to coordinate the work that was happening in the field of audio-visual aids in a number of different locations, that included the national broadcasters, under the umbrella of a new national body (4.1.2). The report is also significant to this story because it lists the SFC as an "existing organisation" and the BFI features only briefly under the heading of "other organisations". Its description of the BFI is summarised as being "responsible mainly for promoting interest in film and television as art forms" (DES, 1972, p10). By contrast, a more diverse range of activity is detailed in the work of the SFC that identifies it clearly with work undertaken in audio-visual aids in education by the National Committee for Audio-Visual Aids in Education (NCAVAE) and the Educational Foundation for Visual Aids (EFVA)(3.2.3). The description of SFC's responsibilities is framed thus "to promote the use of audio-visual media in education and industry and to encourage understanding and appreciation of the cinema" (DES, 1972, p8). The SFC, therefore, had succeeded in maintaining links between technology, media culture and education for a period of some forty years prior to the setting up of SCET (Chapter 3).

2.1.4 Educational broadcasting and media education

SCET had published a number of occasional working papers that detailed the possibilities for teaching about the media in schools in the late 1970s and early 1980s that connected to Anderson's proposals for media education (Anderson, 1979).

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Mobilising evidence from the Newsom Report (Ministry of Education, 1963) and the Bullock Committee (DES, 1975), it was clear that the advisers working in educational technology at a local level and those operating nationally within SCET were exemplifying UNESCO's ambitions for a synthesis between educational technology and media education (SCET, 1980)(4.2.1). SCET's educational broadcasting sub-committee brought the interests of educational technology and film culture together and as a consequence, this study is interested in the significance of educational broadcasting in Scotland and its role in the emergence of media education (Hall, 1977)(3.3 & 4.1).

In 1974, the national broadcasters commissioned The Hayter Report (Hayter, 1974)(4.1.3). The combination of rapidly developing technology and rapidly contracting budgets had forced a re-appraisal of the viability of continuing to produce educational television (Hall, G, 1973). In 1966, the BBC had opened the debate in a national forum organised jointly by the BBC and Sussex University (3.3.1.i). It was an attempt to bring together those with an interest in television and education in its broadest sense and contributions from researchers, academics and producers working in a number of fields included Denis McQuail, Lecturer in Sociology, University of Southampton, James Halloran, Senior Lecturer, Adult Education Department, University of Leicester, Tony Becher, Assistant of the Nuffield Foundation and Richard Hoggart, Professor of English and Director of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham. The tensions being created by technological advance and manifesting in increased competition and educational expansion were made clear (BBC, 1966). The education system had made an attempt to address the lack of hardware in schools, in particular, and by 1980 more than 90%

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of secondary schools in Scotland had facilities for "replaying recorded television programmes" (Murray, 1998). Much attention was focused on the ready availability of such technological resources which was clearly important in terms of access but less attention was paid to the value of content in an increasingly diverse educational public.

In 1981, a report was published by the National Inter-College Committee on Educational Research (NICCER) on broadcasting in Scottish schools and commissioned by Martyn Roebuck (MacIntyre, 1981)(4.2.4.i). Its conclusions focused on improved organisational procedures but teachers themselves had complained about "the lack of Scottish content in broadcasts" (MacIntyre, 1981, p45). Three years later, the SED published a collection of short articles in a book called *Broadcasting and School Education in Scotland* (SED, 1984). SCET's work in the early stages of its existence, therefore, had included educational broadcasting and television would mediate between film culture and educational technology at this time (IBA, 1973, DES, 1983)(5.2.1 & 5.2.2).

SCET's Educational Broadcasting Working Party consisted of members from the Scottish Curriculum Development Service (SCDS)(4.3.2), which was attached to the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (CCC), and the SFC. In its foreword the Group record their thanks to Martyn Roebuck, HMI, for "the advice and information which he provided during the preparation of this document" (Anderson, 1979). In the spirit of UNESCO (1977), the document was an attempt to bring more coherence and cohesion to media education by moving on from the theoretical debates of the 1960s and 1970s (1.2.3.ii) and constructing a set of "basic principles" for action (4.2.2.i). It

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would be this "pragmatism" that Buckingham would later criticise as "the act first, think later rhetoric of AMES" (Bolas, 2009, p322) but which had been identified by some as a condition of Scottish educational policy-making at that time (Paterson, 1997).

2.1.5 Media Education in Scotland: Outline Proposals for a Curriculum

Attempting to bring curricular coherence to the nature and scope of media education, the document proposed an outline curriculum for the primary, secondary, further, community and teacher education sectors in Scotland. Neatly sidestepping the politics of specificity, it recommended an institutional approach to the study of media and identified television, cinema, press and radio and "rather more tentatively" popular music and popular literature as key areas of interest. The document stated that the media possess "an underlying unity of structure and function which is not necessarily made apparent by a study of separate programmes, books, films, etc" (Anderson, 1979, p2)(2.1.1.i). Using what has become the familiar producer, text, audience model favoured by Stuart Hall in 1973, the proposals made clear that "fundamental questions" about the institutional pressures shaping media products constituted the "specific nature of media education" (ibid)³⁹. Masterman had not published his influential works at this point (Masterman, 1980 & 1985) and it was a decade before BFI published their curriculum statements (Bazalgette, 1989, Bowker, 1991). The document anticipated the trap of the overcrowded curriculum (Hall & Whannel, 1964) and emphasised that it was not its intention to "propose substantially new additions to the curriculum" but to "assist and encourage work already in

³⁹ A core concern for this study

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progress" in a bid to help teachers "make more effective use of technology" (Anderson, 1979, p3). For that end to be achieved, therefore, teachers needed to understand how "television, film and radio operate in relation to their audiences, whether in the living-room or in the classroom" (Anderson, 1979, p11). Drawing heavily on the previously published Munn Report (SED, 1977a), the document presented itself as a minor adjustment to be made to practices already in place (5.2.2).

The author withheld the use of Media Studies as a term until the point at which he outlined the theoretical developments that had been shaping the field thus far. In so doing, he attempted to soften the political edges and alleviate potential anxieties that might be felt as a consequence of the circulation of the debates that were operating in the pages of *Screen* and *Screen Education* at that time⁴⁰. Some way in to the proposals, however, the section intended for the early secondary stage of the curriculum began by staking a claim for separate and autonomous subject status "in the long term" (Anderson, 1979, p7). Its proposals for the pre-14 sector, however, were for a multi-disciplinary approach to media education that would take the form of discrete modular inserts. Whether such a suggestion constituted permeation was arguable and related clearly to the question of whether media education is a practice or a subject. According to these proposals, the later secondary stages would be characterised by more specialised "media studies" courses.

The document identified two distinct curriculum subjects where the "seeds" of Media Studies already existed, English and Modern Studies, the latter emerging in Scotland, but not in England, from History and Geography in the 1960s (Maitles, 1999)(4.2.3).

⁴⁰ Frequently referred to as "baggage"

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It succeeded in negotiating a way between the two separate paradigms (Woollacott, 1982, O'Malley, 2002)(1.1.2) with skill and the approach to a critical analysis of media institutions, constituted "a coordinated extension of English and Modern Studies". Reflecting an ambition to use the opportunity for curriculum and assessment revisions that were presented by the Munn and Dunning initiatives (SED, 1977a & 1977b)(4.2.3)⁴¹ to begin the process of developing a new curriculum subject, the document appeared to suggest that media education was the route by which Media Studies would develop. The document's ultimate ambition was to create the conditions whereby Media Studies would have "a very strong claim to a place within the core education of all secondary pupils" (Anderson, 1979, p13). Appearing to be confident of a positive response from the CCC, the presence of two SCDS members (4.3.2) on the working party responsible for constructing the document and the "advice and information" given by HMI Roebuck signalled the support of some influential individuals in Scottish education at that time (4.2.4). Comments about assessment, however, were rather more tentative and reflected not only the delayed publication of the Dunning revision on the new proposals for assessment, but possibly more significantly, the absence of "advice and information" from assessment 'insiders' in that regard.

The subsequent interest in the document from the educational community in Scotland was sufficient to warrant a reprinted version less than a year following its original publication in April 1979 and at the end of November, 1980, a conference took place, jointly organised between the SFC, SCET and Jordanhill College of Education, to

⁴¹ Revisions to the curriculum and assessment systems applying to the third and fourth years of the Scottish secondary school system. At the time Anderson (1979) was published, the Munn Report on the curriculum had produced the modification of its first publication but the modified Dunning Report on assessment had not.

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progress the proposals a stage further (4.2.4.). The introduction to the conference report (Cowle, 1981) stated the need for a "more formal definition and conception of Media Studies" that SFC and SCET wanted to develop. According to this report, the CCC had given general approval to the Anderson document. Of the seventy or so educationists in attendance, a fairly even distribution from the secondary, further and higher education sectors was in evidence but with only four in attendance from the primary sector (Cowle, 1981). In addition, the speakers included an HMCI from Continuing Education, two from the higher education sector, one from further education and one from the secondary sector. No primary speaker was in place and this despite the "increasing number of teachers in primary and secondary schools"⁴² beginning to introduce work on the media into classrooms. Five members of the audience were from Forrester High School (4.2.4.vi).

Between the Anderson proposal, April 1979, and the conference in November, 1980, the focus of the initiative had shifted significantly from media education to Media Studies. In his contribution, Caughie identified two "institutional factors" responsible for the later development of Media Studies in Scotland than in England: the status of the SFC compared to that of the BFI, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s when the momentum began to build in England (1.2.2.i & 1.2.2.ii), and the reluctance of the "ancient Scottish universities" to engage with "inter-disciplinary thinking" (Cowle, 1981, p14). As a consequence possibly of the latter, and the origins of Film Studies in addition (Ellis, 1981), therefore, he located the responsibility for the systematic development of Media Studies with English teachers on the grounds that "English is

⁴² The introduction of the conference report makes this claim. The introduction was jointly authored by Kevin Cowle, Film Officer, Scottish Film Council and George Kirkland, Head of Department of Audio/Visual Media, Jordanhill College of Education

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still the central discipline from which students gain a sense of what culture is and what it does" but probably more importantly, so that Media Studies develops as a "cultural, rather than a sociological, discipline" and appeared to contradict the discourse carefully constructed by the Anderson document (Cowle, 1981, p13)(1.1.2).

Caughie's contribution was reprinted in full in 1982 in the journal of teachers of English in Scotland: Teaching English (4.3.2). In the same publication, however, Masterman made his arguments for teaching television in English in which he drew on the sociological work of the Glasgow University Media Group (GUMG) and Murdock and Phelps (1973). Whilst the "confused and contradictory" (Bazalgette, 1999) arguments framing Media Studies did not appear to be an impediment to its development as a separate subject, Butts' concerns about the difficulties of interdisciplinary work in the practice of media education become clearer in light of the particularly strong claims coming from the arts and humanities (Butts, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1993)(2.1.7). Glasgow University's sociology department had already put down some roots in the form of the GUMG and Caughie's ambition for a study of the media that politicised representation in broader terms than those available in the social sciences may have been particularly powerful in the context of the failure of the 1979 devolution referendum failure (Paterson, 1998, Schlesinger, 1998). The beginnings of the "cultural renaissance" referred to by Petrie (2000) would be particularly significant for Glasgow (Myerscough, 1988)(5.3.3.ii).

The status of the SFC in relation to that of the BFI is of interest to this study in that the tensions between them, in the same way as those that were in evidence between the SED and the DES, were structured by Scotland's constitutional position as a

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stateless nation (McCrone, 1992). Institutionally framed as a sub-committee of SCET at the point when the Anderson document was in circulation, during the 1960s and 1970s, however, the period Caughie refers to in particular, the SFC was constituted as a company limited by guarantee (3.2.3.iv). Caughie adds another layer of institutional complexity to this work with his assertion that there was "no institution in Scotland with resources comparable to those of the British Film Institute which could initiate and support educational developments" (Cowle, 1981, p14). Scotland's educational particularity (Limond, 2002) is important here, however, because the BFI had no locus in Scotland's compulsory sector, in fact it had no locus in England's compulsory sector either. It did, on the other hand, have something of a presence in the higher education sector courtesy of its higher education grant scheme (Izod, 1989)(1.2.3.ii & 4.2.4.v). In that respect, the SFC could not match its influence. The Anderson (1979) document, however, emerging as a publication and a strategy from inside the formal education community, presented an opportunity that the BFI could not have hoped to have had.

2.1.6 Signs of success?

In 1983, in spite of early indications at this stage of its evolution of the emergence of potentially complex issues that were similar to those that had interrupted its development in England (1.2.3.ii & 5.1.3), the SED funded a significant project for the further development of media education in Scotland's statutory sector, the Media Education Development Project (MEDP)(4.3.4 & Chapter 5). It may not have been its "confused and contradictory" arguments and definitions, as Bazalgette alleges, therefore, that were responsible for its "failure" in Scotland.

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The overarching purpose of the MEDP was “to prepare the way for this [media education] area of curriculum development to become the proper responsibility of the CCC” (Dick, 1987, p9). Its list of tasks and targets stressed an emphasis on media education and its “integration” into the “overall curriculum” of schools, colleges and pre-service and in-service teacher education (5.1). The MEDP officer was expected to work closely with teachers in order to “clarify the concepts of media education acceptable and feasible at various age levels and within the context of different courses” (Dick, 1987, p10). Only the final task referred to Media Studies and its modest expectation was to “Assist in the development of effective communications between teachers of media studies in Scotland” (Dick, 1987, p10).

One of the first visible outputs of the newly established MEDP and following on from the publication and free distribution of SCET's occasional papers in television and press studies in Scottish schools (SCET, 1980 & 1983), a new publication, Teaching Media Studies, produced an exhaustive list of resources relevant to the emergent field and aimed at the new Media Studies teacher (Cowle & Dick, 1983, 1985 & 1986).

The document was revised on two subsequent occasions and its final version appeared in September 1986 as SED funding for the project was coming to an end. The project report did not emerge until 1987 and what is immediately striking is that both the revised versions of the resource document (Cowle & Dick, 1985 & 1986) and the final report itself (Dick, 1987) were published by the SFC rather than by SCET. It seems clear, therefore, that the responsibility for the project shifted some way through from SCET to SFC (5.3). Dick hints at this in his outline of the original project remit when he begins

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[T]he problem with a remit which is designed to manufacture change is that it is often overtaken by events, sometimes of its own making, or rendered anachronistic by the successes or failures of the Project which is initially described

[Dick, 1987, p9].

Such events are variously alluded to throughout the project report and most prominently include the industrial action of Scottish teachers, 1984-1986 (5.1.4). The report gives an account of its activities that operates as something of an apology for its failures. Its continued insistence on denying difference between Media Studies and media education (1.1.2) is fraught with contradictions but argues, somewhat incoherently, that an understanding of media education has emerged from the development of Media Studies. In addition, it seems to legitimise the study of the media where it has a "subsidiary, servicing role" as part of "an unbroken spectrum of applicability and opportunity" (Dick, 1987, p21). In Dick's terms, SFC's "bureaucratic role" had been successful in achieving a match between the "principled accommodations of the 'Media Studies lobby' and the developing understanding of the educational establishment" (Dick, 1987, p40) and the report claimed any further development should become the responsibility of the SFC and not, by default, SCET. In addition, the report argued for more funding for AMES to support the production of the *MEJ* (5.1.3) in particular, possibly suggesting a similar arrangement to that which had been in place for SEFT⁴³.

⁴³ *Screen Education* had financial assistance from the BFI

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Following on from the UNESCO conference of 1977 and published by SCET, Anderson (1979) had begun the attempt to construct a set of basic principles that a systematic approach to media education might usefully draw upon. Aimed at the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (CCC) the document reflected an epistemological shift in understandings about the potential of media in education and in Scotland (4.2.2). Whilst *Screen* and *Screen Education* were grappling with European film theory (Masterman, 1985), therefore, the media education movement in Scotland had moved a little closer to addressing the needs of its different constituencies. However, in so doing, the partnership that had facilitated its early development appeared to have turned sour and this work seeks to understand that process and its implications for the development of media education in Scotland as a consequence.

2.1.7 Film and education in Scotland

Despite the SFC's education work enabling it to maintain independence from the BFI and create a national distinctiveness not available to regional offices, very little writing exists that explores this aspect of the SFC's function. Its subsequent position as an educational insider during the 1970s may have been of key significance to the early achievements of the media education movement in Scotland. The SFC's historical association with the SED and the work of the Scottish Educational Film Association (SEFA) has been referred to as the "narrowly instrumental use of film" in the 1920s and 1930s and "has very little to do with media studies" (Cowle, 1981). This study will suggest that on the contrary, an instrumental use of technology had everything to do with the development of Media Studies and media education in

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Scotland in the early 1980s. The use of the term "instrumentalism" does not help to illuminate the institutional tensions that were in play at that time and some understanding of those is important to the debates about media education. Indeed, it could be argued that such "instrumentalism" allowed the SFC to move closer to developments in the higher education sector and the opportunities presented to it by the Brynmor-Jones Report in 1965 (Jones, 1965)(3.2.4.iii). Educational technology evolved from the earlier "instrumental" discourses and in Scotland, at least, positioned the SFC in a more advantageous developmental position than it might otherwise have had.

In the wake of Glasgow's cultural regeneration in particular and the renaissance of film in the UK in general, however, the SFC appeared to distance itself from its historical association with the statutory education sector in Scotland. The denial of its education legacy, spanning almost half a century, was particularly evident at the beginning of the SFC's recuperation as a cultural institution. Prior to 1990, when the SFC was still a sub-committee of SCET, unlike the BFI, it had not established a publications record. The strategy to position itself more explicitly as Scotland's screen agency formally began when it achieved independence from SCET in 1990. The SFC's first publication was produced in that same year and edited by the former MEDP officer (Dick, 1990)(Appendix C)(4.3.4).

The history of film-making in Scotland had previously been associated with the work of the Films of Scotland Committee (Bruce, 2008). The ambition to recuperate the work of Scottish film-makers who had been working outside its traditions, however,

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did not begin until the 1980s (Caughie, 1990). Whilst Dick's publication looked forward to new representations of Scotland on screen, the SFC's former director, David Bruce, produced a book that looked back upon the history of the SFC and published in the year before its reconstitution as Scottish Screen (Bruce, 1996). Arguing for Scotland as a "film culture" rather than a "film location" the book was constructed of a compendium of entries organised in alphabetical order, that attempted to create a brief history of "individuals, trends and institutions" (Bruce, 1996, vii) who contributed to and participated in the development of film in Scotland. A specific entry for media education is not present. However, within the entry for the SFC, Bruce wrote

The politically grey area of media education – was it education, was it film? (it was both) – had progressed as effectively in Scotland as anywhere in the world

[Bruce, 1996, p136]

The explicit linking of the media education initiative with attempts to regenerate film culture in Scotland is a connection the SFC had studiously avoided during the lifetime of the media education movement in Scotland. Bruce's reference to media education being "politically grey" may have indicated that it straddled both SFC's responsibilities but more significantly, that the ambition to use the SFC's trusted position within the formal education system to rejuvenate the commercial viability of Scottish film product had been a politically risky manoeuvre. Dick, on the other hand, made no mention of media education in his earlier publication (Dick, 1990). Twenty

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years later, in 2008, a detailed account of either the historical interdependence of the SED and the SFC or its role in nurturing and supporting the use of screen media in Scotland's schools remains absent (Bruce, 2008).

The SFC's first publication, in 1990, emerged ten years following the 1980 Media Education conference where Caughie and the other contributors had held high hopes for the media education initiative in Scotland. In his chapter on the issues facing those constructing new screen representations of Scotland, however, Caughie later wrote that

In a depressingly familiar pattern, at the point at which cinema ceases to be a mass entertainment it becomes available as an educational study.

[Caughie, 1990, p29]

Over a ten year period, therefore, some of the key protagonists who had been involved in the early development of media education and Media Studies in Scotland appeared to have conceded defeat. However, whilst the ambitions for media education and the regeneration of Scottish film may not have been achieved, "a developed concern with representations of Scotland" had emerged in the secondary education sector (Caughie, 1990). The Anderson document (1979) did not refer to one Scottish film, television, newspaper or radio product in its examples of how particular texts might be used in the pursuit of media education and Media Studies yet by the end of the MEDP in 1986, a range of teaching materials had been produced

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that clearly foregrounded Scottish content⁴⁴. Published in April 1979, only one month following the devolution referendum, its construction may have been underway at a particularly sensitive time and requiring the operation of institutional pragmatism (Paterson, 1997)⁴⁵. Possibly anticipating a different result, however, the media education movement may have developed a much stronger sense of the significance of both cultural and political representations in all their communicative forms and in that sense, was part of a project that may have started with film but extended far beyond it.

Despite relying heavily on the SED for financial support, the Scottish Film Council (SFC) had continued to provide albeit limited support for Scottish film culture (Bruce, 1996 & 2008). However, Petrie had noted the growing dissatisfaction of the film production community in Scotland during the 1970s over the limited opportunities for a more diverse cultural expression (Petrie, 2000). The film society movement and the film production community in Scotland had shared concerns about what they regarded as the inward-looking disposition of the SFC. A number of events had taken place in the late 1970s, notably Cinema in a Small Country and Film Bang, aimed at independent film-makers in Scotland and almost certainly a response to the institutionalisation of the SFC as an education agency (Dick, 1990)(4.1).

In 1981, an exhibition had been mounted by Barbara and Murray Grigor to draw

⁴⁴ It is interesting to note the differences in the content of programmes for school broadcasting in Scotland and Wales in the 1960s and the later development of Channel 4 and S4C twenty years later (3.3.1 & 1.2.3.i)

⁴⁵ A similar instance of institutional sensitivity to questions of culture can be seen in a later attempt to more explicitly foreground Scottish culture in the school curriculum following the devolution referendum in 1997 (4.3.2)

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attention to the limitations of Scotland's two dominant discourses: Tartanry and Kailyard (Dick, 1990). Taking this further in 1982, Colin McArthur developed the argument that both political and screen representations of Scotland had been stunted as a consequence (McArthur, 1982). Both the exhibition and the event were intended as an intervention and McArthur noted that whilst the intellectual debate had been taken up in the higher education sector in Scotland, cultural institutions with a responsibility for national culture, the SFC and the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) in particular, had been less enthusiastic. The effect of raising intellectual debate around issues of the political and screen representations of Scotland was to generate academic writing that in the early 1980s had few outlets for expressions (Caughie, 1990). *Cencrastus*, a journal for Scottish and international literature, arts and affairs, subsidised by the SAC, began to carry a media section that ultimately it could not sustain. As a consequence, arguments from the higher education sector began to emerge for a separate Scottish media journal (*Cencrastus*, 1984)(5.1.3). Whilst it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss film, broadcasting and cultural production in Scotland, it is important to note the timing of these movements.

Until 1980, when the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) introduced a committee for film, the SFC was the only body with an institutional remit for film in Scotland (McArthur, 1993, 1994). In 1982, the SFC and the SAC jointly funded the establishment of the Scottish Film Production Fund (SFPF) that Eddie Dick would become Director of in 1993, which would mark the beginnings of the infrastructure its creative community sought. In addition, what Caughie described as "The Channel Four Effect", created the conditions necessary for an expanding independent production sector.

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2.1.8 Scottish education and media education

Concerns about the education system and its lack of relevance for increasing numbers of young people and their communities had intensified during the 1970s and early 1980s (1.2.2.i, 1.2.3.ii & 4.2.4.vi). Work informed by analyses of the politics of education developing at that time, linked the radical teacher with opportunities emerging as a consequence of the new disciplines associated with 1960s expansion (Bolas, 2009). Much of that work attempted to draw together the disciplines of mass media, film, television, popular culture, feminist studies, sociology and linguistics with education and most notably debated within the pages of *Screen Education*. Ceasing publication in 1982, having signalled the difficulties created by the shift from a liberal model of education to a centrally determined and instrumental model (Donald, 1979), *Screen Education* withdrew from the media education movement at the very point at which media education became of interest to policy-makers in the statutory sector in Scotland. SEFT itself would disband seven years later (Bolas, 2009).

The development of Media Studies as a new academic field and media education as a pedagogic practice in Scotland, coincided with the devolution debate. The initiative focused on representation as a key issue in political, cultural, economic and educational terms (Caughie, 1990, Paterson, 1998). Writing in the *MEJ* in 1989, Keval Kumar drew attention to the different experiences of development in the two constituencies of Scotland and England and suggested that advantage was gained in the UK as a whole by the persistent "vagueness" of the term media education.

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However, he also asserted that the relationship between media and political power explicitly politicised the development of media education and Media Studies, rendering thus any claims of innocence or neutrality on the part of those involved as disingenuous. The media education movement in Scotland included elements of the educational policy-making community whose motivations, therefore, were politically driven. Making the point that the “installation of a curriculum is essentially a political process” and “much depends, therefore, on the immediate political climate”, Kumar highlights the tension between local and central government in Scotland (1.2.1 & 2.2.2). In a “Labour-dominated Scotland” where local authorities have statutory responsibility for the curricula of their schools, the emergence of education policies from a Conservative central administration exposes the political salience of the curriculum (McPherson & Raab, 1988, Kumar, 1989, p40)(1.2.1.i).

However, Scotland may have been "Labour-dominated" but its educational policy community was regarded as too "gentrified" for Michael Forsyth (Kemp, 1993)(1.2.1). It is clear that without the support of key members of the policy community, curriculum change in Scotland at that time was almost impossible and suggests that the media education movement had indeed been given license by a higher authority. Before devolution, any educational innovation that did not have the particular approval of HMI had “very limited chance of success” (Doherty & Canavan, 2006). That the SED funded a three year research and development project would appear to be evidence that the MEDP had approval. How we might understand the license given, however, is of core interest to this study. In light of the policy-community's inherent preference for conservatism (Axford, 1984), it seems unlikely

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that it would have subscribed to an explicitly political project driven by radical teachers.

The expressed purposes of the MEDP made clear that its "central intention" was to continue work already in train at SCET and in classrooms around Scotland. The MEDP, therefore, was envisaged as a coordinating exercise designed to relate that work more specifically to the major curriculum changes underway at the 10-14, 14-16 and 16-18 stages (Dick, 1987). The discourse of progressivism contained within the media education initiative was certainly visible in AMES' documents (5.1.3) but not explicitly expressed in SCET documentation. During interview, Axford denied that HMI would have approved of an overtly political aspiration for the MEDP⁴⁶. A clue to the political ambitions of its license, therefore, may be embedded in SCET's atypical character as an educational agency and its status as a service rather than a development agency. In whose interests, therefore, was SCET undertaking this task? This study seeks to understand the potency of the media education initiative for those in positions of power who may have facilitated its development.

In addition, the 'ensemble' of discourses, actors and events in the spheres of culture, education and technology converging on the construction of media education as a discourse and as a 'movement' in the 1970s and 1980s will be brought into dialogue with documents from an earlier past. By disassembling both the periodisation and conceptualisation of media education, this study will explore the changes and continuities over a longer period of time and bring the present into a dialogic relation

⁴⁶ Interview with Martin Axford, July 2008.

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with its past.

2.2 Methods and approaches

Historical audience studies of children, young people and film and television in the UK, seek to recover ephemerality and celebrate the pleasures derived from experiences of consuming popular media culture outwith the confines of school (Kuhn, 2002, Conrich, 2005, Smith, 2005, Mosely, 2007). In addition, such work recuperates the agency of children and young people despite the attempts of legislators to regulate, contain and shape it. Historical institutional studies, conversely perhaps, can be seen to recover the public service value of general media outputs circulating outwith designated educational programming, in an attempt to restore institutional integrity in a climate of demand for increased regulation (Oswell, 1998, Wiatr, 2002, James, 2006).

Anxieties about the use of popular media forms in education have been discursively constructed in the space between media and education throughout the twentieth century (Dupin, 2003). Such anxiety is evident in both sectors, education and media, and imbricated within a discourse of suspicion, one toward the other, whose ebb and flow is dependent upon cycles of expansion and regulation generated by technological innovation. Educationists and media professionals alike have been constructed in opposition both to each other and to the use of popular media culture in classrooms but the relationship between them is more complex. Film and television outputs with a designated educational purpose have worked to both neutralise and activate that

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relationship.

This study seeks to problematise these oppositions and recuperate the part played by educationists in general, and the institutions of statutory education in particular, in the promotion of media technology and media culture in Scottish education. Two overarching questions have guided the development of this work: firstly, what circumstances facilitated the establishment of the Media Education Development Project (MEDP) in Scotland and secondly, what happened to it? The study uses historical and socio-cultural methods to generate both description and explanation of the intersections of selected actors, organisations and institutions (1.1). To do this an analysis of key documents selected from a number of different contexts (1.2.1.i, 1.2.1.ii & 2.1), spanning six decades, will piece together a historical account of the role of Scottish education by juxtaposing the "intersection of perspectives" (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p66) on offer. McCulloch (2004) notes the usefulness of relating different contexts to each other

as a means of checking insights drawn from different sources
of data, and in order to gain a deeper and clearer understanding
of the situation and the people involved.

[p129]

In so doing this study hopes to offer new insights into the role of the Scottish Film Council (SFC), an under-researched cultural and educational agency operating on the margins of the educational policy-making community in Scotland⁴⁷. In addition, the

⁴⁷ David Bruce (1996) noted that the SFC had a complex history which had yet to be written.

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study hopes to offer new insights into the role of the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET), an atypical education agency also operating on the periphery of the policy-making community (1.2.1 & 1.2.2.ii)⁴⁸. This micro-analysis of the media education movement also seeks to throw new light on the processes and practices of educational policy-making at key historical junctures in Scotland and suggests "there might be some interaction between waves of home rule agitation and particular types of response from the leadership class" (Paterson, 1998)(1.2.1).

To explore "the interface of past and present" (McCulloch, 2004, p128) and the "drawing out of connections" (ibid) between media education as a contemporary phenomenon and its older forms (1.1), this study has also drawn upon extended interviews with key players in the media education movement who were working in 'elite' administrative (Ozga, 2000), academic and classroom spaces in the 1970s and 1980s (Appendix C). The interviews were conducted throughout the period of study and used to inform the developing documentary analysis and synthesis, generating and testing ideas rather than forming a basis for the development of hypotheses.

2.2.1 Archives and documents

This study "assumes that everything connects, that each entity and event contains the stuff that might illuminate another one" (Steedman, 2001, p79). Over an eighteen month period, the development of this work was facilitated by extensive use of the collections of documents held by the Scottish Film and Television Archive (Appendix A) and enabled a history of the SFC's relationship with the SED to be carefully

⁴⁸ Andrew Bruce, a member of the Media Education Coordinating Committee in 1982, during an informal conversation described the agency as "strange".

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reconstructed. The Newspaper Collections held in The Mitchell Library in Glasgow containing back issues of selected newspapers published in Glasgow were also consulted during this time (Appendix B).

The Archive⁴⁹ was established in 1976 with “more than a hint of opportunism” (Bruce, 1996, p133)(3.1.1.iii & 3.2.2) as a division of the SFC and located in a Victorian building in Glasgow. According to Martyn Roebuck (Appendix C)(2.1.3, 2.1.4, 2.1.5 & 2.2.2), the HMI assessor for the newly formed SFC in 1974, “they [the Scottish Archive Film Committee⁵⁰] couldn't get any money”. Roebuck recalled his own efforts, therefore, “through a series of coincidences and contacts” to find an unemployed archivist for whom the SFC could create a job for one year. Thereafter, funding for the post was obtained variously and supported by the SED⁵¹.

Over a period of thirty years, however, that arrangement grew less suited to the work of finding, restoring and preserving Scotland’s film and video heritage and in 2007 the Scottish Film and Television Archive finally became part of the Collections Department at the National Library of Scotland and renamed the Scottish Screen Archive. Hundreds of documents from a number of SFC committees and sub-committees were consulted and included minutes of meetings, internal memos, letters, newspaper cuttings, press releases, newsletters and drafts of memos and letters.

The main function of the Scottish Screen Archive is to collect, preserve and catalogue film and video texts. The Archive had amassed a body of nitrate film stocks requiring

⁴⁹ Formerly the Scottish Central Film Library (SCFL)

⁵⁰ Chaired by a representative of the National Library of Scotland

⁵¹ Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008

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a number of actions, not least, Martyn Roebuck recalled, the urgent need to render its film resources stable⁵². In an early conversation in 2001 with Janet McBain, the curator of The Archive, it became clear that very little systematic work had been done on the education documents held in its collection⁵³. Steedman (2001) writes that "The Archive" contains documentation consciously chosen to preserve fragments of the past that "just [sit] there until it is read, and used, and narrativised" (p68) but also that which "just ended up there" (ibid). McCulloch (2004) notes that "the key to any archive is its catalogue or inventory" (p54). Negotiating the catalogue, however, was time-consuming and flexibility important to establish where relevant sources might be found. A significant degree of exploratory work had to be done before a first selection could be drawn together for further scrutiny (Appendix A)(2.2.1.i). Historical enquiry demands a dismantling of not only familiar concepts and categories but also the assumptions that can be made about meaning before an interpretative understanding can be reached (Scott, 1990, Tosh, 2006).

Perhaps more significantly for this research, however, Bradley (1999) draws attention to a further dilemma, "the intoxication of the moment of discovery when the historian experiences her first hearing of past voices" (p113) made more problematic when it holds out the possibility of what she describes as "a double recovery" (p116).

Bradley's account of two narratives becoming "fused" (p116) in the memory of experience is useful when reflecting upon this researcher's own experiences (1.1.1.i,

⁵² Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008.

⁵³ Janet McBain, the curator, explained that the priority was finding, cataloguing and preserving national and local Scottish screen artefacts. When the Archive first established it made a public announcement encouraging people to deposit 'found' material. The Archive was overwhelmed by the response. Janet also commented that the Archive was attached to the SFC rather than the National Library because when it was established, expertise in handling these 'new' documents of social and cultural history was not available there. It is significant that in 2007, the Archive was transferred to the care of the National Library of Scotland.

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1.1.1.iv, 1.2.3.i, 2.1.1, 2.1.1, 2.1.6, 2.1.7, 2.1.8) and her subsequent encounter with the documentation relating to the Scottish Educational Film Association (SEFA)(3.2.2). However, Bradley is writing of her experience of researching a more intimate and private archival space, that of her mother's house. The possibility of experiencing the intoxication of what she describes as "the pure sensation" (p116) released in the unlocking of a moment may have been less expected in the public construct of an official national archive. Bradley concludes with the "illusions of historical reconstruction and recovery" but notes its value in the process of selection where the researcher "must practise the arts of spy and raconteur, tracing back multiple life-lines into a past in danger of being lost" (p118).

When the historical narrative of the MEDP was under construction, the concept of educational film was deemed irrelevant for the purposes of this study (1.1.1.iv & 1.1.2). However, the tangled web of individuals, organisations and institutions revealed by that task required a more flexible approach to periodisation than had been anticipated. The work undertaken in The Archive subsequently, involved the dismantling and reassembling of concepts and chronologies. During that period, the discovery of an account of the work of SEFA (Barclay, 1993), written in 1982 by a former member who had been both a founder of the Scottish Educational Sight and Sound Association (SESSA)(3.1.1.ii) and a SEFA researcher⁵⁴, not published until 1993, offered the prospect of "a double recovery" (Bradley, 1999, p116). The discovery took place after the selection of documents had been made (Appendix A) but contained useful additional information about a number of individuals identified

⁵⁴ An account of experimental research emerging in Scotland at the beginning of the twentieth century is provided by Nisbet, J (1999) How It All Began: Educational Research 1880-1930 in *Scottish Educational Review*, 1999, pp3-9. From SEFA's work, it is clear that the discourse of experimentalism continued beyond the period defined in this article

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in SFC minutes past. Functioning as a personal memoir as well, however, JB Barclay's account of more than thirty years of experience as a member of a group experimenting and exploring with new texts and technologies in teaching and learning also spoke to the present⁵⁵.

In his rejection of a "rigid typology" between "personal documents" and "public records" in favour of a more useful exploration of the "tensions and interactions" (p128) between the public and private, McCulloch (2004) argues that

while public and private are powerful constructs that represent separate and distinct domains, documentary study can shed light on how they influence and act on each other in practice

[ibid]

However, by way of an illustration of the dilemma created by the concepts of the "public and private" binary, in his writing on historical insider research, McCulloch (2008) invokes that very binary when he uses the terms "amateur" and "professional"⁵⁶. The contradiction seems to suggest that whilst such "tensions and interactions" can take place by juxtaposing different types of documents, he is less hopeful of a productive tension existing between the researched and the researcher. More helpfully, other work (Bradley, 1999, Mercer, 2007, Drake, 2010) points to a reflexive interaction that can take place in the space between the researcher and her object of study, producing a fusion of narratives that can generate new insights.

⁵⁵ Nisbet, J (1999) How It All Began: Educational Research 1880-1930 in *Scottish Educational Review*, 1999, pp3-9

⁵⁶ This particular binary was also drawn upon by Eddie Dick in his discussion of Media Studies and media education (Dick, 1984b)

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This study takes the view that documents are products of the social processes it seeks to explore (Scott, 1990). A wide range of documentary sources have been consulted and used as "complementary strategies [allowing] an enhanced understanding of changes and continuities over time" (McCulloch, 2004, p130) in the relationship between media culture, media technology and education in Scotland. In this sense, the history to be constructed here might be seen as an analytical strategy for tracing the media education movement and its engagement with the SFC and the SED (1.1).

2.2.1.i Selection

All files containing correspondence, papers, reports and minute books relating to the setting up of the SFC and its sub-committees in 1934 (Chapter 3) were read.

Thereafter, SFC minute books from 1934 to 1977 with a particular but not exclusive focus on the work of its Education Panel were consulted. Documents relating to the work of the Scottish Educational Cinema Society (SECS)(3.1.1i) and SEFA included minutes, reports, newsletters, information bulletins, research reports and educational film catalogues. In addition, all files containing correspondence and papers concerning educational technology in Scotland and the creation of SCET (Chapter 4) were read. From 1974 onwards, files relating to both SCET and the SFC were requested and included all the files relating to media education (Chapter 4 & 5).

The documents consulted in the Archive have been juxtaposed with selected official published reports from other discourses of educational policy in circulation during the key periods this study covers. The construction of a descriptive account of the MEDP

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(1.1.1.iv) revealed a surprisingly broad coalition of interest comprised of individuals, institutions, organisations and documents involved in its origins and development.

Whilst that account limited its chronological boundaries to between 1974, at the formation of the SCET and 1999, when Higher Media Studies was presented for the first time in Scotland, the influence of a number of historical legacies requiring further exploration became clear.

Scott (1990) writes that when assessing documentary sources, "[t]he researcher's own frame of reference becomes the springboard from which the [hermeneutic] circle is entered" (p31). References found in the documentation to SEFA, a group of grass-roots educationists in existence prior to the MEDP, offered a springboard into the more unfamiliar territory of the past. In addition, that discovery held out the prospect of narrative fusion (Bradley, 1999) that served as a tool in the selection process. In the construction of the early account of the MEDP (1.1.1.iv), SEFA functioned as an interesting but distracting point of identification, symbolic of an outmoded and irrelevant discourse about the relationship between the media and education (Cowle, 1981). When venturing into the apparently 'outsider' territory of the past, Tosh argues "[w]e have to be on our guard against reading modern meanings into the past" (Tosh, 2006, p96). SEFA's "voices", however, spoke more clearly of similarity than difference.

Tosh (2006) outlines two fundamental principles "governing the direction of original research" (p89). In the first, the sources determine the problem but "may yield an incoherent jumble of data" (p90) and in the second, the problem determines the sources but identifying relevant sources at too early a stage risks the sin of omission.

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In practice, Tosh asserts, both approaches should be taken together but offers little advice about how this might be done.

This study brings data from the present into a methodological and interpretational dialogue with an 'ensemble' of documents from the past to generate new understandings of both. Tosh discusses two approaches to historical method and this work has engaged with both. As he warns, the relevant sources had been identified at too early a stage in my research process. Whilst researcher values, discursively constructed through experience (1.1.1), facilitated the first stage of the research process, it had created a misrecognition of the 'foreshadowed problem' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p21). The process of re-formulating the problem was engaged using a longer historical perspective and dissolving previously constructed periods and concepts. The researcher's own frame of reference (Scott, 1990) had created 'the moment' Bradley (1999) writes about in her mother's archive, giving access not to recovery but to an 'outsiderness' that rendered her 'insiderness' strange.

The "opportunism" (Bruce, 1996) of the Archive (2.2.1) usefully describes more than its instance of origin. Access to its contents was restricted only by the Archive's opening times and the availability of a study space. The latter took the form of a small room in one of the narrow corridors of its labyrinthine building. During the period in which this researcher was using the Archive, a number of uncatalogued and disordered boxes were discovered. These contained hundreds of documents 'deposited' by the former MEDP officer. Those documents have been catalogued only subsequently. The catalogue minimally described the contents of files and was difficult to navigate and its contents were similarly minimally listed in non-sequential

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order. A significant degree of work on the documents was required before they could be assessed in terms of value for closer scrutiny (Appendix A).

2.2.1.ii Analysis

This work draws upon critical theory and discourse analysis (Deacon et al, 2007) to interpret 'acts and facts' from an 'ensemble' (Ball, 1994) of documents selected from different periods and contexts (2.1). Tosh (2006) notes

historians [need] to focus on the text itself, since its value lies less in any reflections of reality than in revealing the categories through which reality was perceived.
(p292)

Furthermore, writing about educational policy as discourse, Ball (1994) asserts that "policies are textual interventions into practice" (p18) and draws upon the work of Foucault in his observation that "[o]nly certain influences and agendas are recognised as legitimate, only certain voices are heard at any point in time" (p16). Crucially for this study, then, "[d]iscourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority" (p21). This work seeks "to move beyond the letter of the text" to "listen to a wider range of voices" (Tosh, 2006, p292). Ball (1994) argues that policies are representations, encoded and decoded "in complex ways" (p16). In addition, policies shift and change meaning under the influence of "key interpreters" (p17).

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Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) note the usefulness of combining chronology with trajectory as organising concepts for work that analyses processes and developmental cycles. This study uses chronology and trajectory in that way and has been worked to both aggregate and disaggregate the discourses in play in the spheres of media education (Cowle, 1981, Dick, 1987, Caughie, 1990, Bazalgette, 1999, Masterman, 2002, 2004/2005, Gormlie & Instrell, 2004/2005) and educational policy-making (Humes, 1986, McPherson & Raab, 1988, Paterson, 1997). Assemblages of historical documents allowed traces of other discourses to emerge that in the "struggles, compromises, authoritative public interpretations and re-interpretations" via "actors' interpretations and meanings in relation to their history, experiences, skills, resources and context" (Ball, 1994, p16) had been lost.

Note was made of the provenance, form and intent of each document, who was in attendance, who they represented and the topics under discussion. Deacon et al (2007) suggest that a useful approach to documentary evidence is to treat all with suspicion. No document was considered to be neutral. Issues relating to the authenticity, reliability, representativeness and meaning of documentary sources are outlined in several discussions of method (Scott, 1990, Deacon et al, 1999, McCulloch, 2004, Tosh, 2006, Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Where "validity and reliability" (Scott, 1990, p6) could not be established from the document itself or through triangulation with other sources, it was not used as reliable evidence for the construction and interpretation of data⁵⁷.

⁵⁷ See 3.1.1.i for an example of the way in which different types of documents were triangulated.

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2.2.2 Institutions, organisations and individuals

This study suggests that it has been the dynamic between institutions, organisation and individuals that both enabled and contained the origins and development of media education in the Scottish secondary school. Existing studies of Scottish education policy and process in the 1970s and 1980s will be used to explore this dynamic.

The work of Humes (1986) and McPherson & Raab (1988), focused on the broad operations of professionals and bureaucrats in the 'leadership class' in Scottish education. McPherson & Raab generated concepts derived historically and theoretically from their analysis of the "assumptive worlds" (p55) of the policy-making community to explore and explain the ways in which those "deeply persuasive" beliefs and values influenced the exercise of power. Their work emphasises the importance of mapping historical continuities and discontinuities in the analysis of partnership, pluralist and corporatist decision-making practices. Discussing the practice of partnership in the distribution of powers between local authorities and the SED in Scottish education, between differently located 'centres' of power, McPherson & Raab argue that "common purpose" is implied but that the "right to act independently" must win consent. McPherson & Raab's work substantively describes and explains the "assumptive worlds" of educational policy-makers in Scotland in post between 1945 and the mid-1970s to illustrate the ways in which that consent could be negotiated.

They argue that the inclusion of a third party in the exercise of power "makes things more interesting" (p4) because "they [teachers as a collective] claim something of a

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monopoly of professional knowledge and skills" yet "they [teachers as individuals] practise education with considerable autonomy" (ibid). Whilst teachers are included in their analysis, they are represented as organised professional and bureaucratic collectives. Other forms of collective organisation are given less attention. The agency of individual teachers in ways other than those described is not considered. McPherson & Raab argue that to understand the "assumptive worlds" facilitating the power nexus of Scottish education, direct access to the individuals is necessary if conclusions about the practices of their collective may be drawn. Individual teachers and the "assumptive worlds" of their own collectives, however, are absent from these accounts.

When researching policy elites, the efficacy of interview methods is rejected by Humes, the reason for which is described by McPherson & Raab thus "talking to its [the leadership class] decision-takers compounds ignorance with sin" (p54). Instead, Humes' work juxtaposes policy with practice and analyses the "tensions and interactions" (McCulloch, 2004, p128) between them drawing on "political-administrative, socio-cultural and pheonological strategies" (Humes, 1986, p3). The combination of documents he brings into play include those from the grand narratives of education policy as well as the documents of bureaucracy such as minutes, reports and newsletters. For Humes, the difficulty of obtaining direct access to the inner workings of central and local government via interview gives no advantage over documentary analysis. The study of bureaucratic and institutional documents using discourse analysis, on the other hand, could lead to more insightful conclusions.

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The complexity of this study is manifest. Firstly, as a history of a single case, media education in statutory education in Scotland, it must collect, select and interpret data from the educational and cultural institutions, organisations and individuals involved. It must also take account of Scotland's position as a nation within the context of the UK state (McCrone, 1992, Paterson, 1997, 1998). The relations of power and the coalition of interests within and between those stakeholders needs to be understood within the context of its relations with institutional counterparts in the UK as a whole. This study seeks to understand the significance of those differences in terms of Scotland's particular institutional distinctiveness (McCrone, 2001, Limond, 2002)(1.2.1) to both facilitate and frustrate the media education initiative in Scotland and is influenced by David Morley's view that

What one needs to do in terms of the institutional politics of a particular educational system at a particular moment, and what would be most productive intellectually in the longer term, are very often in tension with each other
[Morley, 2007, p52].

2.2.2.i Pragmatic nationalism: 'centre' and 'periphery' relations

The grand narratives of educational discourses circulating during the key periods covered by this study, produced and consumed as 'policy texts' (Ball, 1994), include a number of official publications. Those published by Consultative Committee on the

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Curriculum (CCC) relating to the curriculum changes of the late 1970s and early 1980s, therefore, including the Munn and Dunning Reports (SED, 1977a & 1977b), the 16-18 Action Plan (SED, 1983) and the 10-14 Report (CCC, 1986) have been interpreted in relation to the wider educational developments taking place in the UK at the same time. The administrative devolution of powers to Scottish education (Pickard & Dobie, 2003), encouraged an approach to policy-making between 1979 and 1999 described as "pragmatic nationalism" (Paterson, 1997)(1.2.1, 3.1.1.ii, 3.3, 4.2.2, 4.3.1 & 4.3.5). He argued that Scottish education had a "negotiated autonomy" from the UK that relied on the successful mobilisation of Scottish 'difference' to sustain it. In this way, therefore, the SED retained its power. Paterson argued that maintaining the distinctions between the two education systems was key to understanding the operations of the SED as an institution. In addition to the internal contests emerging between the sources of advice competing for influence with the Scottish Office at this time, therefore, were the external tensions generated by Scotland's constitutional position within the UK.

2.2.2.ii The leadership class

The documents held in the Scottish Film and Television Archive presented an opportunity to identify specific individuals (2.2.1) working within the compulsory education system who had been interested in media and technology in education (2.1) at various points along its trajectory and track their movements across a number of structures. The early 'systematisation' (McPherson & Raab, 1988)⁵⁸ of Scottish

⁵⁸ McPherson & Raab (1988) argue that distributed pluralism was consequently displaced by a more

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education began in 1929 when an additional power at local level, the local authority network, replaced the more fragmented provision on offer up to that point (Anderson, 2003). A new body of influence, the Association of Directors of Education in Scotland (ADES), had formed in 1920 and together with Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) were the main sources of advice for the SED (Humes, 1986)(1.2.1). A tension between the national and the local, therefore, was established.

HMI in Scotland were held to constitute the most significant power group in the Scottish education system and the only agency to operate as representatives of the Department (Humes, 1986). They provided the links between the disparate components of its structure and, according to Humes, have worked to maintain their influence across all aspects of the educational decision-making processes in Scotland. Humes identified the existence of a 'leadership class' in Scottish education that relied on two key factors: the patronage extended by HMIs to those demonstrating 'deference and trust' and the practice of dual membership of the committees structuring the curriculum and assessment agencies. Running contrary to its myth of egalitarianism, therefore, Scottish education was "authoritarian and hierarchical". The concept of a 'leadership class' has been contested by some on the grounds that it oversimplified a very complex process of negotiation in a more pluralist context than Humes acknowledged.

As this work progressed it became increasingly useful to map the movements of

systematised or coordinated pluralism and the impact of this on attempts to control from the centre is subsequently complex.

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individuals across a number of structures in the Scottish education system. The practice of dual membership of committees, appeared to facilitate the development of media education and Media Studies, not only in relation to the HMIs sympathetic to the initiative but also in relation to individuals operating at other levels within the system.

The work of McPherson & Raab (1988), Humes (1986) and Paterson (1997, 1998) has influenced both epistemological and methodological elements of this study. Two enduring myths of Scottish education that prevail are its commitment to both a collective and an individual egalitarianism (Paterson, 2003) and symbolised by what McPherson & Raab describe as "The Kirriemuir Career" and "the lad o' pairts". The so-called "Kirriemuir Career" emerged from interviews with retired members of the SED who had been in service since 1945 but who carried the legacies of those before them. McPherson and Raab found that these influential civil servants had been educated in a surprisingly small number of schools, most of which were termed "provincial". Whilst considered by those individuals to symbolise the strength of Scotland's comprehensive education system, the schools they attended were "deeply traditional and socially privileged areas of the school system" (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p422). However, mythologically, these individuals were lads o' pairts who, by their own hard-working endeavour had succeeded and thus, "The Kirriemuir career produced the sort of person that could be invited onto the councils of the state" (McPherson, 1983, p231).

Educational expansion demanded an expansion in its decision-making apparatus and

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the process of "managed ambiguity" (McPherson & Raab, 1988) that followed resulted in the development of a preference for "deference and trust" over "expertise", according to Humes (1986). In the 1960s, the emergence of three new educational agencies, the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board (SCEEB), the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (CCC) and the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTC) potentially expanded the nexus of power and challenged the domination of ADES and HMI as sources of advice to the SED. The necessary appointment of individuals from a more representative range of experiences to the decision-making apparatus at this time generated a more complex policy community. The effect of this could be seen most notably in the appointment of practitioners from Further Education institutions and from technological backgrounds into the Inspectorate. The Scottish Film Council (SFC) is not widely considered to have had membership of the educational policy-making community but by extending the selection of documentary sources, this study will demonstrate that prior to the formation of the Scottish Council of Educational Technology (SCET) in 1974, the SFC had a significant role.

Educational policy analysis is commonly associated with the more privileged terrain of legislation and the bigger structures of educational change. The range of documentary sources used for this study has been derived from the less privileged spheres of media, culture and technology in Scotland to establish the intersections, or the dualities between them. Such a range of documents produced in different contexts for different audiences and purposes, made available through the Scottish Film and

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Television Archive, enabled this work to use those spheres to generate additional analytical themes.

2.2.3 Interviews

Humes' (1986) work significantly develops the 'acts and facts' approach of previous work. He juxtaposed documents circulating the bureaucracies of Scottish education with those produced in the political-administrative sphere and used socio-cultural analytical approaches to interpret them. Humes sought to reveal the 'hidden' influence of the leadership class on discourse produced and circulated by education agencies positioned at the centre of education governance. His attention to the more peripheral bureaucracies such as SFC and SCET, however, is less rich. In addition, whilst Humes addressed the influence of the Research and Information Unit (RIU) on SCET, the absence of a dialogue with the individuals involved exposed weaknesses to which McPherson & Raab (1988) refer. These are absences this work will address.

This study constructs an ensemble of documents to trace the interconnectedness of discourses and their 'effects' (Ball, 1994⁵⁹, Taylor, 1997) on the development of media, technology and education in Scotland. In that regard, therefore, it has been influenced by the methods employed by Humes (1986). By contrast, however, McPherson & Raab (1988) use attributable interviews with "leading figures" in the Scottish educational policy-making community as the principal source of data. Responding to Humes' sharp criticism of the interview method when researching

⁵⁹ Stephen Ball uses the trajectory of a single case, the National Curriculum, to trace the emergence of the market and managerialism in education in England.

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leading figures in Scottish education (2.2.2), they argue that the 'acts and facts' approach generated little insight into the processes of policy-making in Scotland.

This study seeks to combine these approaches. Whilst it may be possible to test the utility of the combination of approaches in light of the views expressed by McPherson & Raab and Humes, the principal reason for including the interview method in this study lies with the Association for Media Education in Scotland (AMES)(5.1).

Record of the activities of AMES between 1983 and 1990 are patchy and consist in the main of a few newsletters. Efforts to locate minutes of meetings and other bureaucratic documents from this period in AMES' history were unsuccessful. By contrast, a full set of journals, published by AMES and part of the personal archive of this researcher, was to hand. The *Media Education Journal (MEJ)*(5.1.3) was not peer-reviewed and throughout its publication history AMES has continued to maintain editorial control. Funded by subscription, it emerged in the year following the final publication of *Screen Education* (1.2.2.i). The *MEJ* attracted a wide readership that included international subscribers and advocated media education and Media Studies in Scotland in a number of ways that included the provision of teaching materials. For the purposes of this study, however, it was the conditions of its production during the early years of AMES' existence, coinciding with the period of the MEDP, that were of most relevance and offered access to selected discourses in circulation at the time.

In addition to the analytic concepts of the leadership class and bureaucracy, Humes

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(1986) had included a third, 'professionalism'. He was scathing in his criticism of the industrial and bureaucratic organisations purporting to represent teachers as a collective. However, in his analysis, the voices of other forms of collective organisation and the voices of individual teachers themselves, are absent. Until the final stage of the research process, it had been anticipated that AMES would constitute a more substantial element of the study. An analysis of the full twenty-six year corpus of the *MEJ* together with extended interviews with key members at particular historical junctures had been intended but remains a story-in-waiting. With this in mind, a life history approach (Ball & Goodson, 1985, Sikes et al, 2003) to the interviews with selected subjects active during the lifespan of the MEDP had been adopted. Ozga (2000) argues

there is a need for the gathering of such [historical] data from educational workers who have lived through periods of transition, and whose experiences would provide a source for the better understanding of the experience of change in education.

[p128]

This study argues that there is need to gather such data about teachers to better understand their agency as cultural workers in Scotland.

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2.2.3.i Selection and purpose

The selection of subjects for interview (Appendix C) was guided in the first instance, by their affiliations to the organisations and institutions under scrutiny during the period of the MEDP⁶⁰. A second factor in the selection was the degree of influence they were held to exercise. A third, the desire to include representation of sector, gender and geography in the sample where this was made possible by the conditions outlined above. All but three were recorded and transcribed by the researcher⁶¹. As transcriptions, the interviews were analysed as texts but they were also analysed as social events in which researcher and subject were participant observers (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2009).

Interviews were conducted during three distinct phases of the research process. The MEDP Officer, Eddie Dick and the MERP Officer were interviewed during the early stages of the research (2001-2002). These were arranged to coincide with work in the Archive when the initial descriptive account of the MEDP was underway (1.1.1.iv). The main purpose of this first set of interviews was to elicit views of the MEDP both from the perspective of the individual and those of the institutions with which both subjects were closely involved. Primary documents published at the time and the more recently published and retrospective evaluations of the project generated by

⁶⁰ No subject to whom approach was made overtly declined to be interviewed. However, the researcher decided not to pursue the initial approaches made to Kevin Cowle (SFC) and to Douglas Osler (HMSCI). Sadly, David McNicoll (HMI, Secretary to the CCC) was too ill to be approached. Very sadly, too, Robbie Robertson (SCDS [Edinburgh Division], SCCC) died in the early phase of this research, as did Frank Gormlie during its final phase in 2009.

⁶¹ The interviews with Eddie Dick and Brian McLean could not be recorded but notes of the interview were made subsequently. An interview with a former HMI was not recorded upon his request but he agreed to notes being taken. He did not wish his contributions to be attributable.

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AMES' annual conference in 1999 (Bazalgette, 1999, AMES, 2001) were used as prompts.

The interview with the MEDP Officer was not approached using life-history methods. The subject had been a colleague of the researcher before he began working with SCET and the interview took the form of an extended conversation in a social context⁶².

The second phase of interviews involved members of AMES and were conducted at a midway point in the research process (2004). Whilst views of the MEDP were elicited, the interviews took place at a significantly different stage in the developing thesis. At this point, the first stage of the documentary analysis work had been completed and a subsequent shift in the research focus had occurred (2.1.1.i). One of the purposes of these interviews was to elicit information about the early formation and functioning of AMES and its local groups. The *MEJ*, newsletters and conference reports were used as prompts.

The third phase included the representatives of the SED, the assessors to the SFC and the MEDP, Martyn Roebuck and Martin Axford. Martyn Roebuck was also a member of staff in the RIU. These were conducted during the final stages of the research process (2008) and used more explicitly to inform the synthesis of the thesis as a whole and to test some of the ideas emerging from the later stages of the documentary analysis.

⁶² The researcher observed a degree of discomfort throughout the discussion of the subject's role in the MEDP and in the SFC in the ensuing period.

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2.2.3.ii Approach and conduct

The interviews were conducted using a life-history approach to explore the "assumptive worlds" of the individuals involved. The researcher was interested in the ways in which subjects gave account of their experience. Issues relating to the construction of individual and professional identities (Goodson, 1981, Ball & Goodson, 1985, Goodson & Medway, 1990, Richards, 1998, Ozga, 2000, Goodson, 2001) were explored and the ways in which these might be articulated with and through media education and Media Studies in Scotland. The researcher was interested in the construction of both individual and collective memory as well as its lapses, taking account of "issues of nostalgia, pride and self-justification, sorrow and regret, even trauma and pain, and of silences" (Sandon, 2007, p99). The approach taken was both flexible and reflexive, non-directive and open-ended, however, "inferences arising from the developing analysis" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p119) required a change to a more directive intervention at times.

The ten recorded interviews generated between two to three hours of data each and to facilitate the approach taken subjects were interviewed, where possible, in a domestic context. Initial contact had included an outline of the research together with an indication of why each subject had been selected.

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2.2.3.iii

Ethics

Whilst each subject had 'voluntarily' agreed to be interviewed, this in itself did not constitute informed consent. At the beginning of each interview, the researcher outlined the study and her interest in it. It was made clear at the outset that should the subject be uncomfortable about information given or the direction a discussion had taken, two options were available, non-attribution or removal of the datum from the record. However, as Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) make clear "all research is a practical activity requiring the exercise of judgment in context" (p20) and the transcriptions were not made available for approval in the final version of the thesis. Where use of direct quotation or attribution may have placed an individual in jeopardy, therefore, it was not included. Throughout this study, the researcher has not used " 'off-the-peg' ethical codes of practice" but has gone "beyond the concern with ethics" and treated "every aspect of [the] research as specific" (Sikes & Potts, 2008, p179).

In summary, therefore, this study will employ the methods available to it in both modes of historical enquiry, analytical and narrative, and observe the utility of each in the analysis of data. In addition, it will observe the utility of the trajectory of a single case, media education, to reprise the history of media in education from the 1930s to the 1970s and prior to 'the Media Studies turn'⁶³ (Chapter 3). The Media Studies turn

⁶³ This phrase has been used to indicate an institutional discursive shift, from teaching about subjects through media to teaching about media through subjects and represented by the production of Anderson, DF (1979) *Media Education in Scotland: Outline Proposals for a Curriculum* (4.2.2). It does not concede, however, that in the previous period (1929-1974), the practice of using media for teaching and learning favoured the former to the exclusion of the latter.

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itself will be used to throw light on the processes of educational policy-making in the 1970s and 1980s using concepts developed by Humes (1986) and McPherson & Raab (1988)(Chapters 4 & 5). Finally, the Media Education Development Project will be used to explore the effect of emergent policy discourses that would bring the historical institutional conjunction of media technology and media culture (1.1.2 & 1.2.2.ii) to an end (Chapter 5).

3. Education, technology and the media in Scotland

This chapter aims to understand the influences of a number of different interests converging upon the development of media in education in the formal education sector in Scotland between 1929 and 1974. It seeks to explore the social, educational and political contexts in which those interests emerged and the extent to which various influences were brought to bear. What were the motivations, opportunities and constraints? A key concern for this chapter is the "fields on which ... strategies [were] organised, and who [was] in a position to draw up the rules of the game" (Deacon, D et al, 1999, p32) in the period leading up to the Media Studies turn and the production of its policy text⁶⁴ (4.2.2).

Technologies in general and the platforms of film and television in particular have been used in the main as objects of symbolic exchange to achieve outcomes related to, but distinct from, outcomes intrinsic to the object itself. Various agents and agencies have competed to fix the boundaries of the discourse (Ball, 1994) and establish the rules of the game (Firestone, 1989) to determine who is and who is not entitled to play. Achieving early dominance, therefore, can bring significant political, economic and cultural advantage, hence "the urgency of making wise decisions during constitutive moments" (Hampton, 2005, p242). Whilst it may be possible to identify the relevance of particular events in the economic, political, cultural and educational landscapes that generate new opportunities, the object itself may not be as important as the antagonisms that determine it (Morley, 2007). Furthermore, Kellner claims "the notion of antagonism refers to structural forces of domination, in which asymmetrical relations of power exist in sites of conflict" (Kellner, 1995, p167). The

⁶⁴ Anderson, DF (1979) Media Education in Scotland: Outline Proposals for a Curriculum

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ensuing battle for influence, therefore, may be predicated not on the efficacy of the object itself but on its potential to give provide benefits to existing vested interests.

The 1983 Media Education Development Project (4.3.4) in Scotland represented a paradigmatic and pedagogic shift in thinking about the role of media and technology in education. How particular agents and agencies came to be in a position to influence its development in Scotland, therefore, requires to be understood. This chapter seeks to explore the presence of dominant and emergent agents and discourses already in existence in the lead up to this shift. Two factors would appear to converge at particularly interesting historical points in Scotland: in 1929 and then again in 1974. General Elections held in those years were conducted at times of considerable social and economic instability. An increase in support for a separate legislative assembly in Scotland could be seen in the emergence and strengthening of the nationalist vote on both occasions (Hutchison, 2001). In addition, the Local Government (Scotland) Acts of 1929 and 1973 witnessed a growth in the influence of local education authorities (Limond, 2002). The conjunction of new local powers in the educational arena together with the emergence of an interest in the development of a national film culture in 1929 in Scotland (Lebas, 2005) would suggest that this is where the chapter should begin.

Similarities between this historical point and the one that emerges later in 1974 include the introduction of new agents seeking to establish influence within Scottish education, the emergence of new film and television technologies and a renewed focus on Scottish film and media culture. Media and education culture, both symbolic markers of the nation-state and Scottish particularity (Limond, 2002), constituted

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“sites of conflict” at these particular points, therefore, where Kellner’s (1995) “asymmetrical relations of power” created the conditions for productive alliances between media, technology and education.

Film and television technologies have a long history of involvement in the statutory education sector in Scotland but it is film, arguably, that has achieved greatest success. The first section of this chapter (3.1) looks at the beginnings of a grass-roots relationship between teachers, particularly in Glasgow and Edinburgh, interested in not only the use but also the production of film for educational purposes.

Understanding the forces at work that motivated and enabled them to effect change, therefore, is a key aim for this research. The constitution of the Scottish Film Council in 1934, was an event that both consolidated and institutionalised the use and production of educational film in Scotland. How teachers continued to exert influence on the work of the institution over a period of forty years is also the subject of this chapter's enquiry (3.2). That influence began to wane throughout the 1960s, however, possibly as a result of the emergence of television. It will be to the institutions and antagonisms involved in the development of educational television, therefore, that the final section of the chapter turns (3.3).

3.1 Education and technology

The technical development of mass media delivery systems mobilised the interest of two loosely defined but potentially distinct groups, who were committed to using media technologies in the furtherance of Scottish particularity. Crucially, however, the motivation of each was fundamentally different. One group needed the statutory

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education sector to help it meet the needs of an embryonic Scottish film culture whilst the other was interested in the educational potential of that film culture in the emerging context of educational expansion and technological innovation.

Morley's (2007) contention that terms are not particularly descriptive of the object itself but more a description of a shift of position determined by antagonisms is particularly useful to this study. The causes of these positional shifts and the antagonisms that created them are a core concern for this work. The history of media education and Media Studies in the UK is replete with the conflicts Kellner (1995) describes. Some thirty years previously, however, the growing interest of the working classes in cinema prompted educationists and film agencies to promote the use of film in the classroom (Lebas, 2005). In Scotland at that time and in partnership with the Scottish Film Council, teachers working in the compulsory education sector produced and developed the use of film in Scotland's schools in a grass-roots initiative that attracted attention from further afield.

3.1.1. Film technology and education reform in the 1930s

The political desire for social and education reform from 1929-1931 (Hutchison, 2001) opened an institutional window for film in education (Lebas, 2005). A number of small-scale experiments in the use of films in the classroom were conducted in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the early 1930s in a move to develop the "teaching film"⁶⁵. Ambitions that the film should take its "proper place and become a necessary part of

⁶⁵ The Film in the Classroom, Glasgow Corporation Education Department, 1933. 1/1/237

3. Education, technology and the media in Scotland

the equipment for the everyday work of the school"⁶⁶ emerged in Glasgow when the first school in Scotland to house a 'cinema' was Gorbals Public School in 1931. Its "additional facilities for imparting knowledge" (Glasgow Herald, 1931b) were funded by teachers and parents who had begun raising the means, £300, in late 1929. According to Limond (2002), the Glasgow Herald was "long the voice of conservative but moderate, middle-class protestant sentiment" (p361). That the 'cinema', and arguably the "teaching film", was established in a school in Glasgow may have been politically as well as socially significant.⁶⁷

3.1.1.i Early dominance: Glasgow, film and education

The previously ad hoc arrangement of education governance entrusted to some nine hundred school boards had ended with the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 (Anderson, 2003). A changing social and economic landscape and the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1929 fully integrated education into local council services with the emergence of local education authorities (Limond, 2002). As a devolved function in Scotland, education held an extraordinarily powerful position in that it was a source of potential funding for other sectors without a Scottish institutional locus. The particularity of Scottish education defined its national identity and existed in tension with a Scottish Office whose concern was for British uniformity (Limond, 2002).

⁶⁶ Lessons on the Screen: First Scots School Cinema Opened. Source unknown. 4/22/2

⁶⁷ Lebas (2005) documents the origins and development of the Necessitous Children Holiday Camp Fund (NCHCF). Glasgow Corporation's involvement in film sponsorship in the late 1920s and the involvement of its Education Department in the promotion of cinema in schools is explicit. Lebas argues that the NCHCF films were fundraisers for the camps and given financial and political support by Charles Cleland, "a senior political figure in the Council" (p35). It seems likely this may also have played a part in establishing a 'cinema' in a Gorbals school.

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The early days of Glasgow Corporation documented by Lebas (2005) links the use of film in educational contexts in Glasgow in particular with the civic regeneration projects of the 1920s and 1930s. Glasgow's education officials were particularly effective in facilitating the use of film both inside and outside the classroom and the emergence of a systematised (McPherson & Raab, 1988) education service in Scotland created the space for Glasgow Corporation to seek advantage.

The Film Society of Glasgow was established in 1929 (Hardy, 1955) and six of its founding teacher members organised a cinema club for the study, presentation and making of the "teaching film", the Scottish Educational Cinema Society (SECS), in 1930 (Glasgow Herald, 1931a)⁶⁸. SECS members were teachers working for Glasgow Corporation where the opportunity to experiment with the new medium of film in education was facilitated by the emergence of new discursive practices in a city council keen to raise its profile (Lebas, 2005). In a bid to develop the "teaching film" (Glasgow Herald, 1931c & 1932)⁶⁹ as a viable product, R M Allardyce, the newly appointed Director of Education in Glasgow, described it as an opportunity for British film producers and educationists alike. According to the reports in the Glasgow Herald (1931c & 1932), the availability of educational film was limited to

⁶⁸ The aims of the Scottish Educational Cinema Society were (i) to investigate the place of cinema in education (ii) to discover the best methods of using films (iii) to determine the most suitable type or types of projection apparatus and screens for use in schools, including those schools without electric power (iv) to collect and distribute information regarding films suitable for school use (v) to establish a library of educational films by collecting and re-editing for school use non-inflammable films or copies of films at present available, and by preparing for teaching purposes non-inflammable films or copies not available through trade channels. Membership of the film library would be open to educational bodies, schools, juvenile organisations and individuals for a minimum subscription of £2/2s. The projection equipment was portable (Glasgow Herald, 1931a)(Appendix B). Official archived documents authored by SECS begin in 1933 but using press sources, the beginnings of the organisation can be traced to an earlier point. By suspending the narrative (Tosh, 2006), the developmental trajectory of the Association for Media Education in Scotland (AMES)(5.1) suggested a similar pattern might be evident in the trajectory of the Scottish Educational Film Association (SEFA)(3.2.2).

⁶⁹ "[T]he teaching film" was to be a "didactic" instrument and "avoid cheap humour, use repetition, slow motion and "continuous shots" and it must not "be allowed to assume an undue importance" (Glasgow Herald, 1931c & 1932)(Appendix B).

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what was being produced in America and was considered to be inappropriate for the needs of Scottish classrooms. To meet the needs of Scottish teachers, the key was to generate a demand for the supply of British product. Meantime, teachers themselves would bridge the gap, often by using old films that would be cut and edited to "make a presentable film for the classroom" (Barclay, 1993, p4).

Allardyce would play a key role in preparing the ground for the formation of the Scottish Film Council in 1934. Another influential individual in Glasgow at that time was Charles Cleland. He was honorary president of SECS (Glasgow Herald, 1931a) and sub-convenor of Glasgow Council's Education Committee (Lebas, 2005). In the latter capacity he was also a member of the Commission on Educational and Cultural Films. Cleland had held a number of elected positions within the Corporation since 1891 (Lebas, 2005) and was influential in facilitating the use of film for the benefit of children, The Necessitous Children Holiday Camp Fund (NCHCF)⁷⁰ for example, in the 1920s. Cleland would later come to occupy the position of BFI Governor and acting chair of the British Film Institute in 1935 (Lebas, 2005, James, 2006⁷¹).

Allardyce and Cleland, therefore, were committed to the process of educational reform and interested in the potential of film for this purpose. Occupying powerful positions in the governance of formal education in the newly reorganised local government bureaucracy in Scotland in general and Glasgow in particular, as well as in the emergent film agencies, both individuals were in positions to exert considerable influence.

⁷⁰ Op.cit. 43

⁷¹ In James' (2006) analysis of Kinematograph Weekly in the 1930s, he notes Cleland's influence in the BFI but makes no mention of Cleland's work in the Scottish context.

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Tracing Allardyce and Cleland (Bradley, 1999) across a number of different documents (McCulloch, 2004), the interpretations of Lebas (2005) and James (2006) can be usefully juxtaposed (2.2.1). Cleland would not have appeared in McPherson & Raab's (1988) work on policy elites in the SED. In the course of an interview with a former SED Under-Secretary, mention is made of Allardyce as an influential Director of Education in Glasgow (1929-1944) but this is only made in passing and functions as something of a roll-call (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p449). The work of McPherson & Raab has a particular focus on the period post-1945, however, and the detail of this early phase in the development of a professional and bureaucratic educational Directorate in Scotland was not in its scope. More importantly, as a policy discourse (Ball, 1994), the use of film in education was firmly on the margins in the 1920s.

Limond (2002), on the other hand identifies a "dominant discourse" of "localism" pertaining between 1902 and 1918, the end of which was marked by the event of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 (Anderson, 2003). However, the ways in which Glasgow Corporation Education Department promoted film in education throughout the 1920s and 1930s suggests that full advantage of the practices of "localism" continued to be taken until after the Second World War. The transition from the local and ad-hoc (Anderson, 2003) to the professional and bureaucratic (Humes, 1986), however, can be seen in the developmental trajectories (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) of SECS, SESSA (3.1.1.ii), SEFA (3.2.2) and the SFC (3.2.1).

The ways in which the educational films that teachers produced for pedagogic purpose may have influenced the development of the new medium of film in Scotland

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in particular at that time is beyond the scope of this study. However, the detailed determination of how the "teaching film" should be produced was one of the Scottish Film Council's achievements to be later noted as of particular interest to the BFI (SFC, 1941). The extent of the influence of teachers interested in film and working in Scotland at that time was further demonstrated when Russell Borland, a teacher, was appointed the SFC's first permanent member of staff at the end of 1937 (Oakley, 1955)⁷². His contributions to the development of the SFC in the years before the Second World War were of such significance that upon his return from service, Gaumont-British Instructional Films asked him to join them in London⁷³. His departure from the SFC in 1946 was an event that signalled the beginnings of a change in its priorities.

In addition to having an interest in how film in the classroom might facilitate learning, the educationists involved believed that, if the standard of educational films could be improved, this would in turn create more demanding and discerning audiences for entertainment films. The idea of film appreciation and raising standards of 'taste' antagonised elements of the trade, however, who required to be convinced that audiences were not satisfied with current provision whilst they continued going to the cinema in large numbers (James, 2006). More significantly, perhaps, the production of the "teaching film" was not profitable.

⁷² To mark the SFC's first twenty-five years, it published a retrospective with contributions from key actors. Charles Oakley had been an honorary secretary to the SFC and in his recollection of its first twenty-five years he notes that Borland was appointed in 1937. The SFC Minute (Scottish Film Council, Minute of the Twenty-Second Meeting, 26 January 1938. 1/1/250) records Borland being welcomed to his first formal meeting of the SFC in early 1938. Bruce (1996), although a secondary source in this particular instance, records Borland's appointment as being made in 1937. The usefulness of using different types of document for the 'acts and facts' triangulation of sources can be exemplified in this way. Documents could be tested for reliability, validity and authenticity (2.2.1.ii). Questions of meaning, however, as in the case of the juxtaposition of academic sources, Lebas (2005) and James (2006) for example, require a more detailed analysis of context and content.

⁷³ The British Film Institute Scottish Film Council, Press release, 15 July 1947. 1/1/238

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Not all households or schools in Scotland had electricity at the time so the Scottish agents of Western Electric⁷⁴, Jays Film Service, based in Glasgow and one of Scotland's first indigenous production companies, put together a slate of educational films with which they toured Scotland in search of audiences and venues. The Education Departments of Glasgow and Edinburgh provided both without charge (Lebas, 2005), and the strategy led to interest on the part of teachers working in the statutory sector, not only in the possibilities of film in the classroom but as an introduction to the medium itself. In turn this mobilised a professional interest in film that turned attention to issues of content, form and pedagogy. At the same time, a developing professionalism in film production could also be discerned.

That it was Glasgow rather than Edinburgh that took the first steps, may have been related to the emergence of embryonic production companies on the west coast and its engineering traditions. It may also have been related to the emergent politics of Glasgow Corporation (Lebas, 2005). The early involvement of both cities, more significantly for this study, however, may also have represented an opportunity for them to challenge the dominant influence of the kailyard in the shaping of a new Scottish educational myth (McCrone, 2003). That both cities had responsibility for the mass schooling of children living in areas of significant social and economic disadvantage, such as the Gorbals, may have encouraged the generation of a more urban educational story.

⁷⁴ Western Electric were also represented by their Director of Educational Research on the Commission on Educational and Cultural Films (Gott, 1932)

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3.1.1.ii City rivalries

Following hard on the heels of the arrival of the Film Society of Glasgow, the Edinburgh Film Guild established in the following year (Bruce, 1996). The development of a grass-roots organisation of teachers in Edinburgh, the Scottish Educational Sight and Sound Association (SESSA), did not emerge until 1933, however⁷⁵. The Edinburgh Film Guild had a stronger association with the critique of film than its Glasgow equivalent and Forsyth Hardy was a prominent member. Hardy was working as a film journalist at that time but his interest was firmly rooted in the film society movement and his opposition to the dominance of educational interests at this early stage was evident⁷⁶. It is likely that SESSA did not emerge from the beginnings of the film society movement in the same way as SECS had, therefore, which might explain the more explicitly stated educational interest of SESSA⁷⁷. In addition, SECS had already established its role as a mediator between the film trade and education through Charles Cleland, and SESSA needed to position itself slightly differently.

SESSA represented teachers working on the east coast of Scotland who were interested in the potential of both sound and vision technologies in education. SECS had tried to persuade them to form an east coast branch rather than to form a separate organisation⁷⁸. For SESSA, however, SECS appeared to be more interested in the technology of film and its production, something that in their view was not appropriate

⁷⁵ Scottish Educational Sight and Sound Association, record of a meeting, 27 June 1933. 1/1/237

⁷⁶ Scottish Educational Sight and Sound Association, letter to Forsyth Hardy, 10 July 1933. 1/10/28

⁷⁷ Scottish Educational Sight and Sound Association, record of a meeting, 27 June 1933. 1/1/237

⁷⁸ *ibid.*

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The Society [SECS] appears to be using its funds for experimental work in connection with productions and screens. We consider these should be left to the trade⁷⁹

The core concern of SESSA, on the other hand, was educational "mechanical aids" that included "the gramophone". The tone of the communications between the two organisations at this point in time suggested that SESSA considered the activities of SECS to be too narrowly focused on concerns not educational (SESSA, 1933). This early tension where the respective roles of educationists and producers were concerned was similarly reflected in the attitudes of the trade and the film society movement toward the "teaching film". Whilst antagonisms between the film society movement, the educational film movement and the trade were apparent, the pragmatic necessity for alliances to support the development of film in Scotland at that time took priority. However, the underlying tensions between those who create and those who use has persisted throughout the history of the development of media and technology in educational contexts, unhelpfully separating theory from practice, education from technology.

SECS understood the importance of a mutually beneficial relationship with the trade and was more pro-active than SESSA in the organisation of events to promote 'cinema' technology⁸⁰. Cooperation with the trade was necessary for such events and its newsletters carried much-needed trade advertisements. Such work thus built mutually beneficial bridges and the increase of interest amongst the teaching

⁷⁹ *ibid.*

⁸⁰ Scottish Educational Cinema Society, Exhibition of Screen Aids to Education at MacLellan Galleries in Glasgow, 12/13 April 1935. 1/5/161

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workforce worked to bring pressure to bear on local education authorities to supply the required technology. SECS would, in addition, establish a film library where educational films and projectors were available for hire. This was a very significant action in terms of its resource building capacity, the progenitor of "one of [Scotland's] youngest cultural institutions, the Scottish Central Film Library"⁸¹, later to become the Scottish Film and Television Archive⁸². The ready availability of technology and appropriate institutional support (Coats, 2005), therefore, were ineluctably linked to the development of Scottish film product at this time.

Both organisations would combine forces however, politically at least, as the Scottish Educational Film Association (SEFA) in 1935, in the process of constituting the Scottish Film Council (3.2.1). It may be something of an irony that some forty years later, in 1974, the needs of SFC would, in turn, become subjugated to the needs of SESSA's bureaucratic equivalent: the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET).

3.1.1.iii Early research: instruction or entertainment?

Both city councils undertook investigations that linked film to educational outcomes but one focused on the use of educational film in the classroom whilst the other focused on children's engagement with film for entertainment purposes. An Edinburgh study interested in the impact of the entertainment film on educational

⁸¹ c1941 Scottish Film Library, newspaper clipping, source unknown. Scottish Film & Television Archive. 1/1/108

⁸² The Scottish Central Film Library was losing money in the 1970s and the post of an archivist funded for a year from a government training fund. What later became the Scottish Film and Television Archive was a critical development in the further institutionalisation of Scottish film culture (2.2.1).

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outcomes and its relation in particular to class and gender was undertaken in 1933 (Mackie, 1933). Working class children frequently visited and worked in unregulated cinemas and prompted the Edinburgh Juvenile Organisations Committee to form a coalition of civil societies to collect empirical data. Ostensibly interested in the possible effects of film as a "vehicle of instruction and entertainment" (Mackie, 1933, p5), the attitudes of children, their parents and teachers, adolescents and visitors to a wide range of films seen in the cinema were recorded. The investigation was ambitious in its scope but its lines of enquiry signalled a desire to protect working class children from the potentially negative impact on their education of film as a product and the cinema as an institution⁸³. A developing awareness of a rival to the socialising influence of school and church was evident (Smith, 2005, Richards, 2010).

In Glasgow, another investigation of film, described by the Glasgow Herald as "An Aid to Backward Children" (Glasgow Herald, 1931c) was underway at the same time. Its scope was less ambitious and focused on the effects of using instructional film in the classroom (Glasgow Corporation Education Department, 1933). By that time, Cleland chaired the Education Committee and convened its special sub-committee on visual education. In cooperation with SECS, the experiment was informed by expressly educational objectives, using carefully selected and edited "teaching films"

⁸³ The new building housing Leith Academy was opened in 1931 and Mackie took over as its new Rector in 1933. The impressive quantitative analysis of the data probably owes something to his subject specialism in Mathematics but also as a Doctor of Science in Pure Mathematics. Mackie may have been interested in developing his own profile but the type of school he worked in raised issues similar to that which encouraged the incorporation of a cinema in a school in the Gorbals. In addition, as a new building, Leith Academy had an impressive array of new facilities that included technical areas and offered the possibility of new curriculum options. At this time the schools in Leith were affected by changes in local government and its school population had also changed considerably.

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in Geography, provided by the Empire Marketing Board, and in some cases SECS itself⁸⁴.

These early attempts at "effects studies" in Glasgow and Edinburgh reflected concerns that were shared by "the moralists, the educators and the trade", the interest groups identified by Gott during the formation of the British Film Institute (Gott, 1932, p 4). In practice, these roles were not clearly bounded and the tensions between the educationists and the trade that characterised the operations of the BFI did not affect the SFC in the same way⁸⁵. The research work undertaken on film and the cinema at this point in Scotland did not establish any significant conclusions in relation to the effects of film on either social or educational outcomes. Probably more importantly, what did seem clear was that film and the cinema did not seem to have any negative effects. More usefully, therefore, the alliances formed in this early phase of the development of film in Scotland facilitated constructive links between the interest groups that were mediated by those teachers actively involved in the production and use of films for educational purposes.

Thus, the desire for social and education reform in Scotland manifested itself in the development of a communicative space where the interests of educationists, the trade and civil society converged on film. The effect of the coalition between individual, local and national interests in this field, however, may have been to begin to stimulate the production of Scottish filmic material rooted in the educational, the instructional and the informative.

⁸⁴ Glasgow Corporation Education Department: *The Film in the Classroom*, 1933. 1/1/237

⁸⁵ John Grierson, for example, had been an educator as well as the "founder of the documentary movement in Britain ... [and had] a key role in the development of film at the Empire Marketing Board (EMB) and the GPO Film Unit from 1928 to 1937" (Fox, 2005).

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If "causation is always multiple and many-layered" (Tosh, 2006, p152), by using both analytical and narrative modes of historical enquiry, the origin of the media education movement in Scotland can be traced (Bradley, 1999) to early twentieth century Glasgow. The political, economic and social "preconditions" were in place in Glasgow that, combined with cultural and educational "precipitants", would be "triggered" by the formation of a new UK institution, the British Film Institute. This "diachronic" and "synchronic" conjunction suggests the first step toward media education may have been taken in an urban working class school in Glasgow.

3.2 Education and film

The move to establish a Scottish branch of the British Film Institute began at the same time as the developing interest in film in the statutory education sector. That this event galvanised Scottish education's political and administrative officials, SECS and SESSA into combining forces and forsaking earlier hostility was suggestive of a developing critical mass.

The dominance of educationists in the early formation of SFC may have been a consequence of the position of education as one of only three Scottish estates and, importantly, one that had recently acquired the benefits of new bureaucratic structures. By mobilising its cultural and social capital to secure a power base in the establishment of a new Scottish institution, it wielded considerable influence in the early phases of the institutionalisation of film in Scotland.

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3.2.1 The Scottish Film Council (SFC)

The Meteor Studio opened in Glasgow in 1933 and signalled the potential of the film industry "as a possible aid to the solution of the unemployment problem"⁸⁶. An article in *The Scotsman* from June of the following year, possibly written by Hardy, reported on the conference of "educational bodies, film societies, and other organisations interested in the film in Scotland" which was chaired by Charles Cleland⁸⁷. Its declared aim was to form a Scottish National Film Council organised on a functional rather than a regional basis. Operating as a coordinating body it would "fill any vital gaps" created by the formation of the British Film Institute (BFI) and appoint an interim executive committee for that purpose⁸⁸. Cooperation between those interested in the educational, cultural, artistic, industrial and commercial possibilities of film was deemed preferable to the fracturing of Scottish interest. The desire to plead a special case for Scotland as a distinct national rather than a regional organisation was clear. Agreement between the parties involved was struck on the basis that partnership with the Institute was financially desirable but the extent of its cultural and educational influence in Scotland would require to be constrained. The main advantage of partnership arrangements with the Institute was "to share in the more tangible of its assets which would be derived from English sources" (*The Scotsman*, 1934). In the event, however, those assets would be more imagined than real.

⁸⁶ Film-Making in Glasgow: Overcoming Climatic Disability. Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Source unknown.

⁸⁷ Scots Film Council: To be Integral Part of British Institute: Autonomy Safeguard, *The Scotsman*, June 1934. 1/1/237

⁸⁸ Interim Executive Committee, minute of meeting, 29 June 1934. 1/1/250

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What is interesting here is that the overriding desire for national autonomy brought together the different interest groups, acting as a galvanising force in a way not evident in the formation of the Institute (Dupin, 2003)⁸⁹. Such a desire transcended individual group concerns despite the fact that one of those interest groups was educational and would come to wield considerable influence on the work of the new organisation. Concerns raised at the conference had been about the expressly educational positioning of the Institute but avoided stating similar concerns publicly about the involvement of Scottish educationists. Whilst reservations about the involvement of the Scottish education system were voiced, it facilitated access to potential development opportunities emerging from educational expansion in the conservative but stable compulsory sector in Scotland.

As far as the Scottish educationists were concerned, their particular spheres of influence would be better protected within the boundaries of a new Scottish institution than by throwing in their lot with a UK institution. What followed suggests that they may have been right. Dupin argues that the "unsolvable conflict of interests between the two groups which negotiated the BFI project, namely the Educationists of the British Institute of Adult Education and the film trade" rendered the Institute an "innocuous organisation" with as little influence as possible. Moreover, the BFI's achievements during the first fifteen years of its existence (1933-1948) were modest because it was marginalised. This contrasts strongly with the first fifteen years of the work of SFC.

⁸⁹ This changes in 1948, however, when the Institute gains strength from the policy of state funded art.

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A historical analysis of media in education in the first half of the twentieth century generates a new understanding of Scottish educationists as cultural workers. In addition, the sociology of educational policy-making in Scotland in the latter half of the twentieth century (Humes, 1986, McPherson & Raab, 1988) can be usefully applied to the first to observe the emergence of new discursive practices. The emergence of 'the leadership class', professionalism and bureaucracy (Humes, 1986) in Glasgow at that time indicates Glasgow's intent to position itself at the 'centre' of educational decision-making (2.2.2). In turn, this facilitated the means by which educationists in the statutory sector created the conditions by which new cultural policy 'texts' (Ball, 1994) would emerge.

3.2.1.i The battle for control

Despite having initially coalesced around the 'national interest', the power and dominance of educationists in the emergent Scottish body was regarded suspiciously by the other interest groups. On the part of the educationists, however, it was the film societies rather than the trade who gave greatest concern⁹⁰.

The invitations to sit on the initial organising committee, issued by the educationists, betray unease about the activities of the film societies in Scotland (3.2.1.ii). The film societies had attempted to formally organise themselves into what would later become the Federation of Scottish Film Societies but had failed to do so thus far. The film society movement subsequently claimed responsibility for the origins of the SFC (Hardy, 1955) but such a claim is arguable. The film societies were looking for the

⁹⁰ Glasgow Corporation Education Department, letter to Rev Lang of East Lothian County Council, 22 June 1934. 1/1/237

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capacity to develop film as art, and without an organisational power base hitherto, the emergence of a new UK cultural institution offered them that opportunity. They had been in early discussions with the Institute with a view to becoming the Institute's regional office in Scotland and giving them the administrative infrastructure they would need⁹¹. Whilst educationists resisted assimilation with England, therefore, the film society movement in Scotland considered partnership to be the route to more significant opportunities for the development of film.

The "educators" located in both Glasgow and Edinburgh combined, therefore, to thwart the attempts of a "heterogeneous combination of film societies" to form a separate body (Allardyce, 1934). The concern appeared to be that, should this materialise, the political context of film and education and social reform would be lost in Scotland. The commercial potential of a politically driven commitment to film would have significant benefits for the trade in Scotland. Local education authorities moved, subsequently, to define the field at this preparatory stage in a bid to consolidate "public opinion" and recommend some form of association with the Institute within which all interested parties might be brought. The Council's interim Executive Committee, therefore, sought to maintain a balance between the interests of the trade, the film societies, educationists and the "general public". RM Allardyce appears to have taken a strategic lead in this regard but the influence of Charles Cleland is also discernible.

⁹¹ Scots Film Council: To be Integral Part of British Institute: Autonomy Safeguard, The Scotsman, June 1934. 1/1/237

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What is interesting here is the way in which those educationists developing their influence in urban local education authorities, negotiated advantage in the constitution of the SFC, playing a significant part in the first fifty years of its existence as a consequence.

3.2.1.ii Directors of Education: an emergent influence

The organisers of the public meeting where the interim Executive Committee would be appointed were firmly imbricated within the statutory education sector and its local education authority (LEA) networks. In response to Allardyce's invitation, the reply from Edinburgh's City Education Officer suggested that agreements between the local education authorities had already been reached on the shape such a Scottish body should take⁹². His letter constituted part of the press release for the date of the public meeting held eighteen days later and confirmed "The list of organisations will no doubt be reduced to a minimum and as far as possible only representative national bodies invited" (Frizell, 1934)⁹³.

Upon presenting the constitution for approval at the first General Meeting of the Scottish Film Council in September 1934, a number of amendments were proposed, that were suggestive of the struggle for influence that occurred between the other interested parties and education. The word "scholastic" was deleted from the term "scholastic education" in one of the sub-clauses and in the sub-clause immediately

⁹² City of Edinburgh Education Offices, letter to RM Allardyce, 05 June 1934. 1/1/237

⁹³ Frizell would later become Director of Education for Edinburgh City, be President of SEFA and hold office in SFC.

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following that, the SED, SECS and SESSA were deleted from the list of organisations with responsibility for film in "scholastic education" (SFC, 1934a). Removing "scholastic" from the first sub-clause gave additional scope for the SFC's education work and removing the statutory sector from the second provided for greater flexibility of provider.

No indication of where the amendments were raised is available as the minutes of this meeting recorded only the decisions taken⁹⁴. Twenty-five people were in attendance, however, and of that number fourteen were "educators" and ten of those were from the statutory sector. Five could be classified as "moralists" and six representatives were present from the societies and the trade. Had the amendments been unacceptable to the dominant group of educationists, they would have fallen. The negotiated settlement, therefore, had the effect of reserving the responsibility for film in Scotland to the SFC and reserving the responsibility for education to the SED. Where the two spheres converged, a more informal partnership between the two institutions would require to be invoked. Despite these constitutional safeguards, however, teachers would become a dominant force in the Council until after the Second World War.

The interests of the statutory education sector were secured when the east and west coast teacher collectives came together as a new professional organisation in the form of the Scottish Educational Film Association (SEFA). This may have been an informal strategic arrangement, however, as the two organisations appeared to continue using their east/west identifiers subsequently. A similarly strategic alliance

⁹⁴ Scottish Film Council, minute of first General Meeting, 15 September 1934. 1/1/250

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may also have been forged between the film societies of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen to construct an informal federation. Hardy claims the Scottish Federation of Film Societies was formed in 1934 (Hardy, 1955) but its website suggests 1936 as the year of its constitution. What may have been the case, then, is not that teachers or film societies were responsible for the formation of the Council but more that the event of the formation of the Council galvanised interested parties into forming alliances in order to secure influence and protect interests.

The constitutional negotiations that took place in the formation of the SFC demonstrate the perceived value of film for general educational purposes. Potential providers of filmic products, however, were regulated by the educational 'leadership class' in Scotland (Humes, 1986). At this historical point, therefore, a public service ethos for film in Scotland may usefully be claimed.

3.2.1.iii Structure and funding

The British Film Institute was established in 1933 as a body incorporated by Royal Charter and funded by the Privy Council⁹⁵. The Privy Council established a Cinematograph Fund from which it issued grants to the Institute which, in turn, donated a grant to the Council in its first year of operation of £100. The relative informality of the Council's constitution, conceived at least by the Institute as one of its regional committees, presented the statutory education sector with an opportunity to assume political control. The education panel was the only panel that had a political line of communication to the Scottish Office albeit a "London based Scottish

⁹⁵ The Scottish Education Department operated as a committee of the Privy Council until 1939.

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Office who were concerned for British uniformity rather than Scottish particularity" (Limond, 2002, p363).

The SFC set up four autonomous panels (SFC, 1934b) education⁹⁶, entertainment⁹⁷, social service⁹⁸ and an ad hoc publicity committee, each with the power to co-opt additional members⁹⁹. The Chair of each panel acted as a member of the corresponding panel of the BFI. It was the education panel that first co-opted additional members. At the first formal meeting of the education panel its number had increased from three original members to fifteen, all of whom could be considered influential representatives of its emergent policy community (SFC, 1935)¹⁰⁰. In an impressive pincer movement, therefore, the statutory education sector had conceded that the Council should extend the scope of its education activity beyond the "scholastic" constitutionally but at the same time, through the constitution of its education panel, ensured that the Council's main focus would be on this sector. More importantly, however, the educationists had drawn the boundaries and determined the terms of reference that would put the Council on a secure financial footing until after the Second World War. In addition, SEFA would continue to exist and enjoy a close relationship with the Council but as an autonomous professional

⁹⁶ Education: to enquire into the use of films in education; to influence public opinion to appreciate the value of films in education; to advise educational institutions and other organisations and persons as to sources and conditions of supply, types of films and apparatus, and the conditions of production, distribution and exhibition.

⁹⁷ Entertainment: to secure views from the public as to the type of film required; to encourage the repertory theatre movement; to obtain public support for films of unusual merit which do not obtain appreciation from the ordinary cinema-going public.

⁹⁸ Social Service: no decision was taken on the remit on this panel but it was agreed that one of its concerns should be with matinees of films for children, and for this purpose there should be a close liaison with the Education panel.

⁹⁹ An industrial panel would be mooted in 1939 but the war interrupted its development. The amateur cinematography panel was established in May, 1935 at the sixth meeting of the Council and included representatives from the Meteor Film Producing Society.

¹⁰⁰ In an attempt to contain the power of the statutory education sector, the Council closed this loophole early the following year.

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body. Effectively at this point, at least, the Council began operating as an education institution and constituted a new bureaucracy (Humes, 1986).

3.2.2 The Scottish Educational Film Association (SEFA)

SEFA's membership attracted teachers interested in film and its potential for the classroom, but one of its aims was also to encourage teachers to engage with film in the social sphere. By 1938 SEFA had five thousand teacher members drawn in the main from urban population centres and representing mainland Scotland (Barclay, 1993). Operating on the ground, SEFA declared the cinema to be a respectable social activity at the same time as advocating its use for educational purposes in the classroom. SEFA organised exhibitions and demonstrations of film technology and gave the Council significant advantage in its early years. It did much to raise the profile of film in much broader terms amongst this new professional class. JB Frizell was Edinburgh's Director of Education and had been involved in managing the setting-up of SFC along with RM Allardyce. Both men were considered to have significant influence on the SED (McPherson & Raab, 1988)¹⁰¹. An early member of SEFA, Frizell became its president in 1938 and his influence was important in maintaining the profile of film in education and that of SFC throughout Scotland's statutory education community

¹⁰¹ Slightly more of Frizell and his skill as a negotiator can be found in McPherson & Raab's interview with the SED Under-Secretary ... "His [Frizell's] strength lay in his high prestige amongst other directors ... He was largely instrumental in founding the Association of Directors ... He did very much work for the directors" (p450)

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in these [President of SEFA and the Association for Directors of Education (ADES)] capacities, he was able to ensure that the value of the film in education was always before the directors and through them the education committees.

[Barclay, 1993, p 5]

No equivalent association existed in England until 1950 when the Society for Film Teachers was formed but by 1960, SEFT had only attracted around five hundred members (SFC, 1960).

As the institutional representative of the statutory sector and the operational arm of the education panel, SEFA gave significant purchase to the Council. Despite this, however, and wary of upsetting a fragile coalition the Council resisted the move to formally link its education panel with the statutory sector. To at least be seen to counter the strength of statutory sector representation on its education panel, the Council acted instead to add two members of the trade and one representative of the "public interest" to its number (SFC, 1934c). This was in addition to its education complement, however, so would do little to threaten its dominance.

SEFA's work during the first years of the Council's existence impressed not only the Council but the Institute also, and more importantly, mollified the trade. Whilst the education panel had organised a programme of children's matinees and an exhibition of film technology, its partnership with SEFA enabled the Council to establish a complex network for the reviewing of educational films. All sectors of education were included in the enterprise. The film reviewing scheme was extraordinarily

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complex, consisting of some seventy study groups representing about one thousand teachers (Barclay, 1993), but successful in that the Institute intended to bring England "into line. This would mean a considerable amount of reviewing would be undertaken in Scotland on behalf of the Institute" (SFC, 1936). SEFA's national coordinating committee also provided advice to production companies (SFC/SEFA, 1940). The film reviewing scheme's complexity worked to establish the education system's new additions to its hierarchical structures, whilst appearing at the same time to offer a model for democratic and inclusive participation. In addition to this work, SEFA organised a summer school in the use of film in education, a circuit of lecturers and the formation of libraries of educational films (SFC, 1936).

There is little doubt that SEFA was responsible for the significant improvement in the Council's finances, not least upon the opening of the Scottish Central Film Library (SCFL) in Glasgow in 1939¹⁰² (3.1.1.ii). Once again, an influential group in the education policy community, the Association of Directors in Education (ADES), whose support for film in education had been encouraged by Frizell, agreed that such a national resource was vital. The Carnegie UK Trust, initially hostile to the establishment of a Scottish national film body at the time of the setting up of the Council, donated £5,000 for the purpose¹⁰³. Key to this donation had been the support of the BFI, however, who argued that Scotland was in a stronger position to benefit from an experiment in the organisation of regional film libraries than anywhere else.

¹⁰² Conference on the Film in School, agenda of the official opening of the Scottish Central Film Library, 12 May, 1939. 1/1/238

¹⁰³ Scottish Central Film Library of Educational Films, record of meeting between SFC and the Scottish Directors of Education, 18 March 1938. 1/1/238. Central Film Library, Scottish Educational Journal, p554, 19 May, 1939. 1/1/237

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SCFL was the first independent and non-commercial organisation of its kind in Britain and became the largest educational, cultural and documentary film library in Europe (Barclay, 1993). Russell Borland, SEFA's representative on the Council's Social Services Panel, and a former SECS member, had encouraged amateur production groups to make local films that would not be viable commercially. Many of these were then made available through the SCFL. The dominance of educationists working in the statutory sector at this early stage of SFC's history served to legitimate its activity and secure its place as a national institution with locally produced educational film resources. That it was educationists with non-statutory backgrounds informing the early stages of the Institute, on the other hand, may have been a critical difference.

3.2.2.i The Scottish Evacuation Film Scheme

The work of SEFA and the Council's education panel had encouraged a considerable growth of interest in the potential of film for national purposes both raising its profile and creating a demand for the trade to supply. The Council's increasing financial dependence on its education work, however, discouraged it from turning its attention to the needs of its entertainment panel where its cultural remit lay. The Second World War, on the other hand, would create the conditions whereby the relationship between education and the film society movement could improve.

The Ministry of Information (MOI), whose Scottish regional office was organised by Hardy at the Scottish Office, initiated the Scottish evacuation film scheme. The MOI gave its Scottish regional office £400

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to conduct an experiment for the provision of film shows to children in reception areas which were outwith the range of commercial picture-houses¹⁰⁴

It ran for a three-month period soon after the outbreak of war and was run by SEFA in partnership with the Scottish Central Film Library, the Council and elements of the trade. Its success, "over 1,000 shows"¹⁰⁵, was rewarded with a further grant of £1200 with which to continue but despite representations from the Scottish Office, the MOI did not put the scheme on a more permanent basis. Education officials, in Glasgow and Edinburgh in particular, released SEFA members from normal teaching duties and provided the equipment for the operation of the travelling film units. Whilst the MOI was "desirous of immediate action" because of "the drift back of evacuees [from rural areas] to danger zones [urban areas]"¹⁰⁶, the effect (Ball, 1994, Taylor, 1997) of the Scottish Evacuation Film Scheme was to further consolidate a professional educational interest in the potential of film. In addition, the scheme introduced not only thousands of children but also adults in rural areas, to this developing medium. SEFA also expanded its rural membership and many schools bought projectors for the first time. No similar scheme existed in England and Wales "because no similar voluntary body existed and there was no central library of films" (Barclay, 1993, p14).

The cost to the MOI prohibited an extension of the scheme whereupon Borland publicly compared the Nazi government's provision of 36,000 projectors, 600 films

¹⁰⁴ Scottish Film Council, minute of the thirty-second meeting, 20 October 1939. 1/1/251

¹⁰⁵ Scottish Film Council, minute of the thirty-third meeting, 20 December, 1939. 1/1/251

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*

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and a network of regional libraries from where copies could be hired in Germany with the 2,000 projectors available in schools in Great Britain most of which had been funded privately¹⁰⁷. The comparison is an uncomfortable one but Borland's comment underlined his awareness of the mass potential of this new technology as well as his support for the public service value of film.

Further consequences of the film evacuation scheme included the development of a closer relationship with the Scottish Office and an interest from the National Committee for the Training of Teachers. When the Council declared its intent to wear its Scottish particularity on its sleeve at a time when growth in the nationalist vote was a concern to the Scottish Office, its contribution to the war effort may have dispelled any anxiety about its institutional allegiances.

The Council's educational activity which was primarily that undertaken by SEFA during its early years was widely praised. At the Council's eighth Annual General Meeting in 1941, the Director of the BFI, Oliver Bell, introduced the Annual Report to Charles Oakley thus "in Scotland far more than in England the film was playing an ever increasing and useful part in the life of the community" (SFC, 1941). Mainly due to the work done by SEFA, the Council went on to attract international interest in the years following the Second World War (SFC, 1946a)¹⁰⁸. Unlike the Institute, the Council enjoyed considerable success in the first fifteen years of its existence and the key to understanding that success is its relationship with the formal education sector. The partnership between SEFA and SFC was particularly fruitful in those years.

¹⁰⁷ Educational Films, Scottish Educational Journal, 29 March 1940. 4/22/2

¹⁰⁸ "Chief of the Division of Audio-Visual Education, California, recently stated in a letter to the Director 'We feel that developments in Scotland are perhaps the most significant (and I say this conservatively) in the whole world'". 1/1/252

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Local education authorities in Scotland, led by Glasgow and Edinburgh, were flexing new powers in the early 1930s and the Directors of Education were becoming an influential group.

The Association of Directors of Education (ADES), established in 1920, and HMI constituted the administration of Scottish education at that time. Although ADES had no formal powers, arguably in Scottish education it is the possession of informal powers that affords most influence (Humes, 1986), both bodies had significant purchase with the SED. ADES included in its membership senior support staff from each local authority and its executive of twelve Directors met monthly with SED. Those Directors representing the largest populations wielded most influence in general but there was a preference for the east over the west (McPherson & Raab, 1988).

James Frizell's importance to SEFA and to the Council, therefore, should not be underestimated. Although SECS was a west coast organisation and Glasgow Corporation's Director of Education, Allardyce, moved first to ensure the dominance of the formal education sector in SFC, his tenure was only from 1929-1944. Following the war, the politics of Glasgow Corporation privileged housing over education and broke with "the moral framework of the myth" (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p452) of Scottish education, thereby losing its influence. Frizell, on the other hand, was not only instrumental in the setting up of ADES but possibly more significantly represented Edinburgh City. The 'centre' of power (2.2.2) in the development of media in education in Scotland could be seen, therefore, to shift from the west to the east. Director of Education in Edinburgh for twenty-eight years (1933-

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1961), Frizell became president of SEFA in 1935 and held that position until 1963, twenty-eight years (Barclay. 1993). What happened following the war, therefore, in the dynamic of the SFC/SEFA partnership may be significant.

Until after the Second World War, the public service utility of film in the statutory education sector in Scotland was lent considerable support by emergent discourses of professionalism and bureaucracy. The 1930s was a period of significant change in Scottish education and its new professional and bureaucratic structures expanded 'the leadership class'. It could be argued, therefore, that at this stage and in the particular policy instance of film in education, a more pluralist decision-making community was in existence. Between 1929 and 1934, as a consequence, the discursive construction of film as public service in Scotland can be explained historically by a diachronic and synchronic conjunction that took place in Glasgow. From 1934 until after the Second World War, the evolving shape of that discourse can be seen in the formation and practices of SEFA. Significantly, perhaps, the processes of resource accumulation, capacity building and knowledge transfer embarked upon by SEFA and the SFC can be seen to have run in parallel with similar practices evolving in broadcasting.

3.2.3 Post-war change

Three new policy initiatives emerged in the mid 1940s that affected the Department, SEFA and SFC and resulted in the reconstitution of the Council as a charitable body in 1950. This period of the Council's history illustrates the extent to which the interests of both the Department and the Council had become inextricably linked

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since its original formation in 1934. All three policy initiatives, in education, audio-visual aids and in film, had originated in Westminster.

3.2.3.i Tightening the reins

The SED was an unusual government department not only because it began as a Committee of the Privy Council but also because its civil servants had been appointed from the ranks of professional educators. As a consequence, there developed an inherent resistance to the more generalist traditions of Whitehall (McPherson & Raab, 1988). The SED had maintained its relative 'independence' from government until 1945 mainly because of the geographic remoteness of a Scottish Office that was located in London. At such a distance, therefore, the professional education backgrounds of the administrators running the SED in Edinburgh, was reassurance that the system was in safe hands. One of the consequences of the Department's sense of itself as a body of professional educationists rather than government administrators, however, was that it created a conflict of interest between education and governance.

The legislative framework put in place to strengthen the control of ministers and their education administrators at the centre (Education Act, 1944, Education (Scotland) Act, 1945), changed the balance of educational politics in Scotland at this time. Post-war anxieties about the potential consequences of nationalist movements resulted in a strengthening of the Scottish Office and its relocation to Edinburgh where, it imagined, departments would be more able to respond to any potential challenge from Scottish nationalism. Following the war, therefore, subsequent appointments to the

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Department were predicated on administrative rather than professional grounds. Until the 1960s, however, professional educators continued to be the dominant group within the administration of Scottish education at political level and the SED continued to draw heavily on the advice of a small and unrepresentative coterie. According to McPherson and Raab (1988), a more pluralist policy community only emerged with education expansion in the mid-1960s. This study suggests there was an earlier period of expansion that also gave rise to an extension of the education policy community (3.2.2.i).

Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI), who administered the Scottish Certificate of Education (SCE), and the Association of Directors in Education (ADES), who represented the local governance of education, were the two most influential groups in Scottish education until the 1960s. A third body, the Scottish Advisory Council on Education, had responsibility for more general matters. Following the 1945 Education (Scotland) Act, the Advisory Council proposed a radical change to the structure of secondary education in Scotland in an attempt to promote widening access (SED, 1947). SEFA submitted evidence to the Advisory Council¹⁰⁹. The report was regarded as progressive and its recommendations remain pertinent today. The most significant of its recommendations included the creation of 'omnibus' schools, the elimination of selection, a broadening of the curriculum and a weakening of the link between university admissions and the examination system¹¹⁰. In addition, the report promoted a greater focus on Scottish culture in the curriculum, thus extending Scottish particularity beyond the sum of its parts.

¹⁰⁹ Scottish Educational Film Association. Memorandum of Evidence for Submission to the Advisory Council on Education. 1945. 1/5/107

¹¹⁰ The Munn Report was published thirty years later and was seen by some as an attempt to invoke the spirit of the 1947 Advisory Council.

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The Report stressed the significance to national culture of a national broadcasting service and the growing importance of broadcasting as a communication medium that should be taken full advantage of in schools (3.3.1). Predating the Newsom Report by some margin, it was seen by some to represent an erosion of the historic traditions of Scottish education and an attempt to weaken central control. The distinction of its system was key to its negotiations with the UK government and fiercely resisted attempts to weaken its bargaining power. In something of a classic response, however, the Department did not overtly reject the report's recommendations but did nothing to encourage local authorities to implement them either. More significantly, its failure to endorse the Advisory Council's recommendations had the effect of continuing the operation of its bipartite system throughout the 1950s¹¹¹.

The Advisory Council was clearly interested in the possibilities of media and technology in education following the war. Prompted by the establishment of the National Council for Visual Aids in Education (NCVAE) it recommended the SED set up a Scottish Association for Visual Aids. Fortunately for both the SFC and SEFA, however, the SED moved instead to establish a Joint Production Committee (JPC) that would be administered by the SFC and SEFA (SED, 1950). The interdependence of the SFC and SEFA, therefore, was further strengthened by this action. Moreover, Humes (1986) argues that the Advisory Council had little influence on the SED. It might be concluded, therefore, that SFC and SEFA were of greater significance to the Scottish educational policy-making community at this time.

¹¹¹ Schools were classified on the grounds of selection as either senior or junior secondary. The former offered full six year provision whereas the latter offered only four. The Report recommended that all schools should offer full six year provision.

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3.2.3.ii SEFA gains the upper hand

The developing interest in programmed learning, pioneered by the army during the Second World War (Field, 2001), and the potential for the use of educational films in the classrooms of an expanded system attracted political attention. The film trade, however, claimed it could not continue to sustain the production of educational films until 10,000 projectors were available for use in schools in the UK¹¹². In response, the Ministry of Education agreed to commission educational film-making on the basis of guaranteed demand for which it would make public money available.

The National Committee for Visual Aids in Education (NCVAE) was set up as a UK body in 1946 "to coordinate the work being done in visual aids and to develop the effective use of visual material in schools and colleges in England and Wales" (DES, 1972, p5). Its Committee for the Production and Preparation of Visual Aids in Education was composed of representatives of the producers, the Central Office of Information, the National Committee for Visual Aids and the Ministry of Education. For Scotland, the option of seeking Scottish representation on these UK committees was not sufficiently attractive because

on questions of film production there is likely to be a divergence of view between Scotland and England, and experience suggests that the views of a Scottish minority might have little chance of materially influencing policy

[SED, 1950, Appendix 11, p43]

¹¹² Scottish Educational Film Association, Post-War Planning Committee, 14 November 1946. 1/1/238

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The view that Scotland had made significant advances in the field of "visual aids" and that SEFA was already doing the work proposed for the UK body signalled the Department's intention to protect its particularity.

Shared interests were sufficient, therefore, for the Department to fund the establishment of the JPC as an alternative to the new body recommended by the Advisory Council. The JPC would "deal with the production of films which might be sponsored by the government" (Barclay, 1993, p19)¹¹³. Its creation as a source of government funding for the production of Scottish film was heralded thus

Quietly, without fuss, a minor Scottish film industry is under way with the production of short documentaries and interest films for school children.

[Daily Record, 1950, p4]

Meantime, films circulated by the Scottish Central Film Library (SCFL) during the war had worn-out and projectors were in short supply. The SFCL had been self-supporting from 1939 until 1949 but increased demand following the war was one they could not supply¹¹⁴. The reputation of Scotland in the field of audio-visual aids in education had developed nationally and with the establishment of the Edinburgh International Film Festival in 1947, it began to develop further afield. Keen to protect its jealously guarded asset, the Department continued to fund SCFL's operational costs from this point. SCFL was regarded very highly

¹¹³ Later to become Educational Films of Scotland (EFS) in 1962 and provide much needed work for Scottish film production crews eg Bill Forsyth in 1964 (1.2.3.i)

¹¹⁴ Scottish Film Council, A Plan for the Purchasing, Installation and Servicing of Visual Aids Equipment in Scottish Schools, date unknown c1947. 1/1/238

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The sequel in England, which had no organisation comparable to the Scottish Central Film Library, was the establishment of the Educational Foundation for Visual Aids in Education [SFC, 1964].

By 1948 the Department had agreed to provide the funding for "additional assistance" to the work of SCFL, enabling it to purchase new stock from British production companies and to oversee the work of the JPC¹¹⁵.

SEFA's success had created a dilemma for the Council, however, in that its burgeoning workload was beyond the capacity of the Council's honorary officials and a new staffing arrangement was required. The Department agreed to fund the appointment of a full-time organising secretary and a part-time research specialist, exclusively for SEFA's work¹¹⁶. In addition, SEFA's success also gave them the leverage to argue that the Council should pass on nearly 60% of the LEA grants. In return, SEFA would share the Council's expenses (SFC, 1946b).

3.2.3.iii The SFC: under pressure

At the same time as the tightening of control from the centre in educational politics in Scotland, the new focus on film-making as a cultural activity renewed pressure on the Council. Its relationship with the Institute had previously been deemed to be an irrelevance but the Institute was unexpectedly placed in a more favourable position

¹¹⁵ Scottish Film Council, minute of the 66th meeting, 14 December 1948. 1/1/252

¹¹⁶ Scottish Educational Film Association, letter to Scottish Education Department, date unknown c1948. 1/1/238

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that would potentially disrupt the relationship between the Council and the Department. SEFA's work before and during the war had resulted in closer relations between them but in 1947, the Council lost Borland, its Director and former teacher, to Gaumont British Instructional Films and the search for his replacement was on. At this time, concerns from the film-making community about the Council's relationship with the statutory sector re-emerged. In a letter to the Council Hardy re-stated his opposition to the dominance of education in the Council's activity and the constitutional relationship between the Council's full-time officials and SEFA. Instead, he argued, the Council should be taking a proactive role in the formulation of a distinct policy for film culture in Scotland (Hardy, 1946). Such a policy had, according to representatives of the film societies, been hijacked by the drive to produce and distribute educational film in Scotland¹¹⁷.

In light of the forthcoming Radcliffe Report (Radcliffe, 1948), a change of emphasis was required. The Radcliffe Report of 1948 emerged as a consequence of a separate government initiative for film that would result in increased funding for its production but to support the production of film as art. Ultimately, this would result in increased funding for the Council by the Institute. Set up in 1947 as part of a raft of policy initiatives affecting film in the UK, the Radcliffe committee was charged with the consideration of BFI's education and culture remit. The proceeds of the Sunday Entertainments Act 1932¹¹⁸, were deemed to be insufficient to support the Institute's work. The Institute had not made the same impact as its 'regional' office in Scotland and a major review of its role in the new art-aware post-war climate resulted in its

¹¹⁷ Fosyth Hardy, letter to Ronnie MacLuskie, 14 July 1976. 1/2/95

¹¹⁸ The Council's early funding relationship with education was formed as a consequence of the absence of Sunday entertainment in Scotland.

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educational film-making function being removed (Office of the Lord President of the Council, 1948).

The Radcliffe Report (1948) gave the Institute a cultural policy in which the institutional and the financial means "under the new arrangement between the Treasury and the British Film Institute" (SFC, 1948) would develop the notion of film as art. Such a policy facilitated direct funding from the Arts Council of Great Britain and offered a direct line to the Treasury rather than to The Privy Council. It also enabled the Institute to increase its annual grant to the Council at a time when the reduction of its education grants created leaner times. The Report indicated that an increase in the revenue grants made available from the Institute could be expected to be "roughly in proportion to any increase which the Institute may receive as a result of this enquiry" (Office of the Lord President of the Council, 1948, p5).

Hardy's concerns about education priorities in the Council's work omitted to recognise the significance of the Council's achievements, both within the UK and internationally, as a cultural and educational institution. His concerns also omitted to recognise the role of teachers as cultural workers as well as educationists. He did, however, continue to raise the legitimate question of cultural film production in Scotland but the Council could not afford to alienate its educational constituency. The removal of educational film production from the Institute, had alerted the Council to the danger of losing SEFA. The solution, therefore, was for the Council to change its status to a company limited by guarantee, a process that was overseen by Frizell and brought to a conclusion in 1950.

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3.2.3.iv Another negotiated settlement

Although the Council had effectively been operating as an educational institution until this point, it had not been constituted as such (3.2.1.ii). In an attempt to rein in what was probably regarded as an unruly Department by the Scottish Office at this time, its operations were placed under closer scrutiny. Relations between the Department and the Council would require, therefore, to be reformulated. The Department could not make a grant directly available to the Council because SFC's original constitution included objectives outwith the remit of the statutory education sector. It was, however, able to make grants available for educational projects (SFC, 1946a)¹¹⁹.

Two significant and shared assets, SCFL and JPC, represented the vested interests of SEFA and SFC. Frizell continued to have considerable influence with the Department and held positions in the Council, in SEFA, in SCFL and JPC. Whilst the Council appeared to be the weaker of the two parties at this stage, it had kept faith with the "moral framework of the myth" (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p452), and had demonstrated 'deference and trust' as a new bureaucracy (Humes, 1986) in the educational policy-making community. Moreover, ADES, another new bureaucracy, had succeeded in bringing a locally developed policy initiative to centre stage, generating significant cultural and educational resources along the way. In partnership, therefore, SFC, SEFA and ADES, the professional and the bureaucratic (Humes, 1986), had worked to bring Scottish educational and cultural particularity to

¹¹⁹ This was a practice still in operation in the 1970s and 1980s and could be seen in the way in which funds were made available to support the Film and Television Archive in the 1970s as well as the Media Education Development Project in the 1980s. In this way, Scottish education provided a source of indirect funding for broader 'educative' projects in a similar way to that argued by television broadcasters in the distinction between 'educational programming' and more general 'educative' outputs (3.3).

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new audiences. Where the Department was concerned, this would represent a significant asset in the context of its constitutional relationship within the UK (Paterson, 1997) (2.2.2.i). In the same way, therefore, as Frizell managed the setting up of SFC in 1934, he managed the negotiation of the Council's transition to 'independent' status (SFC, 1950). SCFL was appointed as the official agent for the distribution of films to Scottish schools and its operating costs were to be met by the Department but as an asset and as a title, it was transferred to the Council¹²⁰. SEFA was declared the Department's official body for dealing with visual aids in Scottish schools, a move that had the effect of making it "stronger in prestige, richer in finance" (SEFA, 1950, p3).

Frizell's influence continued to be key to the survival of both the Council's independence from the Institute and the Department's international distinction in the field of audio-visual aids. SCFL and JPC together represented government funded production and distribution of Scottish film, crucial to the survival of both the Council's capacity to commission film-making in Scotland and the Department's international reputation. For the Council, ceding all educational work to SEFA, funded directly by the Department, released the Council from labour intensive tasks yet enabled it to maintain an important source of funding in addition to its good name within the educational policy community. Furthermore, some hope of increasing its income lay in the reconstitution of the Industrial Panel for whom the production of industrial and commercial training films would prove less complex than those produced previously for education¹²¹. The adoption of behaviourist theories of

¹²⁰ Scottish Film Council, minute of Special General Meeting, 02 March 1950, 1/1/252

¹²¹ Films in Technical Training, report of a conference, 21 & 22 August, 1952, 1/1/254. Scottish Film Council, minute of Second Annual General meeting, 30 September 1952, 1/1/254.

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programmed instruction had found favour in a post-war Fordist labour market where new skills required to be learned quickly.

By 1950, the Department had effectively replaced the Institute at this point in the Council's history and removed the potential chink in the armoury of both. The Institute was deleted from the Council's title and the Council surrendered its claim to fifty percent of the contributions paid to the Institute by those of its members living in Scotland¹²². In return, it had secured independence and the full costs of its educational production and distribution work were funded by the Department, releasing thus its over-burdened SFC officials for any cultural production work that might be coming its way. The search for a new Director to replace Russell Borland ended with the appointment of D McKay Elliot who, as a former journalist and news editor of the Evening Despatch, Edinburgh, also brought to an end the domination of teachers occupying powerful roles in the Council¹²³. Most importantly, however, the partnership between SEFA and the SFC remained intact.

In 1950, therefore, a potential threat to the production of culturally specific educational film in Scotland was precipitated by two polarised policy discourses emerging from England. A more liberal approach to the arts and a more teleological approach to the sciences created a tension that would generate two separate developmental trajectories for film in the public sector: one cultural and the other educational. Echoing a pattern established previously (3.1.1.iii), the actions of the educational policy community in Scotland were triggered by the establishment of a new UK institution, the National Council for Visual Aids in Education.

¹²² Scottish Film Council, minute of Special General Meeting, 02 March 1950. 1/1/252

¹²³ The British Film Institute Scottish Film Council, press release, 15 July, 1947. 1/1/238

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3.2.4 The white heat of technology

Despite the strengthening of SEFA's international reputation and the increased support provided by the SED, all was not well within SEFA during the 1950s (Barclay, 1993). Local education authorities continued to equip schools with projectors and an increasing number of these were sound projectors. SECS had been the first organisation of teachers to emerge with interests in film and education. When SESSA appeared three years later it marked its difference by signalling an interest in all types of audio-visual resource. Whilst the difference enabled the two groups to claim distinction, it represented a more fundamental difficulty created by the dominance of new policy discourses in the 1950s. SEFA's work up to this point had gained credibility because it was informed by classroom research that had focused thus far on the visual components of film in education. The 'vagueness' associated with the development of media education in the 1980s (Kumar, 1989), therefore, would also seem to have been of benefit to SEFA and the SFC in the 1930s and 1940s.

The emergence of two further education policy discourses, however, one that anticipated the development of film as art and one that anticipated the development of television and educational technology, saw a re-emergence within SEFA of divergent interests requiring re-alignments. Difficulties faced by another organisation of teachers in Scotland, the School Broadcasting Council for Scotland, would forge new professional alliances that, in turn, would generate a new educational bureaucracy (3.3 & 4.1).

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3.2.4.i SEFA regroups

In England, the Society of Film Teachers (SFT) emerged in 1950 after the publication of the Radcliffe Report and in the same year as the Advisory Council in Scotland reported on visual and aural aids¹²⁴. Four years later, The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust commissioned Mary Field to undertake research into children and the cinema following publication of The Wheare Report in 1950¹²⁵. Nine years later SFT evolved into the Society for Education in Film and Television (SEFT) and represented another significant discursive shift¹²⁶. As an organisation, SEFT became clearly identified with the development of film studies and television studies in the UK (Bolas, 2009). Its interests, therefore, were distinct from the highly centralised mechanism for the promotion and investigation of visual aids at work in the Ministry's National Committee for Visual Aids in Education (NCVAE).

Throughout the 1950s the SFC began to develop its thinking on 'film appreciation' and worked with the Federation of Scottish Film Societies, through SEFA, to encourage the establishment of film societies in schools¹²⁷. At this point, the Council begins to re-position itself following the establishment of constitutional autonomy. In a seven page statement it declares "The Council works in the closest possible association with the British Film Institute" (p2) and "is closely associated with the

¹²⁴ Scottish Education Department (1950) Visual & Aural Aids: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, Edinburgh: HMSO

¹²⁵ Field, M (1954) Children and Films: A Study of Boys and Girls in the Cinema: A Report to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees On An Enquiry into Children's Response To Films, Dunfermline: Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. The report sought to promote popular film culture as legitimate pleasure for "young audiences".

¹²⁶ Funded by the Institute, SFT/SEFT produced The Film Teacher, Screen Education and Screen. Only the latter continues to survive. The final publication of Screen Education was in 1982 and represented the failure to promote film and television as cultural artefacts in the statutory sector.

¹²⁷ SFC & SEFA, Film Appreciation: Report of a Course for Teachers and Youth Leaders, 03 March 1951, 1/4/44

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activities of the Federation of Scottish Film Societies" (p5)¹²⁸. Of particular interest here is the absence of mention of SEFA.

SEFA continued to use its networks to advance the Council's activity in a number of ways, including the organising of conferences on the different uses of film in commerce and in industry. It was becoming clear that SEFA's expertise had currency beyond the classroom but was closely associated with the use and production of a particular genre: 'educational film'¹²⁹. However, what SEFA was gaining in professional credentials, it was losing in the diversity of film resources it could draw upon. In 1960 when, in association with SEFA and the FSFS, the Council organised a course in Film and Television Study at School, to be held at the Scottish Film Office in Glasgow, fracture lines appeared to open¹³⁰. The Council's dual functions were signalled in its lists of participants that included the Federation of Scottish Film Societies, SCFL, SEFA, the Institute and SEFT. The meeting revealed tensions between the Institute and the Council but also re-opened old resentments between the FSFS and SEFA.

This move to facilitate the study of film and television as cultural objects was intended to promote what was regarded by some as the rather slow development of film appreciation in Scotland to date. In addition, for the Council, it had the potential to develop the range of filmic resources educationists could draw upon in the classroom. Acknowledging this to be the case, SEFA defended the "caution" of its

¹²⁸ A Film-Minded Nation: Organisation of Visual Education in Scotland, date unknown but likely to be 1949. Purpose also unknown but likely to be a press release related to its constitutional autonomy and the opening of new premises. 1/1/16

¹²⁹ Scottish Educational Film Association, The Educational Film in Scotland, 1956. 1/5/34

¹³⁰ Film And Television Study at School, report of a course held at the Scottish Film Office, Glasgow, 26 November, 1960, 1/5/197

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approach thus far on the grounds that evidence did not support Whannel's assertion that children and young people were "visually illiterate"¹³¹ (SFC, 1960)¹³². SEFA's extensive work in the field had been concerned to understand children and young people as audiences rather than to understand film and television as popular cultural objects (SEFA, 1956 & Inglis, 1961). The more explicit attempt to give priority to the cultural function of film in the space of the statutory education sector in Scotland might have lent support to those in SEFA whose interests may have been more broadly sympathetic to the work of the Film Society Movement.

However, the course report indicates the presence of a considerable degree of resistance to the intervention of SEFT and the Institute that was argued mainly on educational grounds¹³³. Scottish education traditions, therefore, were considered to be at stake. The argument was between Scottish and English educationists rather than between cultural and educational film. Battle lines may not so much have been drawn but re-drawn, consequently, that placed the Institute, SEFT and the Federation of Scottish Film Societies on one side and SEFA on the other, leaving the Council sitting somewhat uncomfortably near the middle. The educationists moved, once again, to protect the particularity of Scottish education and what was emerging as a strong sense of their professionalism (Humes, 1986). The implications of this for the future development of the Council as an educational bureaucracy, however, would become clearer as the decade progressed.

¹³¹ Visual "illiteracy" was invoked almost forty years later during an address to a Scottish audience of media educationists (2.1.1.i). The response was similar to that of SEFA.

¹³² Scottish Educational Film Association, *Children's Film Tastes*, 1956. 1/5/48. SEFA conducted research into children's tastes in film in an attempt to understand how they read certain moments. It would seem that SEFA recognised that children and adults would not have the same taste preferences. The Institute and the Scottish Federation of Film Societies, instead, aimed to change children's taste preferences.

¹³³ *Op. cit.* 130

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The tension between film as cultural object and film as educational tool symbolised a broader conflict between competing purposes for schooling. Whilst not publicly exposed, this tension continued to be expressed internally within SEFA (Barclay, 1993). Furthermore, the emergence of an interest in television as cultural object and educational tool, generated a problem that could not easily be resolved within SEFA. In the 1950s, teachers working in Glasgow and the west dominated SEFA's national council. Its president was still Frizell at this stage who, although from Edinburgh, possessed a sensibility disposed toward the avoidance of conflict. However, prior to the arrival of sound projectors and the improvement in sound technology, SEFA's dominant group, formerly members of SECS, argued that teachers preferred using silent film in the classroom because sound was unsatisfactory. The improvements undermined that argument, therefore, and removed the barrier to a broader focus on audio-visual aids in education.

3.2.4.ii An increasingly competitive field

Harold Wilson's 1964 Labour government introduced another policy initiative, comprehensivisation, that would significantly shift educational politics in Scotland in the 1960s and expand the number of agencies in positions of influence beyond that of ADES and HMI (McPherson & Raab, 1988). At the same time, the SFC and SEFA lost the support of a significant voice in the Scottish 'leadership class' (Humes, 1986) and would be cast adrift until it could find another (4.1).

Frizell retired from Edinburgh City and ADES in 1961, and from SEFA in 1963, along with a substantial number of SEFA's original members who, in the main, had

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been former members of SECS (Barclay, 1993). The group predominantly interested in using a range of filmic resources reflecting the popular cultural preferences of children and young people¹³⁴, therefore, was weakened by the loss of some of its number. Those who remained in SEFA began researching a broader range of audio-visual technologies in the classroom, developing its educational specialism in a more diverse range of media at the expense of its specialism in the educational use of all film forms. Between 1963 and 1974, the presidency of SEFA was held by Directors of Education from Banffshire, Stirlingshire and Clackmannanshire (Barclay, 1993) and indicated that both SEFA and the Council were losing influence in the educational policy community (McPherson & Raab, 1988).

The educational expansion of the 1960s witnessed a growth in Scotland's education governance structures to facilitate its management and three new agencies were created as a consequence. In 1963, the administration of the Scottish Certificate of Education passed from HMI to the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board (SCEEB). In 1965, the former Advisory Council was expanded and reconstituted as the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (CCC) and finally, a new body representing the professional interests of teachers, the General Teaching Council (GTC) emerged in 1966 (McPherson & Raab, 1988). Regarded by some as a more pluralist and consultative approach to educational policy-making in Scotland, the expansion signalled the beginning of a period of substantial change in educational politics as its new contenders jostled for pole position. The negotiation of one further addition to Scotland's new education agencies, the Scottish Council for Educational Technology, also began at this time (4.1).

¹³⁴ Scottish Educational Film Association & Scottish Film Council, *This Is My Diary: An enquiry into the leisure activities and the film and television viewing habits of Scottish Schoolchildren*, 1961. 1/5/38

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3.2.4.iii Educational technology

In 1964 SEFA gave evidence to what emerged as the Brynmor-Jones Report in 1965 (Jones, 1965) that would result in the setting up of a new national centre for educational technology in the UK (4.1.2). The report noted the burgeoning of organisations with an interest in what might loosely be termed educational technology (Skinner, 1958) and recommended that further developments be coordinated on a national basis. Such a recommendation cleared the way, therefore, for those with an interest in the field to seek advantage.

In Scotland, the Department moved once again to protect its particularity and began the process that would establish a Scottish centre for educational technology. SEFA had been engaging with developments in 'programmed learning' as far afield as Japan and America¹³⁵. Scotland's international reputation in the field was strong and the Department was keen to maintain its leading edge (2.1.3 & 4.1.2)¹³⁶. The involvement of SEFA and SFC, therefore, was essential. To secure the apparatus already in place to support its work thus far, therefore, all SEFA's staff were transferred to SFC in a process of integration (Barclay, 1993).

SEFA had been a grass-roots body of teachers and the SFC was a cultural and educational film organisation but neither had been constituted as formal education agencies. Significant to the negotiations was the fact that the rights to an important

¹³⁵ Scottish Educational Film Association, information bulletin no 4, April 1964, 1/5/98. Scottish Educational Film Association, information bulletin no 7, November 1964, 1/5/101

¹³⁶ Martyn Roebuck's area of expertise was in the evaluation of programmed learning and he was appointed to the RIU on that basis. Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008. Both Roebuck and Morris were involved in the setting up of the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET)

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audio-visual resource, the SCFL, were in the hands of the SFC. Those rights had been afforded to the SFC by a member of ADES in the negotiations to secure its independence in 1950 (3.2.3.iv). The process of integration, however, was also a sign that SEFA had failed to revitalise its faltering membership and its influence as a grass-roots body at the same time¹³⁷. SEFA's work, therefore, became fully institutionalised by its integration with the SFC. SEFA's faltering membership may have been associated with the emergent policy discourse of programmed learning¹³⁸ and educational technology. The associated professional and bureaucratic structures (Humes, 1986) were not yet in place and a new 'centre' of power would emerge in the nexus of educational policy-making (2.1.3, 4.1.2 & 4.1.3). The development of 'expertise' and a new 'ensemble' of policy voices (Ball, 1994)(2.1), therefore, would emerge over the next twenty years but would shift attention away from film and toward television.

The process of integration was not completed until 1969, however, which was later than had been anticipated. The substantial shifts taking place in the educational policy-making community at this time relegated the work of the SFC to a lower priority. In addition, the emergent professional, curriculum and assessment bureaucracies, the General Teaching Council (GTC), The Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (CCC) and the Scottish Examination Board (SEB) respectively, put in place a national system that temporarily displaced the work of SEFA and the SFC.

The further complication of local government reorganisation in 1974 delayed the

¹³⁷ Losing influence and faltering membership numbers would be a fate awaiting the Association for Media Education in Scotland (AMES) in the 1980s (5.1).

¹³⁸ This was of particular interest to the academic disciplines of Mathematics and the Sciences

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integration process even further and effectively created a ten year hiatus¹³⁹ in the development of the SFC both as an educational and cultural institution. During that period of time, developments in television and technology in education began to gain momentum and other agencies interested in the field would come to the fore. The SFC would not be able to capitalise on the development of film as cultural object at this time (1.2.2.i).

3.3 Education and Television

When Paddy Whannel focused on representation as an organising concept for the teaching of film appreciation in 1960, the issue of Scottish representation in the film and broadcasting environment appeared to have been overlooked in favour of a concern with the representation of youth, family and war¹⁴⁰. That the Institute was prone to think locally but act nationally is a matter of record (Bradbury, 2003) but this practice, appearing at an early stage in its revitalised purpose, may have done little to encourage goodwill from its Scottish constituency. Through SEFA, the Council had established an institutional relationship with the statutory education sector in Scotland that the Institute did not have with the Ministry. However, the Council's capacity to influence the cultural development of film as art in Scotland would be marked by the absence of institutional autonomy in that policy field. A similar absence would mark Scotland's broadcasting constituency (Sweeney, 2008).

SEFA's work on audio-visual aids research in education in Scotland was well established and its role in raising a general awareness of the potential of such aids had

¹³⁹ From 1964-1974

¹⁴⁰ Op. cit. 130

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been important for thirty years (3.1.1 & 3.2.2). The Council had capitalised on SEFA's gains and enjoyed a considerable degree of international admiration as a consequence. The post-war environment, however, had introduced the arts and audio-visual aids as legitimate policy objects. New institutional players emerged in the form of UNESCO (4.2.1)¹⁴¹ and the BBC and shifted influence away from Scotland at this time. Interests external to Scotland created a competitive environment in a number of converging fields and threatened the Department's capacity to maintain its position as an internationally recognised standard bearer.

Two world wars had brought international cultural relations to the fore and the Institute was the face of film in the UK in the United Nations and UNESCO. No Scottish representation was evident on this international stage and SEFA resented not being given what it viewed as its place in this forum (SEFA, 1946). More importantly, perhaps, the Council had not been given a voice either. UNESCO subsequently organised a film and television council on an intergovernmental basis. Clearly, Scotland would be excluded from such a development. It is important to note, however, that despite the absence of SEFA and the SFC in the ensemble of policy voices (Ball, 1994) in the United Nations and, as a consequence, the loss of influence at this time, SEFA maintained a watching brief. Without the institutional support of Scottish education at this time, however, it was difficult to participate in the shaping of educational technology discourse.

¹⁴¹ UNESCO's concern at this time appeared to be prompted by the proliferation of all media forms in the commercial sector. Concerns that children could not differentiate under the bombardment which would subsequently impact on their attention span at school appears to inform UNESCO's International Commission on the Development of Education. "It must teach everyone to fight against the abuse of propaganda, against omni-present messages and temptations of mass communication media, against the risk of estrangement and even of 'anti-education' which those media may bring". The conservation of cultural particularity also demonstrates fears about the potential of this increasingly prolific commercialisation to homogenise indigenous cultural forms (UNESCO, 1977).

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Despite the research, development and production activity of the SFC and SEFA in the field of educational film in particular, its systematic use in classrooms across Scotland was never established¹⁴². The expense of installing equipment and the difficulties of obtaining enough suitable product to meet demand had contained the development of a nationally coordinated engagement with film in education. The extension of SEFA's interests to include closed circuit television, language laboratories and calculators in pursuit of "education mechanised" (SEFA, 1964)¹⁴³ in the 1960s, therefore, may have been as much a pragmatic decision as one informed by shifts in its internal balance of power.

The arrival of television, "this new synthesis of all forms of mass communication" (Frizell, 1955, p23), following the war would shift the ground considerably for the Council and for SEFA. The increasing availability of broadcast technologies displaced the earlier objective of providing more film technology to schools. That more Scottish product was available in film than was available in broadcasting generated a dilemma for those educationists concerned to maintain a distinct Scottish cultural identity in the school curriculum (SED, 1950). Schools' broadcasting, however, could not be of interest to SEFA. The professional equivalent of SEFA in the field of educational broadcasting, dominated by the BBC in the UK and, in Scotland, by BBC Scotland at this time, was the School Broadcasting Council for Scotland (SCBS)(McDowell, 1992).

¹⁴² The requirement to demonstrate economic efficiency and returns on investment in educational resources became increasingly important to the education sector in Scotland throughout the 1970s and was pointed up by Martyn Roebuck in discussions about the SFC and the Scottish Film and Television Archive during interview in September 2008.

¹⁴³ Times Education Supplement, 17 April, 1964, carried a special supplement of that name according to SEFA Information Bulletin, no5. 1/5/99

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3.3.1 Educational broadcasting

Schools' and children's radio broadcasting had been in existence in the UK since the 1920s, the first school broadcast taking place in Glasgow in 1924 (Murray, 1998, Crook, 2007). The first BBC schools' television broadcasts in Scotland were available in 1961¹⁴⁴, advice about which was provided by the SCBS. Whilst it operated in a similar mediating capacity to that favoured by SEFA, its networks were not as extensive and more importantly, it did not have the capacity to either produce and or distribute Scottish product. In keeping with the SFC and SEFA, however, the SBCS's concern to protect Scottish particularity, was in evidence

schools' series which consisted mainly of network rather than Scottish material did not take fully into account the different needs of Scottish schools under their separate education system [McDowell, 1992, p228].

A school broadcasting council had also been established in Wales. Of interest is the description of early television programmes broadcast to schools in both 'national Regions'. Welsh schools received a fortnightly programme broadcast continuously throughout the year 1962-63, on communications and aimed at Welsh speaking children and for children learning to speak Welsh as a second language. In Scotland, on the other hand, in that same period, four shorter series were broadcast on Scottish Affairs, Scottish Exports, Around Scotland and Scottish History¹⁴⁵. Scotland's sense

¹⁴⁴ Experiments in closed circuit television were also in place at this time in Scotland.

¹⁴⁵ School Broadcasting Council for the United Kingdom (1962) After Five Years: A Report on BBC School Television Broadcasting

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of itself as a nation emerged through the discourse of its programming for schools and reflected a tradition that had been established in its educational film work.

"Special educational provision" was made in the three national regions but that provision was substantially less than what was on offer for the fourth, England. Operational difficulties within BBC's School Television department, however, exacerbated the provision of national regional output (Hall, G, 1973)¹⁴⁶. Two educational production units were located in Scotland, three in Wales and one in Northern Ireland. Both Wales and Northern Ireland were governed by the same education system as that operating in England yet "special educational provision" was greater for Wales than for Northern Ireland.

	Series					Total transmission hours
	Total	UK	Scottish	Welsh	N.I.	
School radio	63	45	7	9	2	644
School TV	27	22	2	3	-	363
FE radio	41	41	-	-	-	415
FE TV	51	51	-	-	-	301
Total radio	104	86	7	9	2	1,059
Total TV	78	73	2	3	-	664

fig 1 (BBC, 1966, p58)

¹⁴⁶ Geoffrey Hall was Head of BBC Schools Broadcasting

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An analysis of the figures above broadly suggests that Scotland received 1.78 hours of educational radio and 0.67 hours of educational television per week, representing 11.06% and 7.38% respectively of its total dedicated educational programming output. As such, there was little incentive for local education authorities in Scotland to invest in the necessary technologies of delivery together with the license required to operate them for each of its schools. An increase in the provision of projectors, the more recent interest in the use of film-strips and developments in closed circuit television in Scotland's classrooms worked in addition to marginalise the use of television broadcasts.

However, as a technology, television was of interest to the Department, particularly in light of the forthcoming Hudson Report (DES, 1972). Such circumstances provide part of the context, perhaps, for understanding the gathering interest in closed circuit television that was being developed in Glasgow. In 1961 only 10% of Scotland's schools had monochrome television sets (Murray, 1998) but in 1966 Glasgow Corporation invested in the potential of mass media technology in education and transmitted 30 programmes a day, five days a week from Glasgow University's own television service to its 300 hundred primary and secondary schools. Glasgow Schools Closed-Circuit Television Service was the first such service to emerge in the UK and a former member of SEFA became its Director (Barclay, 1993)¹⁴⁷. By 1975 over 97% of Scotland's schools had television receivers (Murray, 1998). In the hiatus

¹⁴⁷ Throughout the 1960s SEFA's newsletters demonstrated its interest in closed-circuit television. Of greater interest to this study, however, was SEFA's attitude to educational broadcasting at that time. SEFA noted the discursive shift in educational television programming from one that constituted a "half-way house" between the "enrichment" and "direct-instruction extremities" to one that had become "unblushingly the vehicles for direct instruction". Scottish Educational Film Association, information bulletin no 5, April 1964. 1/5/98

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between 1964 and 1974, therefore, Glasgow Corporation significantly developed its work in the field of educational television (3.1.1.i & 3.2.4.iii).

Developments in television technologies and educational technology were accelerating in general at this point. The BBC found itself with competition in children's and schools' broadcasting (Crook, 2007) whilst at the same time, academic research was emerging that would contest the BBC's own research findings in relation to the efficacy of both.

3.3.1.i 1966 and all that

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, therefore, confidence in the ability of the BBC to fulfil its educational remit for the nation's children was under threat. Television and the Child (Himmelweit, 1958) and Television in the Lives of Our Children (Schramm, 1961) had been critical of the BBC's domestic television service for children, indicating that children would only watch it if there were no entertaining alternatives (Crook, 2007)¹⁴⁸. In advance of coming on air in 1957, Scottish Television announced that it was preparing to appoint its own educational advisory committee as a preliminary to joining ATV in the broadcasting of Associated Rediffusion's programmes. The notion of children as consumers began to punctuate established broadcasting thinking when children began turning from BBC scheduling targeted at them to light entertainment alternatives on ITV. This prompted the instructive response that the new commercial channel offered too much choice (Langham, 1990).

¹⁴⁸ Learmonth took this up when he recommended a blurring of the lines between television broadcasters' distinction between 'education' and 'entertainment' (DES, 1983). Such a rigid distinction was in evidence in the drawing up of SFC's four early committees. At that point, its entertainment panel lost out to education and would come to dominate its work for years. The tide appeared to be turning here, however.

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An increasingly centralised and professionalised BBC was beginning to lose touch with its young audiences (Oswell, 1998).

Pilkington would recommend the abolition of the BBC's Children's Advisory Committee in favour of the ITA's own committee (Langham, 1990)¹⁴⁹. Whilst the BBC's dedicated educational programming for schools had fulfilled its responsibilities under the terms of the Charter¹⁵⁰, its general educational programming was becoming increasingly irrelevant to children, teachers and schools, particularly in Scotland. The innovative IBA School Teacher Fellowship Scheme, which it launched to promote the use of its popular programming in education and bring education and entertainment into a more productive tension, would once again steal a march on the BBC.

The drop in ratings underlined the difficulties the BBC faced in view of the competition from its commercial rivals when it had a responsibility to fulfil the terms of its Charter. The demands BBC educational programming made upon its resources, however, prompted the BBC to seek an alternative strategy.

When Pilkington began gathering evidence for the 1962 Report, one strand of the debate focused on the creation of a dedicated education channel to be operated by the BBC but coordinated with ITV. The idea had been proposed by ITV but opposed by the BBC who successfully persuaded Pilkington to do the same. Expanding provision in post-war Britain's education services (Ministry of Education, 1963, Committee on

¹⁴⁹ Television had become the dominant medium at this point and The Pilkington Report on Broadcasting (1962) was the first to examine broadcasting in this context and was the first to examine ITV (McDowell, 1992). It was critical of ITV's regional programming in that it "failed to reflect, particularly in Scotland's case, the distinctive, local culture in any detail and was screened out with peak viewing times" (Sweeney, 2008)

¹⁵⁰ Broadcasting Act (1954).

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Higher Education, 1963) and the rapid expansion of the technologies delivering television had led to associated developments in sociologically informed research activity. Interests in technology in general and television in particular (Himmelweit, 1958, Schramm, 1961, Trenaman & McQuail, 1961, Halloran, 1964)¹⁵¹, Pilkington's recommendation in relation to what would become the Open University, the establishment of a second BBC channel and the establishment of a national centre for educational technology, culminated in a joint conference organised by the BBC and Sussex University¹⁵².

Held in 1966, its theme was "educational television and sound services in all forms of education from age 14-15 upwards". Its use of the term "educational television" suggests a desire to position itself in the developing educational technology market at an early stage in the field's development for which significant central sources of funding were widely anticipated. The collected papers, subsequently published, reveal the tensions evident between the communities of researchers, educationists, producers and broadcasters in attendance. Anxieties on the part of the BBC about the television broadcasting environment itself can be seen in Postgate's ambiguous foreword to the collection when he claims "Enthusiasm for something new sometimes strengthens itself by rejection of the established" (BBC, 1966, p7).

¹⁵¹ Halloran was in Adult Education at Leicester where at that time adult education was political and oppositional unlike its current formation framed in economic and social terms. Granada Television had funded a Television Research Fellow, McQuail, in the Department of Social Studies at Leeds University. This research represented the first of Britain's studies in mass communication research.

¹⁵² The School Broadcasting Council held a conference in the previous year (1965) where the potential of the 'white heat of technology' for education was required to be shown "conclusively" in relation to the contexts noted above (BBC, 1966). Richard Postgate, then Controller of Educational Broadcasting at the BBC organised the event with Norman Mackenzie, Director of Academic Services at Sussex University.

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Written with post-conference reflexivity, Postgate may have been drawing attention to the dangers for the BBC in those antipathies expressed elsewhere in the collection and most notably evident in the attitudes towards the field of mass communications research and specifically that which was associated with "the States" (BBC, 1966, p252/275/277). The tension between the anti-Americanism of British elites, especially with regard to education, and the pro-Americanism of other British classes, especially as a consequence of popular cultural shifts, was evident.

The Head of School Broadcasting for the BBC in Scotland, Tom Allan, was in attendance at the 1966 conference but the collection of papers suggests that he did not make a contribution. The issues under discussion no doubt seemed far removed from the priorities identified for those working for the BBC in Scotland at that particular time, not least the absence of representative and relevant Scottish product.

3.3.1.ii Dedicated educational programming: the problem

The "[rising] tide of new operators in the television field" had galvanised the public service broadcaster into inviting an audience of "quality" participants to a conference on educational television and radio in 1966 (BBC, 1966). Of the seventy-seven participants, six were drawn from Scotland, three of whom represented the developing field of closed-circuit educational television in Glasgow. Neither SEFA nor the SFC, had a presence and only one HMI was in attendance.

Whilst educational radio broadcasting had been in existence since the 1920s, educational television broadcasting was still in its first decade at the time the 1966

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conference was held. Opportunities for expansion in this field were clearly evident but the ways by which such expansion might be organised and financed less so. The conference provided an opportunity for the BBC to discuss the functions and purposes of its educational outputs together with ideas about future developments. The BBC had been taken by surprise by the ITA's move into the school broadcasting sector and its policy statement of 1961 (BBC, 1961) seems to have been designed to rally its supporting networks of educationists, its language clearly positioning the BBC as the trusted provider of all educative programming. But ruptures in the presumed alliance between broadcasters and educators came to the surface at the 1966 conference including those broadcasters and educationists working within the BBC itself.

Comments made by the BBC educational broadcasting personnel focused on the constraints imposed by technology (BBC, 1966). Whilst most schools had radios and sound recording technology, not all had access to a television set and this was particularly noticeable in the secondary sector. Legal and financial constraints hindered the acquisition of video tape recorders and the development of Secondary Use. Poor reception in most schools seemed to be more of an issue for the broadcasters themselves than for teachers, however. The BBC also raised staffing issues as a problem and the limited number of Education Officers in house created a particular difficulty in the national regions where the Schools producers had additional responsibilities (Hall, G, 1973)¹⁵³.

¹⁵³ Hall explains that the School Television Department is "but one of five departments in the BBC concerned with formal education. (Many other departments also produce programmes which are broadly educative, of course). It is a department of about seventy people - programme makers, administrators and secretarial and clerical staff. Between a half and two-thirds of the programme makers have been recruited from amongst former teachers, the remainder coming mainly from other departments of the BBC." (p115). Two former BBC Scotland Education Officers were key players in the development of Media Studies in Scotland (Appendix C).

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As much as 30-40% of a Schools producer's time might be spent exclusively on a commitment to producing the teaching and learning support materials necessary as an accompaniment to its dedicated educational programmes. The print materials were sometimes valued above the programmes they were published to support and this contributed to the sense of grievance held by production personnel¹⁵⁴. The size of the BBC's publications operation was impressive but created numerous difficulties not least because the materials were sold to schools on a not-for-profit basis. As most of these publications accompanied each series and video tape recorders were not yet available, their sell-by-date was limited.

From those with education interests it was the research methods the BBC employed to evaluate the effectiveness of individual educational programmes and series that came in for some fairly heavy criticism. In particular, those in the field of academic research posed epistemic questions about the communication process itself. What was known about how educational broadcasting contributed to learning and teaching environments? Moreover, what was known about its young audiences? (BBC, 1966). This began to move the debate away from the dominant instrumental view that "excellence in all its output" would secure "education" for all, toward a position of critique that would later be taken up by Masterman (1980) that the BBC would find difficult to support.

The context and content of the 1966 conference positioned it as a potentially transformative moment when the concept of a technology *in* education began making the transition to a technology *of* education. Contests over definition and the right to

¹⁵⁴ The value attached to print media above other modalities continues to play out in formal education almost half a century later.

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determine conventions were emerging again but this time over the concept and purpose of educational technology as a policy text. A gulf was emerging between those in the broadcasting institutions interested in the rapidly developing market for technology in education and those in educational institutions concerned about the technology of education and what the broadcasters' role in that should or could be.

Such conflicts of purpose did not necessarily divide neatly along internal versus external party lines. As an institution, the BBC was attempting to make the transition from its former exclusive monopolistic dominance to a more inclusive but competitive and rapidly changing political, economic, educational, social and technological environment. Education is clearly one of BBC's three Charter duties but Postgate's figures indicated that of its £45 million license income, only £3 million could be mobilised for its statutory education duty (BBC, 1966). Whilst the BBC accepted that to educate was one of its responsibilities, it was argued that "in a strict sense, the BBC has no educational purposes" (BBC, 1966, p56). The School Broadcasting Council, on the other hand, was "under the educational control of the national service of education" (Steele, 1967, p3), and was responsible, therefore, for the context of the BBC's educational programmes. Its denial of "educational purposes" had the effect of transferring the responsibility for the BBC's diminishing capacity to connect with children and young people to the School Broadcasting Council for the UK, teachers and the education system itself. However, the School Broadcasting Council was "financed entirely by the BBC and the Secretariat of the Council [in London] are all members of the BBC's staff" (Hall, G, 1973, p114).

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3.3.1.iii The School Broadcasting Council: a bilingual approach

The Secretary of the School Broadcasting Council for the United Kingdom, RC Steele, addressed the Association of Chief Education Officers the following year (Steele, 1967) where none of the issues raised at the conference were mentioned. Steele had been in attendance at the 1966 conference but his address to a wholly external audience drawn in the main from the statutory sector indicated his role on this occasion as a mediator. He argued that schools' broadcasting had a place and the broadcasters were struggling to understand the implications of shifting social behaviours but the education system and educationists themselves also required to make an adjustment. Newsom (DES, 1963), who also chaired the IBA, understood the need to bring education and entertainment into more of a productive tension and his Report had incorporated these issues in an attempt to provide a more inclusive and relevant education system for an increasingly diverse cohort.

Steele argued, therefore, that whilst educational broadcasters may have been out of touch with youth audiences, teachers themselves were too distant from popular culture as “products of academic education” (Steele, 1967, p19). Both groups, therefore, needed to consider a variety of ways in which television could be used for educational purposes. Mediating between the BBC and its educational public was an important role for the School Broadcasting Council and one that SEFA had also negotiated in relation to film and the film trade in Scotland. The School Broadcasting Council in Scotland, however, faced additional challenges created by structural and operational constraints imposed by the BBC and its relationship with BBC Scotland. In what appears to have been the emergence of a new paradigm and mindful of the

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recommendations of Newsom, Steele suggested that teachers must come to terms with the influence of television to avoid the creation of two "sharply divided cultures" where

the division may not be so much between the literary and the scientific as between one culture based on academic education, still largely book-bound, and another, popular and non-academic, based more and more on show business¹⁵⁵

[Steele, 1967, p19]

In his introduction Steele uses the term "technological media" but stresses the significance of television in the Newsom Report because "it puts television right into the centre of our whole educational thinking and debate" (Steele, 1967, p3). Most of the pamphlet presents a number of powerful arguments for the increased use of television in the classroom. At the end of this nineteen-page document, however, Steele writes that education is in danger of isolating itself from popular culture and anticipates the emergence of media education

The mass media are setting an enormously larger stage on which the battle of education must be fought out, and for the first time, in spite of all that we're spending on it, it looks as if education might not win

[Steele, 1967, p19]

¹⁵⁵ In using the term "show business", it is likely that Steele, a BBC staff member, would be referring to popular commercial programming. This address to elites in the educational policy community, therefore, could be inferred to be a warning of the dangers that lay ahead if visual texts, and crucially those produced by the BBC, were not used in classrooms.

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Stressing the social and educational potential of non-educational programmes, therefore, Steele's address to his audience of influential educators implied a change of focus that would include both the media in education and the medium of education.

3.3.1.iv Independent Broadcasters

Evidence was mounting that the BBC's output for schools was outmoded and irrelevant where significant sections of its audience were concerned. In a climate of increased competition in the broadcasting environment and technological advance, the value of the BBC's dedicated educational programming had been questioned in terms of its efficacy. However, the ITA, later to become the IBA, were already thinking along different lines¹⁵⁶. The IBA's Educational Programme Services Department devised and administered a scheme whereby teachers and television producers were provided "opportunities for original enquiry into the relationship between television and education"¹⁵⁷ through secondment to an academic institution. Such a move indicated an awareness of the need to bring both broadcasters and teachers more closely into contact with the youth audiences they were trying to reach. In 1977 this was expanded to include studies of radio and television and at the Royal College of Art, Len Masterman began his "original enquiry" that would model a critical pedagogy of television for teachers working in schools (Hall, 1977, Masterman, 1980).

¹⁵⁶ IBA (1973) *The Educational Value of Non-Educational Television: A Study of Children's Responses to General Programme Material*

¹⁵⁷ Independent Broadcasting Authority Annual Report and Accounts: 1975-76, p25.

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The growth of interest in educational research, mass media and popular culture during the 1970s was reflected in the development of the IBA's educational research fellowship scheme. According to Langham,

for teachers who saw literature instruction as part of a process of human education, general television material would allow them to raise questions about human's behaviour and man's role within society

[Langham, 1990, p207]

Langham's use of the phrase "literature instruction" is indicative of a fundamental strategic difference between the development of media education in England and that adopted subsequently in Scotland (4.2.2). Nevertheless, such an approach contrasted sharply with the BBC's approach to the use of television in education. The IBA scheme hinted at the failure of educational television as a genre and pointed the way to a use of television that would move beyond the instrumental. Of those whose work the IBA published, Masterman's (1980) was key for those developing ideas about the potential of the media in education (1.1.1.iv, 1.1.2, 1.2.3.ii, 2.1.1, 2.1.1.i & 4.2.1). More importantly, however, his focus on television studies rather than media education was a strategy selected to "detach television from film" (Langham, 1990, p213). Unlike film studies, therefore, television and media studies were associated with progressive ideas about education that sat in tension with conventional school settings, curricula and systems.

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Throughout the 1970s, a belief had been growing amongst education practitioners working on the ground in all sectors in the UK, that non-educational media products, and those of film and television in particular, had the educative potential to achieve a broader range of social and educational outcomes than the more restrictive dedicated educational programming could provide. That belief was informed by the development of academic research in the fields of mass communications and popular culture emerging throughout the 1960s and 1970s (O'Malley, 2002) that began to challenge the role of the state in the spheres of both education and public sector broadcasting in post-war Britain.

Although geographically predisposed to provide 'local' product, the BBC's commercial competitors did not have the infrastructure or the resources to compete in the field of educational broadcasting. Rather than continuing to assure the BBC's domination of that field, however, the inability to compete in an established field prompted the commercial sector to explore the potential of popular programming for broader educational purposes and undermined the position of the BBC further as a consequence. The provision of educational programmes tied to specific curricular outcomes, therefore, came to be seen as something of a poisoned chalice.

3.4 Conclusions

This chapter has shown how the emergence of the new culture and technology of film created a productive coalition of interest amongst classroom teachers, the film trade and the new local government structures emerging in urban Scotland in the 1930s in the pursuit of cultural and educational change. Those alliances were particularly

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empowering in the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh (3.1.1) and enabled a fledgling national film agency (3.2.1) to support the trade by facilitating the development of product, technology and audiences at a local level (3.2.2). At the same time, those alliances enabled teachers to engage with a new medium that was fascinating children and young people in their personal lives and produce films that embodied both cultural and educational objectives.

The chapter also shows how the interdependence of a grass-roots body of teachers and the fledgling film agency was facilitated by elements of Scottish education's emergent 'leadership class' (Humes, 1986)(3.2.1.ii) to maintain the independence of the film agency (3.2.3) and to enable Scottish particularity in educational film production to establish. As a consequence of its work in this regard, the SFC came to be viewed as a trusted insider (McPherson & Raab, 1988) in Scotland's policy-making community. The legacy of its early history placed it in a favourable position, therefore, when developments in the new culture and technology of television gave momentum to the emergent educational technology movement (3.2.4.iii).

The 'piecing together' (Medhurst, 2007) of the contribution of SECS and SEFA to the origins and early development of the SFC as an educational and cultural institution in Scotland has generated a new understanding of educationists working at the beginning of the twentieth century in Scotland as cultural workers. In addition, it has created a new understanding of the public service function of film and the SFC in the first fifteen years of its history. By the setting up of the JPC, this chapter has also noted the significance of institutionalising the production of educational film in Scotland (3.2.3.ii). By using documentary analysis and combining analytical and narrative

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modes of historical enquiry, this study has constructed an account of the role of the SFC in the use and production of film for Scottish education that demonstrates the interconnectedness of media, technology and education discourses in Scottish culture.

In addition, this chapter has thrown light on the early development of the professional and bureaucratic structures in Scottish education that worked to support those emergent discourses (3.2.1.ii & 3.2.2). In so doing, it has shown how a leadership class established itself in the governance of Scottish education. The development of a liberal approach to the use of film for educational purposes, "a "half-way house" between the enrichment-only and the direct-instruction extremities [of media]"¹⁵⁸ helped to sustain the film production community in Scotland throughout the first half of the twentieth century. A focus on television in the second half, however, exposed constitutional and institutional barriers that prevented the educational policy community from nurturing Scottish particularity in the same way (3.3.1).

¹⁵⁸ Scottish Educational Film Association, information bulletin no 5, April 1964. 1/5/99

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The previous chapter traces the origins and development of the institutional symbiosis between the Scottish Film Council (SFC) and the Scottish Education Department (SED). Analysis of mainly official documentation held in the Scottish Film and Television Archive relating to the educational work of the SFC, was undertaken using a single case: media in education¹⁵⁹. This chapter will continue its focus on the relationship between the SFC and the SED but will take a particular interest in the impact upon it of a new Scottish education institution, the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET). The period will be delimited by the event of what it describes as the Media Studies turn¹⁶⁰ in Scotland. In particular, this chapter will focus on the discursive construction of a new policy text (4.2.2) and its effects (Ball, 1994). It will trace the origins and formation of a new curriculum subject in the compulsory sector using documents located in the Archive but in addition, will articulate these with wider discourses of educational change taking place in Scotland at the same time.

The backdrop of a 1970s post-industrial landscape acted as a centripetal force for political and cultural issues in Scotland. Support for the Scottish National Party (SNP) increased (Hutchison, 2001) and the beginnings of a cultural step-change was evident (Petrie, 2000). Representations of Scotland and its culture were regarded by a growing consensus in its creative community to have been umbilically linked to the

¹⁵⁹ The periodisation of Chapter 3 was delimited by the event of local government reorganisation in Scotland: in 1929 and again in 1974

¹⁶⁰ This phrase has been used to indicate an institutional discursive shift, from teaching and learning about subjects *through media* to teaching and learning *about media* through subjects, from media *in* education to media education, and represented by the production of Anderson, DF (1979) *Media Education in Scotland: Outline Proposals for a Curriculum* (4.2.2). It does not concede, however, that in the previous period (1929-1974), the practice of using media in teaching and learning favoured the former to the exclusion of the latter. On the other hand, its use does infer a clear distinction between media education and programmed learning.

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twin discourses of tartanry and kailyard and firmly located in a questionable past. For some, such representations cast Scotland

as a dream landscape which transforms the stranger, gives victory to the Scots in the realm of the imagination while the actual forces they vanquish on celluloid overwhelm them in the "real" world of politics and economics.

[McArthur, 1982]

As a cultural agency, the SFC was one of the bodies from whom Scotland's film-making community expected support, but tensions between SFC and the creative community had always been in evidence (3.2.1). Of interest to this chapter, therefore, is the SFC as an institution holding responsibility for two arguably distinct functions at the point when both were on the cusp of cultural step-change in Scotland.

In the 1960s, Harold Wilson's Labour government transformed the provision of education in the UK with two particular and related policy initiatives: comprehensivisation and the widespread use of educational technology (3.2.4.ii & 3.2.4.iii). Both had far-reaching effects. Both were introduced with the intent to democratise the provision of education in the UK but neither had been without controversy (Chitty, 2004, Lawton, 2005, Conlon & Cope, 1989). Whilst the comprehensivisation debate polarised public opinion in England, such a sensibility had in practice been circulating in some educational arenas in Scotland since the 1947 Report from the Scottish Advisory Council on Education (SED, 1947) (3.2.3.i). Although the recommendations of that Report were not acted upon, the continuation

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of a bipartite arrangement for schools together with Scotland's demographic profile, facilitated an easier move to comprehensivisation.

Just as significant for the shape and form of education in the second half of the twentieth century, perhaps, were UK ambitions for the role technology could play. The Brynmor-Jones report (Jones, 1965)(3.2.4.iii) began the process that would establish a national council for educational technology with a UK remit. The subsequent publication of what became known as the Hudson Report (DES, 1972), discussed the possible introduction of such an organisation and recommended that Scotland make distinct provision for the service of its education community on the grounds of its separate education system. As a consequence, discussions took place between the Scottish Film Council and the Scottish Education Department about the establishment of a new body, the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET)(4.1). The setting up of such a body in Scotland created an institutional link between media, culture and technology that was not replicated in England.

The arguments mobilised by the SNP in support of independence at this time were mainly economic and political with less emphasis on cultural issues. Troubled by the SNP's gains in 1974 and fearing the further growth in popular support for independence in Scotland, the Parliamentary Labour Party set about securing broad institutional support for devolution as a viable alternative (Hutchison, 2001). By the time of the 1979 referendum, however, voters appeared unconvinced of the economic, political or cultural arguments for either independence or for devolved powers. The election of the Conservative Party in Britain in 1979 meantime, put paid to any further progress in this regard.

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In the mid-1970s and at the same time as the SNP was gathering a momentum, the creation of SCET institutionalised the provision of technological resources for education under one roof (4.1). For the first time in its history, SFC became a recipient of full service provision from the SED. Whilst film culture and educational technology may have been institutionally conjoined, the fluidity characterising these operations during the first phase of SCET's history (1974-1983) began to break down (5.2).

McArthur's concern about the cultural 'dream landscape' masking the realities of politics and economics in Scotland and preventing a real engagement with its relationship to the UK continued to attract institutional sympathies in Scotland (McCrone, 2001, Hutchison, 2001). Britain was in recession in the early 1980s and Scotland's 'dream landscape' had to be dismantled. The role of the cultural and educational sectors in reformulating Scotland as contemporary, progressive and distinct required a different emphasis. Media, culture and technology in education in Scotland, therefore, presents an interesting conjunction once more. The ways in which developments affecting these individual elements impacted on the relationships between them will form the basis of this chapter's enquiry.

Scottish particularity and the administrative devolvement (Pickard & Dobie, 2003) of its education system is fiercely protected. The public fracturing of its alliances presented a considerable risk to both (Paterson, 1997). The Media Studies turn in Scotland offers some insight into the contests and struggles that were taking place behind the closed doors of the policy community in the battle to maintain educational control both within the Scottish policy community itself and within the wider UK.

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The external political interventions introduced by the 1964 Labour government affected the organisational practices of Scottish education (McPherson & Raab, 1988). Such changes enlarged the policy-making community but encouraged the dominance of professional educational interests in the shaping of its provision (Humes, 1986)(2.2.2). An enlarged policy body would, at first sight, appear to facilitate the inclusion of diverse viewpoints, but mechanisms to ensure the continuance of compliance with normative policy-making practice were in place (2.2.2.ii). Initiatives emerging from routes other than those sanctioned by the 'leadership class' (Humes, 1986), therefore, would be very unlikely to meet with its approval (Doherty & Canavan, 2006).

In the 1970s, the comprehensivisation programme divided public opinion in England, if not so obviously in Scotland, and resulted in a series of attacks by Conservative politicians on the integrity of educational provision in the UK as a whole. The most high profile of these was published as a series, the Black Papers (Cox & Boyson, 1977), and appeared during two separate Labour administrations (Chitty, 2004). Prior to that, however, the absence of consensus in the UK about the shape and form its education system should take, enabled a struggling Callaghan administration (1976-1979) to take the initiative and begin the process of linking education more explicitly to the needs of the economy (Ahier et al, 1996)¹⁶¹. The early ambitions for media education were underpinned by social reconstructionism, however, and as such may have been swimming against the political tide in so far as Media Studies was viewed in some quarters as anti-corporate and anti-capitalist.

¹⁶¹ The Ruskin Speech.

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4.1 SCET: an uneasy alliance?

The imposition of political will (McPherson & Raab, 1988) on Scotland's education policy community in the 1960s demanded a shift toward greater pluralism of representation, in both its political and cultural frames of reference¹⁶². For the Scottish Film Council, the centralisation of film and broadcast policy-making had always weakened its capacity to take ownership of its cultural remit, but its relationship with the SED offered opportunities for mobilising its significant accumulation of educational social capital in the quiet pursuit of its 'other' objectives. For Scottish film-makers, however, the SFC was structurally incapable of providing them with adequate support (Cowle, 1981, Dick, 1990, Bruce, 1996, 2008). For the film-making community, the apparent absence of any means of support for the production of Scottish film other than that gained by commission or sponsor, symbolised the SFC's failure to fulfil its cultural remit. D McKay Elliot had been appointed to replace Russell Borland in 1950 and when he retired as Director in 1968, the appointment of an accountant as the SFC's new Director, Ronald B Macluskie (Bruce, 1996), may have signalled the Council's intention to be more 'creative' in its future endeavours.

Just as significant, perhaps, was David Bruce's appointment as an Assistant Director of the SFC in 1969. Bruce was a former Director of the Edinburgh Film Festival and

¹⁶² These are described as 'political accountability' and 'social explanation' (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p500)

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an Executive Officer of the British Universities Film Council¹⁶³. His appointment signalled, therefore, a renewed focus on the development of film in Scotland but probably more importantly, his experience would be valuable in the construction of the Council's subsequent pitch for SCET and the reconciliation of two apparently irreconcilable functions (4.1.1).

The SED had increased its annual grant to the SFC by forty per cent over the previous year and the Council was able to use this to plan an ambitious programme of work¹⁶⁴. The BFI's 'Outside London' initiative (Bruce, 1996) enabled the Council to assume full responsibility for the development of its Regional Film Theatres (RFTs) in Scotland and there were signs that the Council was attempting to restore the balance between its educational and cultural remits. Bruce recognised the importance of holding these functions together under the Council's umbrella and his background in all aspects of film enhanced his capacity to mollify those interested parties.

SEFA's brokerage was coming to an end as local authorities in Scotland began to develop local provision for the production and use of audio-visual resources (3.2.4). Concerned by the implications of losing its capacity to attract core funding from the SED, the Council continued to have use for SEFA as the SFC re-positioned itself in relation to institutional developments in educational technology in the UK.

¹⁶³ Scottish Film Council, AV News, issue no 10, September 1969. 1/5/146

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*

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4.1.1 Trading up

Under Macluskie's new direction, revitalising the work of the Industrial Panel¹⁶⁵ was also one of the Council's new ambitions. Bruce had been appointed to take responsibility for the Industrial Panel. His professional portfolio up to this point, however, suggested that his key role would be to establish a new centre for educational technology within the Council. The British Universities Film Council had been influential in submitting evidence for the Hudson Report (DES, 1972). Macluskie was appointed to the working party itself in 1971. The significance of these two appointments was a marker, therefore, of the SFC's broader ambitions.

The Brynmor-Jones report had been published six years earlier, however, and the coordination of audio-visual developments had been under discussion in the UK for some time (Jones, 1965). Indeed, the first attempt to establish a National Council for Educational Technology in Britain was made in 1967 (Becher, 1969). The inaugural body was underfunded and its ambitions for the UK unrealisable. Becher, its first Director, describes the difficulties involved when the previously established domain of audio-visual aids in education was confronted by educational technology and "created uneasy relations when the need was for sensible cooperation" (p194). Moreover, he warns that "every government [should] have a sufficiently clear idea of what educational technology is before it sets up a national council" (ibid). Where Becher suggested a clear distinction be drawn by government between 'educational technology' and 'audio-visual aids', the proposals for a new model of national

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*

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provision, the Council for Educational Technology for the United Kingdom (CETUK), however, would bring all interested parties back together and pool all available resources.

The first model of national provision, as described by Becher, had been more radical in its vision than that of its successor (DES, 1972). In between these attempts, however, the BBC, in partnership with the DES, had established the Open University, referred to at its 1966 conference as the 'university of the air' (BBC, 1966). The considerable expense involved in the operations of the OU ensured the model of provision on offer was not rolled out elsewhere and may have been influential in scaling down the ambitions for educational technology in the school sector subsequently. The terms of reference for the new organisation replacing the National Council for Educational Technology (NCET) were uncontentious and its structure ensured that any progress toward wholesale system change in the technology of education itself was limited.

4.1.2 Brynmor-Jones to Hudson: opportunities knock

When the Council's "new look" newsletter (SFC, 1969)¹⁶⁶ replaced SEFA's regular information bulletins in September 1969 it marked SEFA's integration with the Council and a strategic turn. The development of local audio-visual resource centres began to render the services of both SEFA and the Scottish Central Film Library redundant (Barclay, 1993) but Bruce was conscious of the need to maintain the

¹⁶⁶ Op. cit. 163

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Council's involvement in both. Not for the first time, therefore, SEFA survived as a consequence of wider policy developments on a UK front that potentially threatened to assimilate Scotland's distinction in both education and film culture into larger UK institutions. A similar action was observed in 1946 when the National Committee for Visual Aids in Education was established (3.2.3.ii). On this occasion, however, SEFA's reprieve was short.

In the face of rapidly evolving technological advance in general and in educational technology in particular, the Hudson Report (DES, 1972) was submitted to the then Secretary of State for Education and Science, Margaret Thatcher. It recommended the establishment of central arrangements for the promotion of education technology in the UK. The distinction of Scotland's education system was acknowledged in the document along with the recommendation for the establishment of a mechanism by which those different needs might be met. Its concern, however, was to maintain as broad a coalition of partners in the project as possible which would include all those organisations and institutions involved in the field of audio-video technology in education.

Both the British Film Institute and the Scottish Film Council were mentioned in the Report in this regard but unlike the former, the latter had a strong track record in the field of audio-visual education research, development and application in Scotland (3.1. & 3.2). The existence of the Scottish Central Film Library, the Joint Production Committee, SEFA's network of classroom teachers and its strong relationships with the SED and the local education authorities in Scotland, gave the SFC significant

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advantages that the BFI did not have in its armoury (DES, 1972)¹⁶⁷. A note of concern had been raised about the SFC's joint responsibilities for both culture and education and "is to some extent parallel with that of the British Film Institute" (p8) but this was a remit it had appeared to fulfil successfully in the past.

SEFA had done its job, therefore. The grass-roots organisation with a passion for both the production and use of "half-way house"¹⁶⁸ Scottish films for Scottish classrooms had finally outlived its usefulness. Before being abandoned first by the Council and then by SCET, one of its final acts was to broker the joint ambition of the SFC and the SED for a new Scottish education institution. Macluskie's early plans for the future work of the Council had initially included the establishment of a Scottish Centre for Audio-Visual Aids (SFC, 1969) where SEFA clearly had a role. The capital costs of this enterprise were to be met by the Department and its operating costs met by the education authorities in the usual arrangement (3.2.3.iv). However, changes in the priorities of both the Department and the education authorities delayed its setting up and whilst the descendant of the first National Council for Educational Technology (1967-1969)¹⁶⁹ maintained the institutionalised combination of audio-visual aids with educational technology, it was the latter that was in its ascendancy. In another strategic move, therefore, the Council moved to set up such a Centre only briefly but with an important change of name: the Scottish Centre for Educational Technology¹⁷⁰.

¹⁶⁷ The SFC had a sub-section of its own (26. - 28.) but the BFI features in the sub-section 'Other Organisations' under 35. (DES, 1972, p8/9)

¹⁶⁸ Op. cit. 158

¹⁶⁹ The Centre for Educational Technology UK (CETUK).

¹⁷⁰ Scottish Educational Film Association, report of special meeting on resource organisation, 14

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For the SED to agree to the SFC accommodating the new arrangement for educational technology in Scotland, an adjustment to its constitution was required that would clearly separate its film culture from its education activities into two distinct committees¹⁷¹. The committee responsible for film culture in the new institution would retain the Council's name, both for historical and strategic reasons, and the committee responsible for education work would be known as Education and Training¹⁷². SEFA was positioned in the latter. The forty year partnership between SFC and SEFA effectively came to an end at this point¹⁷³.

The SED would continue to act as a source of potential funding for its film culture committee which would remain under the direction of the Council. This would, however, be separate from the budget provided for the work of its Education and Training committee. This new opportunity offered the Council a chance to re-focus its work on film culture and film education and was a move explicitly calculated by the SFC to deliver exactly that¹⁷⁴.

March, 1974. 1/2/95. At this meeting, the SED was represented by HMIs Morris and Roebuck of the Research and Information Unit (RIU). At this meeting, HMI Roebuck stressed that in Scotland "there is a need for a united group". Richard Tucker was secretary of SEFA at this time and one of Bolas' (2009) "dissident insiders" (2.1.3).

¹⁷¹ Scottish Education Department, Future Functions of The Scottish Film Council, letters to RB Macluskie, 22/26 February & 13 March 1974. 1/2/95

¹⁷² Scottish Film Council, Future Functions of The Scottish Film Council, letter to Scottish Education Department, 07 March, 1974, 1/2/95

¹⁷³ Barclay (1993) briefly mentions SEFA's change of name to the Scottish Educational Media Association (SEMA) following its location in Education and Training "to bring its name more into keeping with its activities and interest". He notes the subordination of film to other media in education and the change of name "merely a reiteration of motions of many earlier years which were outvoted" (p34).

¹⁷⁴ Draft of internal memo: Scenario for a Film Council. Author unknown but thought to be Macluskie or Bruce. Date unknown. 1/2/95

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In a review of its exhibition, distribution and production functions in preparation of its move to a new institution, it was SFC's exhibition capacity for non-commercial purposes that was thought to have been the "most satisfactorily established" of its film functions. The Regional Film Theatres, the film societies and the Edinburgh Film Festival all testimony to its support of film culture in Scotland. Its distribution function was also considered to be a strength but was limited to the work of the Scottish Central Film Library and the distribution of mainly its educational films. The subsequent rebranding of SCFL as the Scottish Film Archive created an opportunity to address this. However, the loss of SEFA to the Education and Training committee meant the loss of Educational Films of Scotland (EFS)(3.2.3.ii) which would leave the film culture committee without its production capacity. The SFFS, SEFA's long-time adversary, had been assigned to the film culture committee and some hope of restoring its production function lay with Films of Scotland (2.1.7)¹⁷⁵.

The process of separating and ascribing functions that had been inextricably linked when the Council existed as an autonomous institution came with costs and benefits. In the shorter term and more than compensating for the loss of its educational production capacity, the process created some momentum in the film-making community and significantly in the Scottish Arts Council, culminating in a number of production initiatives by the early 1980s (Bruce, 2008)¹⁷⁶. However, the separation facilitated a strengthening of the boundaries between film culture and education and training that effectively separated film culture from educational technology. This

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ Film Bang, Cinema in a Small Country and The Scottish Film Production Fund.

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action, therefore, began the process by which two separate committees developed an increasingly divergent set of priorities that could not be accommodated in one institution (5.3.3.). The development of media education in Scotland was able to take advantage of the early synthesis of its functions at the point where the emergent institution was finding its place. At the point at which those functions appeared to sit in competition with each other, however, media education was the first casualty (5.2.3).

Whilst the Council's strategy paid off in terms of securing a stable footing within an educational agency, the FSFS had neither the credentials nor the mechanisms with which to engage the educational polity in film education. Having ceded all its educational capital in the statutory sector to the education and training committee, however, the film culture committee's interest in media education required the building of a bridge between them. SEFA had become defunct by this time but its achievements had worked to the significant advantage of the SFC and the services of a new grass-roots group of educationists, therefore, would be required.

In 1974, Macluskie had successfully negotiated the transfer of the SFC's work to a new educational institution, the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET). The loss of its influential support within the 'leadership class' of Scottish education in the 1960s (3.2.4.ii), specifically a key individual in the influential Association of Directors of Education in Scotland (ADES), Frizell, who had the ear of the SED (McPherson & Raab, 1988), had weakened its capacity to support its work in either cultural or educational film. A new significant friend emerged in the early 1970s, the

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Research and Information Unit (RIU) that was situated within the SED itself. The RIU had only established in 1972 and one of its divisions was educational technology (Humes, 1986). Martyn Roebuck conducted the negotiations with Macluskie on behalf of the SED¹⁷⁷ and would become an influential player in the fortunes of the media education movement (4.1.3).

4.1.3 A new model?

SCET's atypicality as an education agency is in part explained by the optimistic attempt to bring together two distinctly different ambitions under one roof, educational technology on the one hand and Scottish film culture on the other (4.1.1 & 4.1.2). Key individuals representing both SCET's committees, John Brown from film culture and Richard Tucker from education and training, had a firm grasp of the potential of the relationship between media education, film culture and educational technology¹⁷⁸. Brown had "joined the Council in 1970 [and] played a crucial role in determining cultural policy" and Tucker had been an "educational technologist who came from film teaching" (Bruce, 1996, p136). Tucker had also been Secretary of SEFA¹⁷⁹. Their joint contributions to the developing role of UNESCO (4.2.1) in formulating a policy for media education was strongly indicative of a shared understanding spanning both SCET's functions at that time. The boundaries between them were sufficiently permeable in SCET's early days to facilitate a partnership and resulted in the setting up of a joint sub-committee to connect its functions, the

¹⁷⁷ Scottish Education Department, Future Functions of the Scottish Film Council, letter to RB Macluskie, 26 February, 1974. 1/2/95

¹⁷⁸ Scottish Council for Educational Technology, The Role of SCET in Educational Technology and Film Culture, 15 September 1980. 1/2/94

¹⁷⁹ Op. cit. 170

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Educational Broadcasting Working Party (EBWP), in 1978.

The Hayter Report (1974) had indicated that schools broadcasting had much to offer but that teachers needed to make more effective use of it and the hardware required to deliver it should be made more widely available. Two Scottish research reports (MacIntyre et al, 1981 & Hesser, Lawrie and Waters, 1981) that were commissioned by Martyn Roebuck¹⁸⁰, would come to the same conclusions but the former also suggested that general programming output might be of greater value than programmes produced specifically for the education market (MacIntyre, 1981)¹⁸¹.

Fifteen years previously, the School Broadcasting Council had made the same point (3.3.1.iii)¹⁸².

The EBWP was established as a sub-committee of SCET in 1978 and chaired by the Director of the Glasgow office of the Scottish Curriculum Development Service (SCDS), TK Robinson. Convened by the Senior Counsellor for the Open University in Scotland, DF Anderson, its membership comprised a teacher, one local authority education officer, a member of the SCDS for Aberdeen, the Professor of French from the University of Stirling who was also Chair of the SFC, Ian Lockerbie and John

¹⁸⁰ Roebuck chaired the steering committees.

¹⁸¹ DES (1983) Popular TV and schoolchildren: the report of a group of teachers. This later report also indicated that teachers might value educational/informative programmes over entertainment modes but that broadcasters themselves had little sense of the influence of television. Their view tended to be that teachers themselves were only interested in educational programming suggesting that both parties held similar positions. This report concluded that entertainment and educational modes cannot be separated but that the broadcasters in particular failed "to recognise or act upon the conflict and continuity between the duties to educate and to entertain" (p26). With regard to C4, video and cable there was an even greater responsibility on the part of industry to children. Teachers also needed to take greater account of children's experience of television but "specialist courses in media studies are not enough". The report recommended that parents, teachers and industry required to be in partnership. The industry was dealing with a neo-liberal economic climate, however, whilst simultaneously facing a neo-conservative social policy climate re back-to-basics etc and the implications for public service broadcasting.

¹⁸² SEFA made similar points about the potential of popular programming in the late 1960s.

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Brown, an SFC staff member but acting on this occasion as Secretary to the group (Anderson, 1979). It coalesced the interests of practitioners working in the education and broadcasting sector in an economic climate where the efficacy of educational broadcasting in general and dedicated Scottish programming in particular was open to question¹⁸³.

According to Humes (1986), SCET was more heavily controlled by the Department than the other agencies. The Research and Information Unit (RIU) was located within the Department and operated to mediate the education community's research output. It had only been in existence since 1972 but was a powerful body and, for Humes, represented a further incursion of elite professional influence in the administration of Scottish education. Staffed by HMIs and administrative civil servants, the RIU was another example of the growing systematisation of education in Scotland (McPherson & Raab, 1988). It had five operational divisions, one of which was educational technology and another microelectronics in education¹⁸⁴. The expansion of educational research in Scotland throughout the 1960s demanded a substantial increase in funding and the establishment of the RIU represented a move to forge more focused links with the research community (Humes, 1986). As a resource

¹⁸³ BBC Scotland proposed axing its School Broadcasting Council for Scotland in 1980 in a bid to rationalise expenditure. The 1978 revision of the licence fee was not enough to "stem the erosion of inflation" (McDowell, 1992, p266) and cuts across the Corporation were required. BBC Scotland was in dispute with the School Broadcasting Council at this point because the latter accused the former of not fulfilling its Charter obligations in this regard. BBC Scotland approached the SED for funding but the SED refused. Such a move was opposed by the Scottish arts community in general on the grounds that funding from the SED would compromise the broadcaster's neutrality. In any case, dedicated schools' broadcasting in Scotland provided audience opportunities for the wider cultural community in Scotland that would be lost. At this point the Scottish Arts Council didn't have a budget heading for film and television (1.2.3.i).

¹⁸⁴ The process of collapsing these two operational divisions into computing began with the SMDP (5.3)

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development organisation, SCET had a research function¹⁸⁵.

The EBWP began to prepare the ground for what would become the Media Education Development Project (4.3.4). The discussion document produced for this purpose (Anderson, 1979) represented an epistemological shift in understandings about the potential of the media in education and in Scotland (4.2.2). However, whilst an epistemological shift when juxtaposed with the dominant discourse of educational media, the discursive construction of the Anderson document may have resonated with the work of SECS in the early 1930s (3.1.1.i) and, therefore, might be considered residual rather than emergent.

SCET was established as a consultative rather than an executive body and its capacity to intervene in the education system's three structuring discourses, curriculum, pedagogy and assessment, was limited by its service rather than developmental role. The latter was very much the territory of the Scottish Curriculum Development Centres, the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (CCC) and the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board (SCEEB). The political importance of curriculum issues intensified in the 1970s and 1980s and SCET was firmly positioned as a resource organisation. It was made clear from the outset that SCET would not be free to perform a curriculum development function. If SCET required curriculum development capacity it would have to work in partnership with the CCC.

¹⁸⁵ This enabled it to commission research in both media education and computing. Humes (1986) argues that the close relationship between SCET, the RIU and the Department resulted in policy-directed research projects. If, therefore, media education in Scotland was policy-directed, the question then becomes why?

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4.2 Media and education in Scotland: the beginnings of another phase

4.2.1 UNESCO

UNESCO's interest in the development and promotion of a systematic and integrated model of media and communications education had at its root a concern for the practice of democracy in the nations of both developed and developing economies. Working at an international level, UNESCO operated in a coordinating capacity, drawing together different accounts of media education from Europe, in the main, the United States and the Soviet Union, culminating in the publication of a general curriculum model (Minkkinen, 1978). The diversity of accounts on offer corresponded with the interests of the institutions represented and determined by "the state of film and audio-visual culture in any particular country" (UNESCO, 1977, p8) and its agenda for educational reform. Producing a detailed curriculum model with a scope broad enough to enable any country to engage with it, therefore, was complex. Predictably, the result was a model that reflected specific national agendas in education and media culture.

UNESCO had been publishing on film, technology, development and education in the 1950s and was conscious of the need to extend the scope of its International Film and Television Council (IFTC)¹⁸⁶. Early attempts to produce an international consensus on what constituted media education were coordinated by the IFTC. In 1977 UNESCO published *Media Studies in Education (Reports and Papers on Mass*

¹⁸⁶ Scottish Educational Film Association, information bulletin no 7, June 1964. 1/5/101

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Communication No. 80) which would begin a series of international meetings hosted by UNESCO on the subject of media education. The document demonstrated an enlightened engagement with educational technology and the role of "the modern media of communication and expression" in the school curriculum. It also reflected the significant shift that had taken place since 1964 when UNESCO published a paper in the same series entitled Screen Education¹⁸⁷.

In 1977, the UK interest had been represented institutionally by the BFI and Manuel Alvarado and his contribution promoted film studies rather than media education (UNESCO, 1977). Alvarado's somewhat negative comments about media education betraying something of the arguments taking place within the BFI and SEFT at that time and he appeared to have some difficulty with UNESCO's focus on evolving technological and political systems that required education policies to match. SCET's two committees were not represented until 1980¹⁸⁸. In its 1984 collection of international models of media education, however, it was Len Masterman who represented UK interests (UNESCO, 1984). Masterman would also find favour with the media education movement working in Scotland in a way that the Institute could not.

The EBWP produced Scotland's first proposals for a media education curriculum in 1979 (Anderson, 1979), promoting these internationally at a forum organised by the International Council for Educational Media (ICEM) in 1980¹⁸⁹. A number of

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ International Council for Educational Media, Integrating Media Studies into the Curriculum, 11 October, 1980. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer. 2/15/1

¹⁸⁹ John Brown's handwritten notes for and of the ICEM meeting in Finland, 11 October, 1980. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer. 2/15/1

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projects from the international circuit were showcased at these meetings and it would be from UNESCO in the first instance that project funding for the MEDP was considered¹⁹⁰. Shared difficulties in the education, cultural and broadcasting sectors in Scotland (1.2.3), manifesting particularly in the dilemmas encapsulated in the provision of dedicated Scottish educational broadcasting (3.3.1.iii), occupied SCET's early years. Policy developments in the use of microcomputers in education, however, would require the setting up of a third committee: the Scottish Microelectronics Development Programme (5.2.1). In this way, SCET would become further associated with educational technology which, in turn, would be understood as computing. How this process affected the earlier ambitions for media education, shared by Tucker and Brown, will be addressed in the next chapter. What is clear at this point, however, is that it would be caught in the subsequent boundary disputes.

In 1980, SCET produced a paper that would set out its terms of reference for the next five years¹⁹¹. The paper acknowledged the difficulties for an already underfunded public body whose role was the promotion of educational technology and film culture. In the setting out of its future plans, consequently, the paper presented a clear vision of the longer term for SCET's work that would begin the formal process of institutionally separating those two responsibilities.

¹⁹⁰ Media Education and UNESCO, internal memo from Richard Tucker to John Brown, 01 April, 1982. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer. 2/15/1

¹⁹¹ Op. cit. 178

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4.2.2 Outline Proposals for A Curriculum: an emergent or residual discourse?

According to UNESCO, Finland had made significant progress developing a media education framework motivated by the comprehensivisation of its education system and "socio-political goal setting" (Minkkinen, 1978, p34), Brown and Tucker began coordinating a Scottish version. Minkkinen's necessarily sprawling paper required adaption for Scotland's needs. The publication of SCET's proposed framework (Anderson, 1979) was broadly reflective of the principles contained in UNESCO's general curriculum model. More pragmatic than that which Alvarado had described, it was primarily aimed at the CCC in Scotland for discussion¹⁹².

In 1979 the joint offices of SCET/SFC produced a key document: Media Education in Scotland: Outline Proposals for a Curriculum (2.1.5). It indicated an attempt by SCET to position itself more prominently in the hierarchy of education agencies, a move that might take it from service provider to policy maker. The document presented a model that offered the possibility of media education as an entitlement for all and Media Studies as a specialised elective. The argument was predicated on the basis that the media were seen to constitute, by far, the most significant leisure-time pursuit in the lives of young people, usurping both the family and the school as the major socialising influence in contemporary society. Media education would be the instrument to reveal the relationship between content, context and audience within its social and cultural location (Anderson, 1979). That SCET's HMI assessor, Martyn

¹⁹² SCET needed the support of CCC if it was to be involved in curriculum development matters. Scottish Educational Film Association, report of special meeting on resource organisation, 14 March, 1974. 1/2/95.

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Roebuck, was acknowledged for his advice in the construction of the proposal was, once again, significant¹⁹³.

4.2.2.i Seizing the Initiative

The UK's account of media education, as described by Alvarado on behalf of the BFI, had been described by Minkkinen as being close to that of the Soviet Union in its aims (UNESCO, 1978). Alvarado's description of the Institute's engagement with film was mainly an account of the work done by *Screen* and *Screen Education* up to that point. Acknowledging that the Institute needed to develop socio-educational rationales for its work, Alvarado hinted at possible future partnership arrangements with some of the newer higher education institutions in this regard. His thinly veiled criticism of the "pedagogically controlled and centrally organised" (UNESCO, 1977, p41) progress made by some of the Scandinavian nations was an attempt to justify the Institute's liberal preference for variety and thus explain its lack of progress in the work of schools. The Institute's incapacity to influence the statutory sector in a systemised way and reflective of its closer alignment with the arts and cultural community, may have been a source of considerable frustration. Whilst recognising the absence of formulated educational aims other than those articulated at a very general level by the Institute, Alvarado's contribution was both attacking and defensive. Vestiges of the internal troubles encountered by the Institute at the start of the decade were very much in evidence (Nowell-Smith, 2006).

¹⁹³ In preparation for the interview, Martyn Roebuck brought a number of his notebooks from that period. Together we decoded the sometimes oblique notes he had made thirty years previously. However, his memory of dates, names and events was flawless. On a number of occasions he indicated other preparatory work he'd undertaken prior to the interview and his mode of engagement reflected that experienced by Ozga (2000) in her work on policy-making elites. Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008.

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Alvarado's contribution may have provided SCET with ideas about the fashioning of its own intervention in Scottish curriculum policy. The tricky mobilisation of aesthetics and evaluation had not predisposed the British film-making community toward the Institute (Dupin, 2003). The Council, on the other hand, was in the process of trying to restore productive relations with its own film-making community and had no wish to disturb the fragility of that partnership (Bruce, 1996)¹⁹⁴. In addition, Scotland's education system lent itself to centrally organised initiatives (Axford, 1984) and as a new pretender to its throne, SCET was keen to establish itself as a player both on the home and the away front. Alvarado's contribution made it quite clear that the Institute was not in a position to make any significant progress in the short term. SCET's eventual formulation for media education would align itself more with the aims of the Scandinavian models and would be more attractive to education policy-makers in Scotland as a consequence¹⁹⁵.

From the outset, SCET took as its objects of study the main institutions of the media: press, radio, cinema and television (Anderson, 1979). Whilst recognising the related content of popular music, popular literature, fashion and advertising, such a focus clearly signalled its sociological intent. In addition, the advice of SCET's assessor, acknowledged in the foreword to the document, enabled the proposal to connect with a dissatisfaction emerging in certain quarters of the educational policy community following the publication of the Munn and Dunning reports (4.2.3). Marking its

¹⁹⁴ A partnership it had succeeded in negotiating in the 1930s (3.1 & 3.2).

¹⁹⁵ Similarly productive alignments with Europe had also been embarked upon by Scottish film-makers during the 1970s (Bruce, 1996).

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distinction in this way enabled SCET to argue that the common thread between media institutions was the "underlying unity of structure and function" (Anderson, 1979, p2). Whilst open to challenge at the level of the specific¹⁹⁶, where the general was concerned the proposal was underpinned by a criticality that had application in the broadest sense¹⁹⁷.

Masterman's groundbreaking work on bringing ideological analysis to the study of television in the classroom and rooted in the work he did as part of his IBA Fellowship (3.3.1.iv), was published in 1980. He argued that in an increasingly competitive media environment, there was a growing need to make media institutions more accountable to the communities they served. In this regard, therefore, the connection between Masterman's approach and the dilemmas confronting both the media and education communities in Scotland was clear. The rift between this more sociologically informed impulse, shared by both Masterman and SCET and the more aesthetically informed framework favoured by the Institute would become difficult to reconcile in the following years. Paradoxically perhaps, the work the Institute began to do in partnership with the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) focused on representational issues but understanding such issues in relation to its own operations appeared to be difficult.

In seizing this opportunity, therefore, SCET expressed a concern common to all those with an interest in education and the media industries in Scotland. That its proposals

¹⁹⁶ Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, Media Education in Scotland: Outline Proposals for a Curriculum, letter to John Brown, 02 April 1980. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer. 2/15/1

¹⁹⁷ In response to a direct question about what was attractive about the proposals for media education and Media Studies in Scotland, a former HMI who wished his comment unattributable stated clearly it was its potential to develop critical thinking skills.

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emerged at the same time as Scotland's first devolution referendum was significant. SCET's proposal also connected with a broader political zeitgeist in relation to broadcasting in Scotland and one that had been building since 1974 (Annan, 1977).

By the time John Brown addressed the ICEM on the subject of strategies for the integration of media education¹⁹⁸, SCET's curriculum proposals had been published. Scotland's formal and highly centralised system would be responsive to a strategic and systematic proposal. Brown's briefing notes reveal a plan that focuses on the process of education and the role of institutions both within and outwith its jurisdiction, "exploiting points of weakness and finding useful allies" (Brown, 1980). Critically, his notes chart a narrative that begins with an equilibrium that uses the media and their institutions as an agent of change to make the transition from the periphery to the centre. In one seamless move the strategy represented an ambition to position the media as "the dominant educational system of the future" and possibly claiming SCET's ambition to move from the periphery to the centre in addition. The key difference, therefore, between SCET and the Institute at this point was established.

Whilst the Institute was working on the margins largely in a local capacity (ILEA, City and East London College, the Polytechnic of Central London), celebrating variety but struggling to achieve central coordination as a consequence, Scotland's formal and highly centralised education system was, arguably, the movement's "greatest asset" (Axford, 1984). SCET, therefore, would engage with that as a bureaucracy but in addition it would engage with the media and cultural institutions

¹⁹⁸ Op. cit. 188 & 189

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working in Scotland, operating thus not in a local capacity but nationally. By emphasising its intent to rationalise and coordinate work evolving in the field for some fifteen years, SCET also spoke to Scotland's dominant centralising education discourse.

4.2.3 Munn and Dunning (SED, 1977a & 1977b)¹⁹⁹

Following the drive to comprehensivise the secondary sector in Scotland, a decade had passed by before two committees were established to re-consider the appropriateness of its curriculum and assessment systems for an expanded market. The committees worked in tandem and in the absence of any stated and shared agreement amongst the policy-making community regarding the purposes of schooling (McPherson & Raab, 1988), the recommendations demonstrated the difficulty of taking account of the past when trying to find solutions for the present and building a new vision for the future.

The committee whose remit was to consider the curriculum (SED, 1977a) produced a report proposing a modes and courses model but fundamentally recommending "that the basic unit of study should remain the individual subject" (SED, 1977a, p32, 5.8). The tyranny of a curriculum structure dominated by subject hierarchies that had remained unchanged for a century had been challenged in 1947 by the Advisory Council (SED, 1947)(3.2.3.i). The main thrust of the Munn Report (SED, 1977a) was a general education common to all in the first four years of the secondary school and in that sense had its roots in the 1947 Memorandum (SED, 1947). Some in the

¹⁹⁹ Munn chaired the curriculum review group and Dunning chaired the assessment review.

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educational policy community had hoped that the Munn and Dunning reviews would produce a more flexible and open curriculum structure that could respond more appropriately to the needs of all its learners rather than the needs of only a few and they had been disappointed by the outcome²⁰⁰.

The continuing dominance of and preference for subject traditions in the secondary school curriculum could perhaps best be seen in the Munn Report's proposal for a social studies mode (SED, 1977a). It was this particular recommendation that resulted in a lengthy note of reservation made by Gordon Kirk²⁰¹, the then Head of Education at Jordanhill College of Education and later to become the Principal of Moray House College of Education. His reservation amounted to an indictment of 'integrated studies' in general and was couched in terms of the problems associated with equipping teachers with the academic knowledges necessary to teach social studies using an integrated pedagogy. Kirk's rejection of 'integrated studies' was possibly the consequence of the introduction of Modern Studies, a centrally imposed curriculum initiative that had been less than successful. Expressed in this way, however, his note of reservation drew a pessimistic picture of 'integrated studies'.

Such a public note of dissent amongst the policy community in Scotland is unusual because it represents the privilege of individual over collective and risks exposing the community to public division (Humes, 1986). Kirk's rejection of integrated curricular

²⁰⁰ During the course of interviews with former HMIs this view was expressed both indirectly and directly on a number of occasions.

²⁰¹ Kirk left Jordanhill for Moray House in 1981. He presided over a period of considerable change at Moray House and enhanced its status by introducing a range of undergraduate courses externally validated by the CNAA. He had been on the CNAA In-Service Teacher Education Board since 1976 and anticipated its eventual closure by developing formal links with Heriot-Watt in 1991. Deeply imbricated in the policy-community he was chair of Scottish Council for Research in Education (1984-1992), chair of the Educational Broadcasting Council for Scotland (1986-1991) and vice-convenor of the General Teaching Council for Scotland (1992-2001).

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operations in the secondary school was predicated on what may have been perceived a threat to the normative mode of subject teaching and possibly the traditional model of teacher training on offer in Scotland²⁰². The achievement of an all-graduate teaching profession was a significant marker of difference between Scotland and England (Paterson, 2003) and the erosion of traditional subject boundaries would threaten that achievement. In addition, teacher training institutions were being subjected to funding cuts and under threat and the new concurrent model that was on offer at the University of Stirling may have created a more economic and attractive alternative to the established teacher training institutions (4.2.4.ii).

The committee considering assessment (SED, 1977b) produced a more detailed report than that offered by the curriculum group. Roebuck commented "there were not a lot of people around who would be able to do a criticism of Dunning"²⁰³ and he suggested weaknesses in the SED's capacity to evaluate the efficacy of assessment practices. Roebuck's own background in science and his interest in assessment was indicative of a significant degree of expertise running counter to the view offered by Humes (1986). The Dunning Report recommended assessment for all using a combination of internal and external modes, involving classroom teachers thus, in the administration of public examinations for the first time. Effectively eliminating the demand for CSE in Scottish secondary schools, it acknowledged the need to involve classroom teachers in the processes of final assessment but suggested they should remain accountable to the SCEEB. Whilst some claimed the Dunning proposals to have been poorly thought through, particularly in relation to tensions between internal

²⁰² PGCE and PGDE. As postgraduate professional training courses, admittance was secured only following the acquisition of a specialist subject degree obtained in an existing curriculum subject.

²⁰³ Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008.

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and external assessment mechanisms, others suspected they were a compromise in which the inequities of the previous system of assessment would remain.

The "political salience of curriculum issues" (McPherson & Raab, 1988) resulted in the production of reports that continued to strongly reflect the history of a class system characterised by unequal access to education provision and one where the stratification of knowledge and the acquisition of qualifications is all.

In an extensive critique of both reports, McIntyre singles out three existing areas of the curriculum where the Munn Report is particularly deficient (McIntyre, 1978). Humes (1986) has argued that the emergence of the RIU in the early 1970s compromised the independence of educational research in Scotland. Whilst this has not been contested by others, it has been argued that without the RIU as a source of funding at that time, the research community could not have survived the harsh economic context²⁰⁴. However, if Humes' analysis is correct, it can be assumed that the research commissioned by the RIU supported initiatives favoured by members of the RIU itself. There is little doubt that the Munn and Dunning Reports did not meet with universal approval in the 'leadership class'. In the years that followed, therefore, a series of complex and protracted internal manoeuvres took place that would attempt to resolve the fracture lines that had emerged. Of particular interest to Martyn Roebuck and to SCET, therefore, was the Munn Report's proposals for technology.

²⁰⁴ Sally Brown had spent some time on secondment to the RIU and offers an interesting view of the relationship between research and policy (Brown, 1985 & 1991). Her background was also in science and she too became interested in media education (5.3.3.i).

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McIntyre's criticism of Munn's confining of technology to the science curriculum was made on the basis that

Almost all of the most important political decisions which face us (eg employment and productivity, defence strategy and expenditure, conservation of resources, environmental planning, production and distribution of food, management and control of communication media) are concerned to a large degree with technological choices, or with how and by whom are technological choices to be made [McIntyre, 1978, p32].

Recognising thus, that technology should not be contained within the boundaries of any one subject tradition and should have cross-curricular application in every subject, McIntyre's reference to "communication media" is also significant.

The influential Bullock Report (DES, 1975) recommended the adoption of an approach to the teaching of English, in particular, that would integrate media and technology in an attempt to make the subject and its pedagogic practices more relevant for learners. Munn's consideration of English receives even harsh treatment in McIntyre's critique. The absence of a focus on the importance of language teaching in English was indicative of the absence of an intellectual basis for the study of literature resulting in an uncritical approach to the study of text. Literature appreciation was not considered to have the rigour associated with linguistics. Framed within a liberal arts paradigm, English was almost exclusively devoted to the

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study of literature in Scotland²⁰⁵. It was clear, therefore, that a sharper critical frame was needed for the teaching of English in Scotland than the Munn Report had suggested²⁰⁶. In addition, the development of mass communication theory had not made any inroads to the traditions of teaching English in the Scottish secondary school at that time and Communications as a subject was taught in further education colleges where it existed in a service rather than in an enrichment capacity. The inclusion of “communication media” in the English syllabus of a secondary school would have been regarded as antithetical to the role and purpose of teaching English²⁰⁷.

Another area identified in the McIntyre critique as containing significant weaknesses and open as a consequence to new innovation, was Social Subjects. Munn's proposal that such a mode is desirable in a general education model is not contested but the difficulty lies in Munn's attempt to create such a mode from the existing social subjects of History, Geography and Modern Studies. The early development history of Modern Studies was a tricky one and had resulted in an ambiguous identity that reflected the influence of History and Geography in an attempt to solve administrative and organisational curricular problems²⁰⁸. As a consequence, it was recommended that a broader base of teaching qualifications in the social sciences should be

²⁰⁵ In England, English Language and English Literature were separated modes of study and assessment

²⁰⁶ Critique of the way in which English was taught in schools was motivated by what was perceived by some to be the uncritical acceptance of discourses that were historically situated and carried through language by English teachers (Goodson & Medway, 1990). The shape of English in the Scottish curriculum began to be questioned by some in the late 1970s (4.3.2).

²⁰⁷ What was at issue here was the view that Communications was a vocational subject and rooted in the social sciences whereas English languished in the realm of the academic and arts and humanities. These tensions came to the fore in the mid-1980s in Scotland but it would be ten years before the dilemma was properly addressed.

²⁰⁸ The introduction of Modern Studies was a top-down innovation that had to be taught by either Geography or History specialists and reflected that bias as a result (Maitles, 1999).

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developed. Coherence in interdisciplinary working was identified as essential in this regard but acknowledged Scotland's lack of experience in collaborative approaches in the upper stages of its secondary school provision.

In response to these two reports and following a number of further explorations, the Department published proposals for implementation (SED, 1982b). That document contained a typically disappointing compromise in that it maintained traditional subject hierarchies for learners whose attainment was in the upper ranges of the ability spectrum but for those in the lower ranges, the document makes clear that the provision of a curriculum consisting solely of examined subjects would not be appropriate. For those learners, therefore, clusters of short courses would be used to stimulate motivation and expand experience. Multi-disciplinary courses, therefore, were positioned as 'other' and explicitly signalled as particularly relevant to "pupils who had not responded well to a subject-based curriculum" (SED, 1982b, p11).

Three such courses were labelled as Contemporary Social Studies (CSS), Health Studies (HS) and Social and Vocational Skills (SVS). All courses would require the collaboration of pre-existing subject departments in the Scottish secondary school (Munn & Morrison, 1984).

The Department's proposals signal a compromise that attempted to silence dissent in the usual manner. Kirk's concerns had been acknowledged in that the threat he perceived in the creation of social subjects as a new core curricular mode and underpinned by integrated rather than separate subjects, was effectively diminished by the introduction of three new courses aimed at learners with low attainment and

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framed in a moral and vocational skills paradigm²⁰⁹. In this context, therefore, attention to the development of skills for low attainers cancelled out the need for academic underpinning. In this way, it was possible to maintain existing subject hierarchies and protect the traditions of Scottish education. In the absence of political imposition, such compromise typically represented the pattern of educational innovation in Scotland (Humes, 1986, McPherson & Raab, 1988).

SCET's status as an education bureaucracy was made clear by its absence of representation on either the Munn or the Dunning committees and its absence as a body giving evidence (SED, 1977a, 1977b). In light of the Munn Report in particular, therefore, the curriculum intervention document published by SCET (Anderson, 1979) had much larger educational ambitions than an attempt to introduce media education into the classrooms of Scotland's primary and secondary school sectors and signalled SCET's institutional ambition as a player. It also signalled the intention of the RIU to bring the educational policy community "out of the dinosaur age" (McPherson & Raab, 1988). How those ambitions played out amongst others in the educational policy community, however, is a question this work will later address.

The Anderson document avoids a number of controversies by adopting a conservative critical approach to media products and their industries. Whilst contradictory in parts, it maps the potential of media education, as a general and introductory set of aims and objectives operationalised mainly in the primary sector, and Media Studies, engaging with the dominant discourse of subjects and assessments, operationalised mainly in the secondary sector. Mobilising the disciplines of linguistics and sociology,

²⁰⁹ The discourse of vocationalism can be seen to emerge in the Munn & Dunning proposals.

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therefore, it avoids the problem of aesthetics and discrimination by refusing an evaluative role, making clear its intention to eschew questions of judgement predicated on 'taste' in favour of understanding. Its ambition is signalled in its attempt to relate the aims and objectives of media education/study to all educational publics, including Further and Community Education. For these sectors in particular, its aims and objectives are free from the dominant discourses of the statutory sector and look forward to the media as "the dominant educational system of the future"²¹⁰ with a strong focus on television and its democratising potential (Minkinen, 1978). Whilst empowerment is not a term used in the document, its vision for the non-statutory sector is more progressive than that ventured for its primary and secondary cousins.

Taking into account the criticisms levelled in the areas of technology, English and Social Studies in the Munn Report, therefore, the Anderson document (1979) offers a critical approach to the study of text²¹¹. Its celebration of interdisciplinarity was contained in its simultaneous address to Art, English and Modern Studies and demonstrated the applicability of technology to subject cultures far removed from science and technical education. The influence of significant insider knowledge in the construction of the Anderson document is evident, therefore. The support of Martyn Roebuck, the HMI in the RIU with responsibility for educational technology, was emerging as being as valuable to the SFC at that time as the support of Frizell had been in the 1950s (3.2.3.iv).

²¹⁰ John Brown's handwritten notes for and of the ICEM meeting in Finland, 11 October, 1980. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer. 2/15/1

²¹¹ The definition of text includes forms other than print.

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However, whilst the CCC had responsibility for the primary and early secondary school curricula and was in a position, thus, to be able to recommend further development in these areas, in practice, it was the public examinations agency, SCEEB, that determined the curricula of the upper secondary school. Unlike in England, where a number of examination boards operated public examinations, SCEEB was a monolithic structure and extraordinarily powerful at the upper secondary curriculum stage as a consequence. Where examination boards can compete, the opportunity to offer something new applies pressure not only on other examination boards but, more importantly, applies downwards pressure on schools. Without the approval of SCEEB in Scotland, the inclusion of a non-examinable curriculum subject in the upper school became more difficult for schools to justify in the climate of rising certification, as “qualification credential inflation” (McPherson and Willms, 1997), particularly for those students with high attainment whose attentions the traditional subjects compete for. The choices of lower attaining students are more restricted as a consequence and such students are less attractive to established subjects. The prospect of non-examined courses or the provision of courses examined by bodies considered to be less prestigious, therefore, becomes more likely. However, the introduction of alternative assessment bodies in the secondary sector posed a threat to the dominance of SCEEB.

The defence of elite academic disciplines was partly explained by Scotland's long established graduate teaching profession which enabled the examination board to argue that a new subject could not be introduced to the secondary school curriculum without appropriately qualified teachers to deliver it. Exceptions to this 'rule' however, were the top-down development of Modern Studies in 1959 (Maitles, 1999)

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and the more recent introduction of Computing in 1982 (Conlon & Cope, 1989).

Both were introduced as traditionally examined subjects but neither had a developed curriculum content or pedagogy. Whilst the Munn and Dunning Reports continued to validate the status of individual subjects and summative examinations, some of those in the policy community, particularly in the RIU and the CCC, were interested in pursuing collaborative approaches to multi-disciplinary initiatives (Munn & Morrison, 1984). CCC's response to the Anderson document, therefore, was a rational pragmatist approach and one where significant progress in interdisciplinary and collaborative working may have been made. Such an approach however, would be more low key and longer term. SCET needed more high profile success if it was to build its credibility as an education agency. That opportunity would emerge with the publication of the 16-18 Action Plan in 1983 (4.3.5).

Scotland's 'tradition' of educational administrators serving their apprenticeships in classrooms went largely unchallenged politically until the late 1970s (Humes, 1986). The Kirriemuir Career may not have adequately represented the diversity of educational experience in Scotland but it did represent a confidence in the efficacy of professional experience in education administration. The development of media education in Scotland in the 1970s was led by two former teachers, John Brown and Richard Tucker, and supported by an educational bureaucracy. In turn, the bureaucracy was supported by an HMI working in what was regarded as the executive arm of the SED. The presence of such a formula could be seen in the 1930s and it was this formula that gave media education in Scotland greater weight than could be established in England at this time.

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The rational pragmatism underpinning the Anderson document connected with an intensifying nationalist zeitgeist in a number of Scotland's institutions in the late 1970s (Hutchison, 2001). Perhaps most importantly for the purposes of this work, it signalled the beginnings of an attempt to shake a moribund education policy community out of its slumbers from within.

4.2.4 Useful Allies

Making clear its intention as a strategic development intervention, SCET's Proposal spoke to a number of interests that had been gathering momentum in the educational and cultural sectors since comprehensivisation. Whilst there was a concern to promote Scottish institutional particularity across both the educational and cultural sectors, responses to the Proposal within the Scottish educational polity revealed deep divisions. The response of the CCC in 1980, to whom the 'discussion document' was primarily addressed, was encouraging and positive²¹² but the SFC appeared dismayed by the CCC's attitude that was described as "supportive of principle [media education] but critical of strategy [Media Studies]" (Dick, 1987). The CCC, however, would not have been in a position to support the establishment of Media Studies as a separate and examinable subject. A particular bureaucratic problem was emerging at this point, therefore, between media education and Media Studies that had not made itself known before.

²¹² Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, Media Education in Scotland: Outline Proposals for a Curriculum, letter to John Brown, 02 April 1980. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer. 2/15/1

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4.2.4.i The University of Strathclyde and Jordanhill College of Education

Jordanhill became one of SCET's useful institutional allies and in partnership with them, organised an education conference in 1980 (Cowle, 1981). The Anderson document (1979) neglected to address the pedagogical and organisational concerns of the proposals for media education but despite that, it generated considerable interest within the education community and more than eighty educators representing all sectors were in attendance. That event was followed by a similar conference held in Aberdeen in 1981, and three one-day training courses in Ayr, Dundee and Glasgow (Lavender, 1986)²¹³. The 1980 conference was significant in that it set out what constituted the field of Media Studies in Scotland, framed by the input of the Universities of Glasgow and Stirling, and Glasgow College of Technology. Its main conclusions were that media education should be compulsive rather than compulsory, inter-disciplinary and possibly more significantly, non-examinable.

Along with other teacher training colleges, Jordanhill's numbers had gone into a steep decline in the late 1970s (Humes, 1986). The Labour government had attempted to close a number of education colleges at that time, and SCET's document drew the attention of its Audio-Visual Media/Educational Technology Department where both Tony Lavender and David Butts worked. Butts went on to Stirling to work on a three year SED funded research project in 1980 (Butts, 1984). Lavender, on the other hand, remained at Jordanhill to work on another SED funded research project that would

²¹³ Lavender, A (1986) Media Education in Scottish Secondary Schools, 1981-1983, unpublished MLitt thesis.

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make numerous recommendations for the further development of media education²¹⁴.

The need to generate income at this time was particularly acute and in-service courses that were supported by local authorities was potentially lucrative in the wake of the Munn and Dunning Reports. Lavender had previously been part of the steering group guiding the research on school broadcasting in Scottish schools that began in 1978 (MacIntyre et al, 1981) and Martyn Roebuck was its chair. According to the Hayter Report (1974), teachers were not taking full advantage of the potential of educational broadcasting and Roebuck commissioned an investigation to find out why "nobody was watching it"²¹⁵.

This work was a project undertaken by the National Inter-College Committee on Educational Research (NICCER). The NICCER was set up in 1973 and part of the RIU's drive to extend the educational research community in Scotland and enhance pre and in-service course content in its teacher training colleges particularly in relation to the use of media²¹⁶. In addition, the introduction of research capacity to the teacher training colleges, enabled college principals to continue to engage staff in productive activity despite falling numbers and in the face of pressure to initiate redundancies.

In light of a rapid sequence of developments emerging in the field of educational research and technology at this time, it is reasonable to assume that Roebuck also supported Lavender's application for funding to research and map existing instances

²¹⁴ *ibid.*

²¹⁵ Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008.

²¹⁶ Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008.

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of media education in the secondary and further education sectors (Lavender, 1986).

The study began in 1981²¹⁷ and Lavender argued that when looking at the three subject areas with potentially the most to gain from a more systematic development of media education, English, Art and Modern Studies, media education met eleven of Nisbet's twelve objectives for the curriculum in some form (Nisbet, 1962)²¹⁸. Such a conclusion was in agreement with the perhaps more speculative conclusions of the Anderson document, therefore.

When Lavender analysed the contributions of particular media, however, film did not do as well in meeting these objectives as did the press, radio and television.

Roebuck's interest was in educational technology in general and the affordances of general broadcast programming in particular aligned him with others in the media education movement working to establish the legitimacy of the study of popular culture (3.3.1.iv)²¹⁹. Having usefully identified where elements of media education were already in place, therefore, Lavender went on to argue that media education should be developed more systematically and made twenty recommendations aimed at schools and local authorities, the SED, the GTC, Colleges of Education, SCET and the Broadcasting Authorities in order to progress this (Lavender, 1986).

²¹⁷ Also at this point, the SED funded an evaluation of a Scottish radio soap opera, *Kilbreck*, broadcast by BBC Radio Scotland in the early 1980s. SED also funded the production of an educational resource for Kings Royal, broadcast by BBC Scotland in the early 1980s. Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008.

²¹⁸ Listed by Lavender in two categories: Adjustment to Environment: Skills, Culture, Home Membership, Occupation, Leisure and Active Citizenship; Personal Growth: Physical Development, Aesthetic Development, Social Development, Spiritual Development, Intellectual Development and Moral Development. Physical Development was the only one deemed not to be met by media education. Lavender mapped where media texts and technologies were already incorporated in the curriculum

²¹⁹ At the 1983 Educational Television Association Conference, in front of "lots of BBC and ITV people", in discussion about television viewing habits, an audience of children from diverse backgrounds declared "BBC's crap". Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008.

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4.2.4.ii The University of Stirling

In Scotland the university sector occupied a powerful position of influence over statutory education in its acceptance of the Scottish Certificate of Education, operating at the 16-18 curriculum stage (SCE), as a marker of academic potential (McPherson & Raab, 1988). The University of Stirling was established in 1968 and one of the consequences of the Robbins Report (Committee on Higher Education, 1963). The creation of a new university whose philosophy would be one of increasing access and widening participation encouraged the construction of a flexible approach to its organisation and administration than would have been in place in the older institutions (Paterson, 2003). Robbins himself would become its first Chancellor. As a new university seeking to exemplify the spirit of reform generated by the Robbins Report and required to bring greater diversity to its student body, Stirling accepted a range of prior learning credits not in use by the more traditional higher education institutions²²⁰. Still in the process of developing an institutional identity by the time the media education movement got underway in 1977, therefore, a number of factors contributed to its key role in this phase of the development of media education in Scotland.

4.2.4.iii University of Stirling: Department of Education

As a higher education institution with a remit for training teachers for the secondary sector, the University of Stirling was unique in Scotland (Paterson, 2003). The higher education sector in general, had had a long-established research function. As a

²²⁰ Interview with Dan McLeod, June 2004.

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consequence, therefore, Stirling was not included in the NICCER (4.2.4.i) because it already had advantage over the colleges of education in this regard. The colleges of education offered pre-service qualifications in professional education that consisted of a postgraduate certificate or diploma following on from a three or four year specialist core curriculum subject degree undertaken at a higher education institution elsewhere. Stirling, on the other hand, was able to combine the discipline of education with at least one other discipline common to the core curriculum in the Scottish secondary sector.

It would be Stirling's capacity to offer combined degree pathways in a core curriculum subject, taken concurrently with a pre-service qualification in Professional Education (Secondary), that positioned Stirling ideally to deliver the UK's first and only pre-service teaching qualification in Media Studies in 1999. Such a pathway enabled concurrent study with the added benefit of a shorter timescale in total. As a consequence of this model of provision, Stirling used audio-visual technologies to establish ground-breaking programmes for professional training techniques (Butts, 1984). This was deemed to overcome the difficulty of engaging in professional training before students had developed their subject knowledge in sufficient depth to facilitate training placements in schools²²¹. The use of audio-visual technologies played well with the RIU (4.2.4.i).

Research undertaken in this department in the early 1980s indicated a developing expertise in the investigation of collaborative and multi-disciplinary work in secondary schools and work that was routinely favoured by the RIU (4.2.3 &

²²¹ The experience of those in AMES engaged at the conjunction of knowledge and pedagogy suggests that the convention of knowledge before practice was open to question (4.3.2).

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5.3.3.i)²²². In addition, one of the University's newer members of staff, David Butts, had a background in educational technology and was completing a three year evaluation of the Stirling Collaborative Project on Teacher Education (1980-1983), that involved its unique micro-teaching programme (Butts, 1984)²²³. The conjunction of research expertise in the Department in the area of collaboration, multi-disciplinarity and educational technology in general and Butts' particular experience of working in television production²²⁴ placed him both institutionally and experientially as a significant ally of both the media education movement and the RIU.

4.2.4.iv BFI Lectureships

Heavily dependent for its funding on the Department for Education and Science (DES), the British Film Institute's activity had grown since the election of a Labour government committed to the arts in 1964 and the support of Jenny Lee in particular (Bolas, 2009). The inevitable questions about the use of public money to promote film as art gained momentum at the end of that decade but apart from the resignation of Paddy Whannel as head of its education department, its radical intellectual work continued (Nowell-Smith, 2006). The Institute's responsibility was UK-wide and at the end of the 1970s it provided seed-funding for a number of academic lecturing posts in film in order to encourage its development in higher education, one of which would find its way to Stirling²²⁵. In addition, the Institute organised a number of

²²² Martyn Roebuck had worked with Sally Brown on a number of occasions. Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008.

²²³ Interview with David Butts, April 2002.

²²⁴ *ibid.*

²²⁵ Interview with Dan Fleming, May 2004. Interview with Dan McLeod, June 2004.

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summer schools in its bid to promote the development of film studies in the Academy in the 1970s and it hosted one of its annual conferences at Stirling²²⁶. Such an opportunity provided a forum for those working in the academic community in the main but also attracted a number of participants from the school sector. Rick Instrell, the founding member of the Forrester Media Group (4.2.4.vi), was in regular attendance.

What is important to note here is the disjunction between Lavender's conclusion that film did not meet Nisbet's learning objectives as well as the press, radio and television in relation to media education and the BFI's active promotion of the study of film happening at the same time. It may also be significant that unlike Instrell, Lavender was not a member of the MECC (4.3.1).

4.2.4.v University of Stirling: Department of Film and Media Studies

The University sector in Scotland was centrally funded by the DES, thus facilitating support from organisations outwith Scotland. It would be fears about funding that caused the sector to move against devolution in 1979 (Paterson, 2003). A steering group was established within Stirling University to coordinate the shepherding of a BFI lectureship²²⁷. Chaired by Ian Lockerbie²²⁸ from the French Department and including academic staff from a number of other departments who expressed an

²²⁶ Interview with Rick Instrell, April 2004.

²²⁷ Interview with David Butts, April 2002. Interview with Dan McLeod, June 2004. Also see Izod, J (1989) for a fuller explication of the development history of media education in British universities at this time

²²⁸ Ian Lockerbie was also a member of the Educational Broadcasting Working Party (4.1.3) and Chairman of the Scottish Film Council.

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interest in attracting such a post to Stirling, the group ensured that the new subject would not be colonised by existing departments until it was able to function as a fully-fledged department in its own right²²⁹. That the University was new and relatively small enabled a dynamic not easily accessible in more established territories. The film fellowship was funded by the BFI for three years in 1978, under its Higher Education Grant Scheme and eventually extended in 1980 to include a further appointment for the development of Media Studies and that post was occupied by a former BBC education officer, Dan McLeod. The gathering media education movement being coordinated institutionally through SCET drew upon the experience of that steering group in its shepherding of a new educational initiative as well as the growing expertise of those developing its content and pedagogy. John Izod held the first lecturing post in film at the University of Stirling and in 1980, he was one of the speakers at the SCET conference²³⁰ as well as being a member of the Media Education Coordinating Committee (MECC) in 1982.

4.2.4.vi The Forrester Media Group (FMG)

In the process of discovering "useful allies" (Brown, 1980) a further significant response to SCET's proposals was made by a group of teachers working in a secondary school in Edinburgh. The climate of self-determined collaborative in-school initiatives emerging in the wake of the Munn and Dunning reports, was encouraged and facilitated particularly effectively by the strong curriculum

²²⁹ Interview with Dan McLeod, June 2004.

²³⁰ Also presenting papers at that conference were John Caughie, University of Glasgow and David Hutchison, Glasgow College of Technology (Cowle, 1981).

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development division and advisory service operating in Lothian Region²³¹. Powered by the emergence of a radical critique of schooling in the 1970s (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, Willis, 1978) and the transformative potential of Media Studies as an agent of change, the Forrester Media Group (FMG) began working on an intervention plan of their own (Instrell, 1983).

Five teachers from Forrester High School in Broomhouse, an area of Edinburgh with a profile of socio-economic disadvantage, were present at the 1980 SCET conference (Cowle, 1981). No other single institution was represented in such strength. SCET's focus on the institutions of the media resonated with the group's evolving dissatisfaction with Scotland's curriculum and assessment systems and the failure, in their view, of Munn and Dunning to introduce significant change²³². In that respect, therefore, their criticisms had much in common with those held in some quarters of the 'leadership class', a group to which the FMG considered themselves to be resolutely opposed²³³.

Until the Munn and Dunning reforms were implemented in the 1980s, secondary school students not entered for the Scottish Certificate in Education (SCE) in Scotland were either presented with non-certificated course options in their third and fourth years of schooling or, if available in their school, offered a Certificate in Secondary Education (CSE) Mode 3 course (McPherson & Raab, 1988). The CSE was an award available in England and Wales for pupils not eligible for the more prestigious General Certificate in Education (GCE), the equivalent of the SCE. The CSE courses

²³¹ Interview with Rick Instrell, April 2004. Interview with Frank Gormlie, June 2004.

²³² *ibid.*

²³³ Interview with Rick Instrell, April 2004. Interview with Frank Gormlie, June 2004.

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and assessments were controlled by teachers and Mode 3 was the option that involved internal assessment and as such, maximised teacher autonomy.

However, the damaging political critique of education emerging in the late 1970s, represented by the publication of a series of Black Papers (Cox & Boyson, 1977), had been prompted, amongst other things, by the increasing popularity of CSE Mode 3 courses (Chitty, 2004). As a consequence of anxieties about the eventual disappearance of the main central engine of curriculum control, the external examination, an argument for the return to traditional subjects and subject teaching gained support and influenced the educational policy formulations emerging from the Conservative Party at that time. In Scotland, on the other hand, anxieties about internal assessment and increased teacher autonomy did not have political support but did find sympathy amongst those members of the 'leadership class' attached to SCEEB²³⁴. No equivalent of the CSE existed in Scotland, therefore, so Forrester, like other schools, offered CSE courses wherever these were available. In addition to offering alternatives to students, CSE Mode 3 created opportunities for teachers in Scotland to exercise professional autonomy in the construction of courses and assessments in local contexts in a way that had not been available to them previously²³⁵.

One member of this group, Rick Instrell, had also undertaken a postgraduate research project for the award of an MEd at Edinburgh University. Instrell's interest in European film led him to the BFI in general and its summer schools in particular.

Frustrated by the absence of a Scottish award in Media Studies that was equivalent to

²³⁴ Interview with former HMI who wished his comments to be rendered unattributable.

²³⁵ Interview with Rick Instrell, April 2004. Interview with Frank Gormlie, June 2004.

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the CSE, Instrell was encouraged by a member of the school's management team to develop a Media Studies course. Instrell's involvement at this stage was important as it began the institutionalisation of Media Studies in the further and secondary sectors in Scotland at the same time as it was establishing in the higher education sector. The title of his dissertation, *Intervention Strategies in the Curriculum: Media Studies in Scotland* (Instrell, 1983), indicated his aim of introducing a new curriculum subject, Media Studies, to the Scottish secondary sector from the ground and constituted a teacher action research exercise. According to Instrell, for any grass-roots initiative to succeed, it had to exploit points of weakness, and echoed a plan that had been formulated earlier by John Brown in an address to UNESCO on strategies for the introduction of media education across the curriculum²³⁶. The "point of weakness" in the secondary school that FMG were about to exploit, therefore, was its assessment system. If the examination board (SCEEB) could not establish a formal qualification in Media Studies, FMG would approach the assessment body that serviced the further education sector.

The two award-bearing bodies administering qualifications in Scotland's further education sector were the Scottish Technology Education Council (SCOTEC) and the Scottish Business Education Council (SCOTBEC). Both bodies were keen to offer their courses in the Scottish secondary school sector at this time but there was considerable resistance to this from elements of the 'leadership class' on the grounds that assessment standards in the further education sector were not as rigorous as those in the secondary sector²³⁷. Permitting other assessment bodies to operate in the secondary sector in Scotland would, in addition, weaken the control of the SCEEB

²³⁶ Op. cit. 188 & 189

²³⁷ Unattributable interview with a former HMI.

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and ultimately posed a threat to what was considered by some to be a higher standard of education than that on offer in England²³⁸.

Working in two separate educational domains, therefore, both Martyn Roebuck and Rick Instrell understood the affordances of the systematised pluralism (McPherson & Raab, 1988) characterising Scottish education at this time despite. Its structural conservatism enabled connections with useful allies to be made and its advantage to the purposes of the media education movement in Scotland had not been missed by the assessor to the Media Education Development Project (Axford, 1984). During the preparatory work for the Anderson document (1979), John Brown had similarly noted the advantages of such a system²³⁹. Roebuck and Instrell were both interested in the potential of technology and media respectively to bring about pedagogic change at this time²⁴⁰. However, as a subject, Media Studies had less in common with that ambition than did educational technology and media education.

FMG produced the first fully developed course for Media Studies to be offered in the secondary and further education sectors in Scotland in February 1981 (Instrell, 1983). This it submitted to SCOTBEC as part of its revision of HND Communications²⁴¹ and which was approved with some modification. A list of fifteen aims and objectives were included together with a number of modular options available for choice only

²³⁸ *ibid*

²³⁹ *Op. cit.* 188 & 189

²⁴⁰ Interview with Rick Instrell, April 2004. Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008.

²⁴¹ Aberdeen College of Commerce pioneered a course in Communication Studies in the early 1970s, it was adopted by SCOTBEC and offered as the Scottish Higher National Diploma (SHND) in Communication Studies. Revised in 1980 it was expanded to include the mass media and other communication industries. The Scottish National Certificate (SNC) in Business Studies had become an important route of entry to the SHND course. The study of some aspects of the media, therefore, was advisable at SNC level. FMG's course, consequently, was aimed to meet this expansion and was subsequently adopted as an option in the SNC Business Studies course. At the time of writing, the author knows of few Business Education teachers in secondary schools who also teach media studies.

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after successful completion of the first core module, Mass Media and Society. The course represented a synthesis of the papers presented at the 1980 SCET/Jordanhill conference that had taken place only two months earlier (Cowle, 1981). Such speed would characterise a number of subsequent developments and indicate the movement's capacity to identify opportunities and respond quickly.

FMG succeeded in mobilising interest in Media Studies at that time in Edinburgh and across Scotland. In the process, it circulated a discourse of critical theory that connected with the ideas debated in the pages of *Screen* and *Screen Education*²⁴². However, the focus on radical theory and media products had difficulty connecting with the compulsory education sector at that time and despite agreement in terms of its ambitions for pedagogic change, led to suspicions that the initiative was political rather than educational (Brown, 1986). Such a suspicion continued to isolate Media Studies from the educational mainstream. Differences between Media Studies and the broader aspirations for media education, therefore, began to be exposed.

One of the problems FMG's contribution to the media education movement also highlighted was the difficulty of constructing and teaching a new theoretical field during the process of its academic institutionalisation. One of the group's early useful allies worked at Stevenson College in Edinburgh and was studying for a postgraduate degree with the Open University. Julie Watt's PhD study of television drama, supervised by Dan McLeod, focused on *Take The High Road* and created a great deal of interest internationally giving rise to a number of invitations to address academic conferences and extending the network of interest in what was happening in

²⁴² Interview with Rick Instrell, April 2004. Interview with Dan Fleming, May 2004.

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Scotland²⁴³. This part of the campaign, therefore, was characterised by its attempt to construct a broad alliance of practitioners across the higher, further and secondary sectors and create a consensus among them regarding the theoretical underpinning of Media Studies. The intellectual development of the educational practitioners at this stage in the movement's history in Scotland, therefore, became paramount and revealed the evolving schism between Media Studies as subject and media education as pedagogy (John & Baggott La Velle, 2004).

4.3 Institutionalising Media Studies

4.3.1 The Media Education Coordinating Committee (MECC) and Media Studies

UNESCO's 1982 Symposium on Media Education published the Grunwald Declaration on Media Education. It anticipated convergence and stressed the need to monitor the rapid developments in communications and media and reassess educational priorities in response. The media education movement in Scotland gained considerable momentum when John Brown returned from Grunwald. Replacing SCET's Educational Broadcasting Working Party (EBWP) with the Media Education Coordinating Committee (MECC) signalled the step-change in thinking and the shift from dedicated programming to media education would bring all media forms into the educational arena, including film. Educational broadcasting in Scotland had in practice been unable to deliver on its obligations (3.3.1) and the production of

²⁴³ Julie Watt presented papers in Michigan, Quebec and Bologna. Interview with Julie Watt, March 2004. There were shared cultural concerns between Quebec and Scotland at this particular time. In school teaching, this was playing out in the arena of teaching English in particular (Goodson & Medway, 1990).

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Scottish educational films was coming to an end. In the context of convergence, therefore, a new paradigm that brought popular culture into a more productive tension with education was required. The remit of the new committee, however, was "to facilitate the growth of Media Studies in the formal education sector" (Brown & Tucker, 1981)²⁴⁴.

The focus upon content appeared to declare its intention to institutionalise Media Studies as a subject but the committee's title acknowledged the necessity of a broad and inclusive coalition of interest in so doing²⁴⁵. The combined capabilities of John Brown and Richard Tucker provided the secretariat whilst Butts held the chair. Its assessors would include both Martyn Roebuck and Martin Axford. Roebuck, the more senior of the two, was steeped in the early development of SCET²⁴⁶ and his responsibility for educational technology whilst Axford was an HMI with a responsibility for English²⁴⁷. At its first meeting in January, 1982, the MECC pragmatically foregrounded the question of learners' needs, about which there was little research evidence to be had²⁴⁸. In 2009, questions about what learners are capable of understanding about the media remain.

The MECC was an important stage in the media education and Media Studies development trajectory. For any new academic subject, its holy grail is the

²⁴⁴ Internal memo circulated about the first MECC meeting, 11 December 1981. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer. 2/15/1

²⁴⁵ Of interest is a note in the terms of reference for the MECC that states "the phrase "formal education sector" here might be unnecessarily restrictive" and can be usefully compared with negotiations over use of the term "scholastic education" almost fifty years previously (3.2.1.ii).

²⁴⁶ Op. cit. 170

²⁴⁷ Interview with Martin Axford, July 2008.

²⁴⁸ Scottish Council for Educational Technology, Media Education Coordinating Committee, minute of first meeting, 26 January, 1982. 1/1/335

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achievement of 'mythologisation' (Goodson, 1981). Such an achievement represents its public acceptance as a universal good and is demonstrated most powerfully by its presence in the core curriculum of the school sector. At this stage in the development of Media Studies, it had been identified as the means by which several needs might be met, even if those needs had yet to be clearly articulated. It was also actively under promotion by the media education movement in Scotland and the process of institutionalisation was underway when it appeared as an examinable subject in parts of the higher and further education sectors. Establishing a place in the academic hierarchy without political support, however, relied upon creating a demand for its provision in the first instance. The support of the secondary school sector was vital, therefore, as the media education movement now needed to make itself more visible.

However, the MECC also constituted a shift in emphasis from the Anderson document (1979) and one that would damage the document's ambitions for an entitlement to media education. The development of Media Studies in the further and higher education sectors had gained ground since its publication and altered the focus of the MECC as a consequence. Responding to the Anderson document, the CCC's advice to SCET was to redouble its efforts to construct a permeative and multimodal model for media education in the primary and early secondary stages but made clear that it

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sees no virtue in the notion of media studies appearing as a separate subject; indeed advocacy of such a course could well militate against the extension of media studies through the appropriate subject areas²⁴⁹

Despite this, MECC gave priority to Media Studies. In so doing, it signalled its ambition to engage directly with the attentions of SCEEB, the more powerful of the education agencies (McPherson & Raab, 1988). In one move, consequently, it might appear that the media education movement broke away from its alliance with CCC and SCET, declaring its ambition to swim in a bigger pond. Its subsequent transition from pedagogy to assessment and the continuing struggle between CCC and SCET on the one hand and SCEEB on the other, would play out in the operations of the Media Education Development Project (4.3.4).

4.3.2 The Scottish Curriculum Development Service (SCDS) and the English lobby

The record of attendance at the first Jordanhill/SCET conference in 1980 indicates only the institutional and not the subject locations of its participants (Cowle, 1981)²⁵⁰. At that conference, institutions representing all Scotland's education sectors were in evidence. Understanding the network of relations that shaped the work of the early pioneers of media education in Scotland is of central concern to this work and the

²⁴⁹ Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, Media Education in Scotland: Outline Proposals for a Curriculum, letter to John Brown, 02 April 1980. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer. 2/15/1

²⁵⁰ Twenty-two secondary schools, four primary schools, five further education colleges, seven central institutions, four universities, two colleges of education, four local authority, two adult/community education and two industry.

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significance of the Edinburgh centre of the SCDS, in particular, becomes of interest at this point.

Following the Rayner Study (SED, 1980), the SCDS had been reorganised in a drive to cut costs and its centres had been reduced to operating in only three locations, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow (Humes, 1986). Each centre had its own staff with responsibility for particular areas of curriculum development. It had been strengthening its links with other agencies, particularly the SCEEB and SCET during the period 1980-1983. Whilst the Dundee centre had responsibility for microelectronics and computing, the Edinburgh centre had responsibility for English. Attached to the colleges of education, the SCDS staff member at Moray House with responsibility for English was Robbie Robertson. Also interested in the work of critical theorists working in the field of English such as Belsey and Eagleton, Robertson was in sympathy with the criticism of Munn's deliberations on the shape and form of English teaching in the school curriculum²⁵¹. The identification of possible points of entry for media education was already underway and the presence of media questions in the SCE English examination papers offered such an opportunity²⁵².

Minutes from meetings of MECC held in the early months of 1982 reveal the committee's attempts to meet with representatives of SCEEB to discuss the media

²⁵¹ Robbie Robertson's primary concern was the paucity of teaching about Scottish culture and in this regard resonated with concerns elsewhere (Op. cit. 243). He continued to argue for a greater emphasis on Scottish culture in the teaching of language and literature in particular throughout his time with the curriculum body. In 1998, the Scottish Culture Review Group, of which Robertson was a member, submitted a detailed report to the SCCC recommending a public debate on the place of Scottish culture in the school curriculum. The report was rejected and publication of the report suppressed. Scottish Culture and the Curriculum, A Report to Scottish CCC from the Scottish Culture Review Group, Appendix 2, June 1998.

²⁵² Media Education Coordinating Committee, minute of the fifth meeting, 26 January, 1983. 1/1/335

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questions already in existence²⁵³. It had been suggested informally that the English Panel was interested in meeting with SCET for this purpose. Evidence had demonstrated that candidates tackling such questions did not perform well and English teachers advised students against attempting to answer them (Butts, 1986). In addition, a tension was emerging between the liberal humanist approach to the construction of English examination questions in general and its media questions in particular²⁵⁴. The emergent critical conceptual framing of Media Studies that was gaining a foothold in the higher and further education sectors sat uncomfortably alongside the approach to literature appreciation that had dominated the teaching of English in Scotland up to this point. In the event, however, SCEEB did not request a meeting with SCET but the establishment of the SCOTBEC certificate by FMG had alerted Robbie Robertson to a rising tide of interest in Media Studies in Scotland. It was in his capacity as a development officer in the SCDS, therefore, that a meeting was arranged to bring the parties together but a "coolness" was detected on the part of the "English Fraternity" (SCDS, 1982, p3).

Teaching English was a journal for English teachers working in Scotland and published by the SCDS. In the summer of 1982 it published a special edition edited by Kevin Cowle that focused on Media Studies in English teaching. The title chosen for the special edition indicated its intention to raise the profile of the SCOTBEC course, throwing down the gauntlet both to SCEEB and the teaching of English itself. Published by Moray House, Robertson's influence in the media education movement

²⁵³ Media Education Coordinating Committee, minute, 02 March 1982, 1/1/335. Media Education Coordinating Committee, minute of the third meeting, 18 May 1982. 1/1/335

²⁵⁴ The emergence of critical theory in the beginning of the 1980s began to generate a more "reflexive understanding" of the discipline of English in a number of national spaces (Goodson & Medway, 1990).

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at this stage was significant.

MECC's role was to oversee the further development of Media Studies and raising its profile amongst English teachers potentially offered a route to achieving a critical mass in a short period of time. For it to be successful, MECC needed teachers who were interested in its development to believe they were part of a much bigger movement (MECC, 1982)²⁵⁵. This was particularly important in light of the necessarily amorphous identity of those interests represented at the 1980 conference in Jordanhill. Drawing from the established modes of Art, English and Modern Studies, the interdisciplinary character of Media Studies posed a challenge to those modes (4.2.3). The rapid and recent emergence of the SCOTBEC course (4.2.4.vi) had not evolved in the conventional way and the task of persuading teachers to offer a course in a new subject with which they were unfamiliar and one that had none of the support structures associated with established subjects was a daunting one. Much was written in the early stages of its development about the difficulties of teaching a discipline without an established and shared body of knowledge (2.1.5). What may have come as a surprise, therefore, was that the interest, excitement and commitment the media education movement generated amongst teachers in the classroom²⁵⁶ was created precisely because they were involved in establishing that body of knowledge at the conjunction of theoretical development and pedagogic practice²⁵⁷.

²⁵⁵ Op. cit. 244 & 248

²⁵⁶ Media Education Development Officer, project officer report no 2, February 1984. 1/1/336

²⁵⁷ Interview with Julie Watt, March 2004. Interview with Rick Instrell, April 2004. Interview with Dan Fleming, May 2004. Interview with Frank Gormlie, June 2004. Interview with Brian McLean, June 2005.

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The developing intensity of interest from English teachers at this point prompted SCET to organise a further conference in October 1982, this time on Film, Television and English Studies in School and University, that was held in partnership with the University of Strathclyde²⁵⁸. It was at this event, that a working party was established. Taking a leading role in the development in Media Studies thereafter, the working party prepared the groundwork for the inaugural conference of what would become the Association for Media Education in Scotland (5.1) the following year. In November 1983, the AMES inaugural conference in Stirling, recorded the growing interest in Media Studies in the secondary sector to be amongst English teachers²⁵⁹. Interest from key individuals operating in different levels in the Art and Modern Studies communities had yet to emerge at this point, and in view of the powerful position of English in subject hierarchies, the opportunity for the more marginal subjects such as Art and Modern Studies to connect with Media Studies became constrained at this time.

4.3.3 The Media Education Research Project (MERP)

The establishing of a Media Education Research Project (MERP) before the Media Education Development Project (MEDP) was a reminder of the interest of the RIU in researching multidisciplinary opportunities for technological development on a broader front (SED, 1982a)(4.2.3). David Butts (4.2.4.i & 4.2.4.iii)²⁶⁰ was appointed as principal researcher on the project which was to be co-directed by a representative from both the Education and Film and Media Studies departments at the University of

²⁵⁸ Media Education Coordinating Committee, minute of the fourth meeting, 06 October 1982. 1/1/335

²⁵⁹ Association for Media Education in Scotland (AMES), Inaugural Conference, Stirling University, 19 November 1983, delegate list. Representatives of all education sectors in Scotland were present.

²⁶⁰ Butts was also a SCET Governor.

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Stirling. A number of research projects relating to the Munn and Dunning proposals commissioned by the RIU had emerged from Stirling since publication in 1977 that suggested it may have been difficult to achieve consensus on this curriculum reform within the leadership class itself²⁶¹. Re-connecting with the ambition of the Anderson document (1979), therefore, the MERP and the MEDP presented as an opportunity to find solutions to a number of concerns.

Two interconnected ambitions could be discerned. Firstly, that greater emphasis be given to technology and secondly that greater emphasis be given to Scottish culture in social subjects and in the arts and humanities (4.2.3). Using media in Art, English and Modern Studies in a multidisciplinary mode, described as "media across the curriculum"²⁶², offered the potential to realise those ambitions. Awarded the contract by the SED and funded for a three year period, Butts and his team were advised by the SED that close cooperation with the MEDP was desirable (Butts, 1986). In particular, the MERP attempted to bring Media Studies and media education together with the aim of establishing "the proper relationship of Media Studies to the inherent needs of a broad range of subjects and to multidisciplinary courses" (Butts, 1986, p4). Moreover, the intention of the MERP was to prepare media education for its adoption as a curricular priority by the Seventh CCC in 1986 and the proposed reformulation of the curriculum at the 10-14 stage (CCC, 1986). The Sixth CCC had already been put in place by 1983 so the opportunity to influence its current priorities was limited.

²⁶¹ During interviews with all three former HMIs the subject of the Munn & Dunning reforms provoked disparaging responses albeit obliquely. A direct criticism of the reforms emerged during one interview but the respondent requested this remain unattributable. In all cases, the criticisms were not founded in a commitment to elitism but were, instead, founded in a belief that education should provide *all* children and young people with opportunities to develop critical and creative capacities. Their criticism of 'vocationalism' was predicated on what was perceived to be the absence of knowledge and in that regard was not fit for purpose.

²⁶² Scottish Education Department, Media Coordinating Committee, letter from Martyn Roebuck to David Butts, 22 April, 1982. 1/1/335

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This multidisciplinary approach to media education, therefore, might be seen as a second attempt by the RIU to address an atomised and irrelevant curriculum model that had managed to survive previous attempts at reform²⁶³ (SED, 1947 & 1982)²⁶⁴. A number of existing curriculum subjects had already been identified as potential multi-disciplinary collaborators in the construction of courses designed for pupils at the lower end of the attainment range (Munn & Morrison, 1984). However, such courses had the development of social and vocational skills at the core. The identification of Art, English and Modern Studies, on the other hand, indicated a desire to investigate a multi-disciplinary option that would shake established pedagogic practices in academic disciplines and "affect the education of the main body of citizens rather than to promote media studies as an option for the less able" (Roebuck, 1982)²⁶⁵.

The MERP Report (Butts, 1986) detailed its ambition to explore an extensive range of issues in the emergent field that related to the existing curriculum, pedagogical concerns and management, training and resource needs. At close to two hundred pages it was twice the length of the other collaborative and multi-disciplinary research project (Munn and Morrison, 1984) and represented a rigorous attempt to explore the nature and scope of "this speculative, sceptical, rebellious field of study" (Butts, 1986, p167). At the point at which the MERP and the MEDP had come to an end, however,

²⁶³ The Anderson document represented the first attempt but its attention to Media Studies at the post-16 curriculum stage prevented it from engaging with media education at the primary and early secondary stages.

²⁶⁴ The RIU had been established in 1972 and had been "the most powerful influence on the nature and direction of research in Scotland over the last ten years" (Humes, 1986). Humes asserts the name of the unit is something of a "misnomer, given its increasing interest in the technological side of staff development and in-service training" (p159).

²⁶⁵ Op. cit. 262.

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Scottish educational politics had shifted substantially and alliances formed in the media education movement had fractured as a consequence (Chapter 5).

4.3.4 The Media Education Development Project (MEDP)²⁶⁶

Finally established in November 1983 and determined by the overarching aims of the MERP put in place six months earlier (Butts, 1986), the MEDP represented the culmination of some six years of preparation work undertaken by SCET through the joint offices of the SFC and the Education and Training Committees (4.1.3). The SED's preference had been for an existing member of SCET's staff to undertake the role of development officer for the MEDP²⁶⁷. Before establishing the MEDP itself, SCET's film education officer, Kevin Cowle had been coordinating the work of the media education movement in the wake of the publication of the Anderson document (1979). However, Cowle's work had been dominated by the media education movement since 1979 and the MECC were of the view that an additional appointment was necessary²⁶⁸.

²⁶⁶ The Purposes of the Project

The central intention is to develop work in media education in different geographical areas of Scotland, building on work already begun by SCET Officers and by interested groups of teachers, and utilising expertise available in SCET and two Scottish Colleges of Education.

The cooperative nature of the exercise will allow for input from different types of subject interest and background, notably English, Art and Modern Studies which have been to the forefront in Media Education developments up to this point. The intention will be to extend appropriate activities as widely as possible over the curriculum.

In this respect there will be three main targets areas, each of which will be covered in an agreed allocation of work within the project team: 16-18 - involving work in schools and FE colleges; SIII-SIV - Munn and Dunning course work in schools; 10-14 - linking with recent curricular pronouncements in for example Social Studies work at SI & SII, and with developments in the 10-14 Project of the CCC (Dick, 1987, p9)

²⁶⁷ Op. cit. 262.

²⁶⁸ Media Education Coordinating Committee, minute of third meeting, 18 May 1982. 1/1/335

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The Scottish Arts Council, in partnership with the SFC film culture committee and negotiated by David Bruce, had established a new funding mechanism for film, the Scottish Film Production Fund (SFPPF), only one year earlier in 1982 (Bruce, 1996)(1.2.3.i, 2.1.7 & 4.1.2). Ian Lockerbie had been its first Chairman.²⁶⁹ Pulling Cowle back to his original role, suggested that the SFC was beginning to develop its film culture function more strategically. At this particular point, therefore, the SFC wanted to maximise use of its personnel.

Consequently, a new appointment to SCET was made for a fixed term period of three years. The new MEDP officer was a former English teacher with a reputation for left-wing political affiliations that had culminated in a high profile dispute with Fife Council²⁷⁰. Eddie Dick had been interested in the developing field of media education and Media Studies as a consequence of the efforts of the Forrester Media Group. Working in a former 'junior secondary' school in Fife, his was one of the first centres to present for the newly constructed SCOTBEC Media Studies course that FMG had constructed.

Dick's appointment was unlikely, to say the least. He was not known for his capacity for 'deference and trust' but he was known for his commitment to a more democratic and inclusive model of education provision²⁷¹. During interview, Butts accounted for

²⁶⁹ Ian Lockerbie was also Chair of the SFC and a member of SCET's Educational Broadcasting Working Party (4.1.3).

²⁷⁰ Five classroom teachers working in a secondary school in Fife had been disciplined by the local education authority over a bitter dispute with the headteacher and achieved widespread notoriety at the time. Eddie Dick was one of that number and his background would not have failed to have come to the attention of the leadership class. During interview, Martyn Roebuck referred to Dick as "Trotskyist".

²⁷¹ Martyn Roebuck was aware of this and referred in particular to a speech Eddie Dick had given in Stromness three weeks after he had taken up the post as MEDP Officer. Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008.

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Dick's appointment on the grounds of his skills of persuasion and the belief that he could mobilise significant support on the ground²⁷². If CCC and SCET were to re-position themselves in the educational value chain and halt the regressive march of its most powerful agent, the SCEEB, building capacity outside the policy community for the curriculum change Munn and Dunning failed to deliver (4.2.3 & 4.3.3) was vital. Dick's appointment ran counter to the leadership class narrative (Humes, 1986 & McPherson & Raab, 1988) and it seems likely to have had the support of the RIU. However, the MEDP would serve to draw the boundaries between film culture and education and training only more clearly.

4.3.5 The MSC and the 16-18 Action Plan

Educational politics in Scotland shifted once more in response to the intervention of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) in the UK (Brown & Fairley, 1989) and impacted in turn on the MEDP. In its British context, the arrival of the MSC was rooted in the 'Great Debate' over education in the late 1970s and James Callaghan's infamous Ruskin Speech (Chitty, 2004). The confluence of rising unemployment and dissatisfaction with the training schemes that had been designed to replace the collapse of traditional apprenticeships caused a substantial re-think about the provision of technical training courses. In England, the emergence of the MSC as providers of vocational education qualifications in schools and colleges was evidence of a loss of faith in the DES (McPherson & Raab, 1988).

²⁷² Interview with David Butts, April 2002.

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The potential of the MSC to position itself, therefore, in competition with the SED and thus threaten Scottish education traditions, caused the Department to act swiftly. The developing Munn and Dunning reforms (4.2.3) would do little to address the absence of technical skills in the potential workforce emerging from schools and colleges and that breach in its defences needed to be shored up. In addition, the Munn and Dunning proposals currently grinding their way through the implementation stage, reflected the traditions of Scottish education and its preference for a generalist and academic model of education available to all but appropriate for only a few. Moreover, this preference was maintained by the Department's relationship with the university sector in Scotland. The most potent of its lad o' pairs symbol was the Scottish Certificate of Education, the responsibility of SCEEB, and the university sector would not sanction its reform, particularly with immediate effect (McPherson & Raab, 1988).

In a tactical move, therefore, the Department dropped its hostility to the provision of vocational education in the secondary sector (4.2.4.vi) and introduced the 16-18 Action Plan (SED, 1983)(5.1.1.). SCOTBEC and SCOTEC had been keen to offer assessment services to the secondary sector for some time²⁷³ but had met with little success mainly as a consequence of concerns that these were antithetical to the traditions of Scottish education²⁷⁴. A new assessment body, however, would be formed by merging SCOTBEC and SCOTEC into the Scottish Vocational and Educational Council (SCOTVEC) and create an opportunity for the development of new assessment instruments. However, existing courses would require

²⁷³ Interview with Rick Instrell, April 2004.

²⁷⁴ Anxieties regarding the reliability of assessment instruments in the further education sector were particularly acute. Unattributable interview with former HMI.

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modularisation to fit within the timetabling conventions of the secondary school sector. The named qualification pathways previously provided by SCOTEC and SCOTBEC had been designed for colleges and were not suited to schools in existing form. Moreover, the attraction of a modularised curriculum was its flexibility. The Action Plan (SED, 1983), therefore, proposed re-formulating existing non-advanced vocational courses under the authority of a new assessment body, SCOTVEC.

Misgivings were expressed about the arrival of what would become known as the SCOTVEC modules, not least as a consequence of articulation issues, the negotiation of individual programmes of study, the efficacy of assessment techniques and the inexperience of those involved in the design (Spencer, 1984). However, the Action Plan effectively put an end to the challenge of the MSC to the SED at the same time as maintaining the efficacy of the heavily symbolic SCE, becoming "complementary to the main academic curriculum, not a rival to it" (Paterson, 2003, p149).

For the newly created MEDP, the recently accredited SCOTBEC course in Media Studies (4.2.4.vi), therefore, would require a revision of its structure to meet the new SCOTVEC accreditation²⁷⁵. The media education movement became quickly harnessed to the task (5.1). Importantly, there was no alternative qualification for Media Studies at this time and the modification resulted in a far greater number of centres presenting for this new subject than in its previous form as a SCOTBEC course (Dick, 1987). The Media Studies modules would, therefore, demand a negotiation between the further and secondary education sectors, between the academic and the vocational, the practical and the theoretical, not as a matter of

²⁷⁵ Described by the MEDP officer as "a leaner content". Media Education Development Officer, project officer report no 2, February 1984. 1/1/336

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principle but out of pragmatic concern. Such a negotiation inevitably manifested in compromise and an uneasy alliance in the relationship between the academic and the vocational (4.3.3 & 5.1.1.)²⁷⁶.

4.4 Conclusions

In 1974 the relationship between the Scottish Film Council (SFC) and the Scottish Education Department (SED) entered a new phase with the founding of the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET). As a new education agency charged with responsibility for developing film culture and educational technology, the reconciliation of these functions was achieved through a partnership that acknowledged the interdependency of media culture and technology, of content and platform (4.1). This event, triggered by the creation of a new UK institution, the Centre for Educational Technology (CETUK)(4.1.1)²⁷⁷, gave momentum to the circulation of an oppositional discourse (2.2.1.ii), shared by individuals working for particular educational and cultural institutions in Scotland (4.2.4 & 4.3.2). Observed in the critique of a key curriculum policy text (4.2.3) as well as in research publications emerging at this time (4.2.4.i & 4.2.4.iii), the discourse appeared to have had the support of the influential RIU (4.1.2, 4.1.3 & 4.2.1). A counter-narrative emphasising the limitations of the practices of traditional subjects and pedagogies in Scottish education emerged. This gave rise to the generation of a new policy text (4.2.2) that would bring media culture and technology into a new dialogue with the

²⁷⁶ This uneasy alliance would remain until wholesale reform of the post-16 curriculum stage was resurrected in the mid 1990s. In the development of the new Media Studies Higher, emphasis would be on the academic at the expense of the vocational.

²⁷⁷ In the same way as the establishing of the British Film Institute (BFI) triggered the formation of the Scottish Film Council (SFC)(3.1.1.iii).

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curriculum and lead to the setting up of the Media Education Development Project (MEDP) in 1983 (4.3.4).

The Munn & Dunning initiative (4.2.3) implied the creation of a stratified curriculum in which academic and vocationalist discourses were thinly disguised by the rhetoric of parity of esteem²⁷⁸. The effect of such a proposal was regarded by some in the leadership class to constitute a form of curricular separatism²⁷⁹. Its resistance, therefore, could be seen in the involvement of key individuals, organisations and institutions (2.2.2) in the production of the Anderson document (1979). Elements of the leadership class advised against strategies that would result in the marginalisation of Media Studies and media education. However, the Action Plan 16-18 in Scotland (4.3.5) raised the stakes and the rapidity of its appearance (5.1.1) may have exposed the way in which the dominant traditions of Scottish education were protected in the face of internal and external challenge. In this way, the dominance of the bureaucracy of SCEEB and its preference for traditional subjects and traditional subject teaching was re-established.

What has been highlighted as a consequence are the problems of establishing new subjects and pedagogies in a curriculum where the elitism of its traditional academic discourse guaranteed its independence (2.2.2.i). As Martin Axford observes

²⁷⁸ The Dunning document had the title "Assessment For All"

²⁷⁹ *Opus. cit.* 236

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Media Studies encapsulates the central dilemma of [Scottish] education - how can new ways of looking at the world be accommodated within a curriculum defined within historically determined categories?

[Axford, M, 1984, p61]

However, the process of institutionalising Media Studies as a subject in the secondary school sector and its location in a particular assessment framework reveals how "new ways" were "accommodated" (4.3). Politically, the policy community could not admit to what was held by some to be the inferior status of the curriculum in further education. Moreover, SCOTVEC was useful to them because it functioned as a depository for a curriculum not "defined within historically determined categories". The cross-curricular strands identified in the 5-14 curriculum guidelines (SCCC, 1989, 1993a)(5.3.1. & 5.3.3) would come to function in the same way.

This chapter has continued the exploration of the relationship between the SFC and the SED throughout what this study describes as the Media Studies turn (1974-1983). The first phase of the SFC's educational work (1929-1974), supported by ADES (3.2.1.ii), revealed an early interest in the potential of the conjunction between media culture and technology in Scottish education. Local education authorities and teachers began to gain influence as bureaucratic and professional discursive practices developed in Scottish education during this period. In turn, these practices placed constraints upon media and education culture in Scotland.

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Such constraints, however, created the preconditions responsible for the second phase of the SFC's educational work (1974-1983) where the languishing support of ADES (3.2.4.ii) was replaced by that of the RIU (4.1.2). Educational technology and media culture, therefore, would be reformulated to shake a moribund educational policy community out of its slumbers (4.2) and create a new iteration for media culture and technology in Scottish education precipitated by educational and cultural change. In this light, therefore, the development of media education discourse in Scotland could be seen to have functioned as an oppositional educational and cultural practice (Collins, 1976). The location of Media Studies at the post-16 curriculum stage as an alternative educational practice (ibid), however, worked to both neutralise its agency and restrict the capacity of media education to "affect the education of the main body of citizens" (Roebuck, 1982)(4.3.3).

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This chapter continues its exploration of the complexity of institutional relations between the Scottish Education Department (SED), the Scottish Film Council (SFC) and the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET) and the ways in which the conjunction of media cultures and technologies²⁸⁰ have both shaped and been shaped by those relations. The SFC and SCET emerged as national institutions to promote and protect the particularities of Scottish media and education culture in response to wider developments in the UK (3.2 & 4.1). This chapter will trace the ways in which a new iteration for media in education, embodied by the establishing of the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET)(4.1.1. & 4.1.2) and enacted by the Anderson document (1979)(4.2.2) begins to unravel during the implementation of the Media Education Development Project (MEDP)(4.3.4).

This chapter uses the event of the MEDP (1983-1986) as its main focus but also looks forwards to 1987 (5.3.3) and back to 1982 (1.2.3.i, 2.1.3, 2.1.7, 2.1.8, 5.2.1 & 5.2.2). It considers the relationship between the Anderson intervention (4.2.2) and two key educational initiatives: the Scottish Microelectronics Development Project (SMDP)(1980-1984)(5.2.1) and the MEDP (1983-1986)(4.3.4). Chronologically, the narrative of these initiatives is sequential, overlapping in the same year as the re-election of a Thatcher government in the UK: 1983. Institutional responsibility for the SMDP and the MEDP was held by SCET and overseen by the RIU (2.1.3). The importance of the SMDP to the SED and to SCET was signalled by the presence of JG Morris as chair of its steering group. Morris had been Director of the RIU since 1972 and was a senior member of the Inspectorate (HMCI)(Humes, 1986). HMCI

²⁸⁰ Film and television in particular

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Morris retired from the RIU in 1983 (Morris, 1984). Some have suggested this may have been a consequence of both the degree of control he had acquired during his tenure as well as widespread criticism of the SMDP emerging at the same time (Odor & Entwistle, 1982, Humes, 1986, Conlon & Cope, 1989). What is clear is that the RIU entered a critical phase at this time. The possible 'effect' of the cultural and technological struggles playing out in the field of education, between the platforms of film and television in Scotland and represented institutionally by the SFC and SCET (4.1.3), and between film, television and computers taking place within the RIU, and represented by the SMDP and the MEDP as policy texts (Ball, 1994) will be considered²⁸¹.

New forms of text and technologies in Scottish education had converged institutionally in the SFC (3.2.1) but had been promoted locally prior to that event (3.1.1). Over time, the relationship between form and platform in Scottish education can be seen to have shifted in response to wider political, social and economic developments²⁸². Paradoxically, perhaps, the [re]turn to a more productive tension between them can be seen when the SFC became institutionally reconfigured as SCET²⁸³. The construction of the turn from media in education to media education between 1977 and 1983 may have begun to re-construct alliances between text and

²⁸¹ The contest between film and television was referred to by Martyn Roebuck quite obliquely on a number of occasions as "the film side" but more clearly "there was an interesting thing in 1985, there was a reference, [in Roebuck's notebooks] it must have been at one of the meetings reporting back into SCET about the project, concern about the anti-broadcast group in media education, now who would be the anti-broadcast group?". Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008.

²⁸² The sequence of this in Scotland is interesting and documents a relationship between the development of platform, form and the construction and re-construction of socially and culturally situated audiences in education spaces

²⁸³ Chronologically, SCET emerged as an institution in 1974 but changes in policy emphasis can be seen to have offered opportunities for and constraints upon the development of both form and platform, text and technology in education and can be seen to have influenced the SFC's practices from the 1950s (3.2.3).

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technologies (4.1.3) that were in evidence in the 1930s (3.1.1). However, those alliances begin to disaggregate again following the emergence of Media Studies (1980-1983)²⁸⁴ (4.2.4.i & 4.3.1) and throughout the term of the MEDP (1983-1986).

The Action Plan had presented an unexpected opportunity to align Media Studies with reforms to the upper secondary and non-advanced further education sectors but positioned it as an alternative curriculum practice (Collins, 1976) and may have frustrated SCET's ambitions for the Anderson (1979) intervention (4.3.5). Did those alliances develop into antagonisms (Kellner, 1995) as a consequence of the emergence of Media Studies and dilute the project's original intentions?

By 1987, Media Studies in Scotland had gained widespread recognition and was a popular choice in the upper secondary and non-advanced further education sectors as an alternative curriculum option (Dick, 1987)(2.1.6)²⁸⁵. It was also available as an academic degree course in the higher education sector (Izod, 1989). Media education, however, remained under-developed and under-theorised (Butts, 1986). For some, the turn to media education in Scotland represented a successful implementation of a cultural and educational grassroots intervention (Masterman, 2004/2005). Masterman attributed its success to the work of the Association for Media Education in Scotland (AMES)(1.1.1.iv, 2.1.1.i & 2.1.2). However, this study has uncovered a more

²⁸⁴ HMCI Roebuck's responsibilities were with schools and he was not present at the 1980 conference organised by the SFC, where the Anderson document (1979) develops into Media Studies. The HMCI present on that occasion was Eric Thompkins whose responsibility was with Informal Further Education (Cowle, 1981). In addition, Martyn Roebuck was not aware of the significance of the SFC's involvement with UNESCO and the significance of the Grunwald declaration in 1982. During interview he said "... there's absolutely no way in which SCET would set something up [the MEDP] in response to UNESCO". He was aware, however, of the "enormous amount of money spent travelling to Brazil and places like that which I asked for evidence whether it was actually useful". Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008.

²⁸⁵ It is important to note that this assertion is contained within the final report of the MEDP published by the SFC not SCET and during the period in which the SFC was under SED Review.

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complex history of media in education in Scotland reaching back to 1929 (3.1.1). It emphasises the significance of a long-term partnership between texts, technologies and teaching mediated by the relationship between the SFC and the SED through professional bodies, bureaucracies and the Scottish educational leadership class. The use of the term 'partnership', however, does not imply equal power relations and this study assumes partnership functions through shifting asymmetries of power over time (Kellner, 1995)(2.2.3.iii). Nevertheless, such a partnership supported a fledgling Scottish cultural institution in the early 1930s (3.2.1, 3.2.2 & 3.2.3). Those constituent elements can also be seen in aiding the development of a fledgling technological institution (4.1.2, 4.1.3 & 4.2.4).

In mediating the relationship between the SFC and the SED, SEFA²⁸⁶ had been key to establishing and maintaining a Scottish institutional particularity (Limond, 2002) for the SFC when developments in the UK posed a threat to its capacity to promote the distinctiveness of both Scottish media and education culture (3.2.1, 3.2.3, 3.2.4 & 4.1.2). Crucially, however, the fledgling institution seeking to establish a profile to which the MEDP and AMES were attached, was SCET and the influence of the RIU on the Scottish Educational Department (SED)(4.1.3) was coming to an end at this time (Humes, 1986). AMES, therefore, was mediating the relationship between two educational bureaucracies, SCET and the SFC when political interest in the platform of 'new media' was emerging. AMES may not, therefore, have had SEFA's capacity for influence²⁸⁷. Nevertheless, the early formation of AMES, its institutional

²⁸⁶ This study has shown the influential role played by an emerging professional body, the Association of Directors of Education in Scotland (ADES)(3.2.1.ii) in SEFA's fortunes. Through the agency of the SFC, therefore, SEFA was mediating relationships between two constituencies: the socio-cultural in its mediation of the 'entertainment film' and the 'teaching film' and their respective audiences (3.1.1.iii) and the political in its mediation of local (ADES) and national (SED) governance in Scottish education

²⁸⁷ Frizell was Director of Education in Edinburgh as well as President of SEFA. He also held a

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relationships and affiliations and the expectations held for it require to be understood in the context of the MEDP²⁸⁸. The first section of this chapter (5.1), therefore, will analyse documents published for different purposes by AMES to explore this period of its history (2.2.1). This analysis will be complemented by data from interviews conducted with key members of AMES in 2004 (2.2.3)(Appendix C). These documents will be juxtaposed with official minutes of the MEDP steering committees held in the Scottish Screen Archive and the final published reports of the MEDP (Dick, 1987) and the MERP (Butts, 1986).

The second section of this chapter seeks to explore the tensions that may have been emerging in SCET at this time when the development of microelectronics and computing would become by far its most high profile activity (Humes, 1986) and come to define educational technology²⁸⁹. In the year following the Anderson intervention (1979)(4.2.2), in 1980, rapidly evolving economic and political pressures for computing in education (Brown & Fairley, 1989, Conlon & Cope, 1989) began to affect SCET (Humes, 1986). Issues arising from the SMDP became apparent in 1982 (Odor & Entwistle, 1982) and it is likely they had some part to play in the framing of

number of influential and interdependent positions relating to the SFC. (3.2.3.iv). If Martyn Roebuck can be seen as an equivalent site of influence, he did not hold the range of positions Frizell came to occupy. In the process of what McPherson & Raab (1988) identify as an increasing centralist tendency, the conflict of interest this may have created for a representative of the SED, first and foremost, would be difficult to negotiate. It could be argued, therefore, that in this context, until the 1960s, greater power could be exercised at a local level rather than at the 'centre' and usefully illustrates the complexity of locating 'centres' of power (2.2.2).

²⁸⁸ Op. cit. 266

²⁸⁹ Definitional vagueness had been of benefit to the media education movement in the UK and Scotland (Kumar, 1989). Such vagueness also appears to have been apparent in relation to the early development of film. Although SEFA's work had focused on the 'teaching' film rather than the 'entertainment' film, there was awareness of common ground between both modes. Those educationists interested in the developing potential of television in the 1960s were also aware that rigid boundaries between such modes may not maximise the affordances of the medium. The organisation of practising teachers interested in the early development of computing in education held similar views on the advantages of definitional vagueness (Conlon & Cope, 1989). This chapter notes the tightening of definitions

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the MEDP (5.2). In the same way as policy 'effects' (Ball, 1994) were traced from critique (McIntyre, 1978) of Munn & Dunning (SED, 1977a & 1977b)(4.2.3) to the Anderson (1979) intervention (4.2.2) through the agency of one influential individual, this section will trace policy 'effects' from critique of the SMDP to the emergence of the MEDP (1983-1986). The ensemble of documents will include an independent evaluation of the SMDP (Odor & Entwistle, 1982), an SED report on educational technology (SED, 1982a) and minutes from the MEDP steering committees.

In the course of 1983, SCET's support for the MEDP appeared to wane and its management passed to the SFC (5.2.3)²⁹⁰. In 1986 the project came to an end (Butts, 1986). The main purpose of the MEDP had been to prepare the curriculum initiative for its transfer to the responsibility of the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (CCC)(Dick, 1987). By its end, however, the SFC argued for institutional responsibility for media education to remain with the Council rather than passed to the CCC (Dick, 1987). Support for the media education movement had been forthcoming from CCC since its first phase (4.2.4). What had changed?

The institutional partnership that had developed between the SFC and SCET (4.1, 4.2 & 4.3), rooted in a long-term interest in the conjunction of media texts and technologies in Scottish education (3.1, 3.2. & 3.3), had broken down by the time the

²⁹⁰ The Media Education Coordinating Committee (MECC)(4.3.1) contained representatives of both the SFC & SCET, notably John Brown, Assistant Director of the SFC, and Richard Tucker, Assistant Director of SCET. The MECC had responsibility for building a broad base of professional and bureaucratic support for the development of media education and Media Studies subsequent to the Anderson intervention. Following the appointment of a project officer for the MEDP, however, the MECC ceased to meet and management of the MEDP fell to the Media Education Project Advisory Committee (MEDPAC). SCET was represented on MEDPAC by a lower ranking official, George Paton. The dominant institutional grouping was the SFC. Brown, J, Media Education Development Project. Date unknown but thought to be late 1983/early 1984. Background, remit of MEDPAC, membership and project staffing described. 1/1/336

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MEDP had come to an end²⁹¹. Following an SED review (1988)²⁹² conducted in the mid-1980s, the institutional separation of film culture and educational technology signaled the end of the partnership between them. Educational politics in Scotland was in the process of responding to the re-election of a strengthened Conservative administration in the UK (Hutchison, 2001) and a damaging industrial dispute between teachers in the compulsory sectors and local education authorities (McPherson & Raab, 1988)(5.1.4). The last section of this chapter, therefore (5.3), explores the impact of change as it unfolded across the educational policy community in Scotland at this time on the development of media education. To do this, it will use minutes from the MEDP steering committees together with relevant extracts from an SED report (1988), CCC documents and a SCRE/SFC report (Brown & Visocchi, 1991).

5.1 AMES and the MEDP: public gains and private losses

In 1983 Margaret Thatcher's Conservative administration had been elected for a second term in the UK and with a significantly increased mandate. Support for the Conservative Party in Scotland, however, was in decline (Hutchison, 2001). The discursive turn for media in education (1977-1983) came some time prior to the emergence of AMES. The new media education development officer post, attached to SCET, represented a formal educational commitment to the next three-year phase of its work (4.3.4). AMES' role was to coordinate the work that had been developing

²⁹¹ The new Media Education Advisory Committee was appointed to "advise the Scottish Film Council" and "SFC Officers" on "all matters relating to the promotion of media education in Scotland". No representative of SCET was in evidence. Scottish Film Council, Media Education Advisory Committee, Agenda, 01 May 1987. 1/1/337

²⁹² This would pave the way for the SFC to prepare for its institutional reconfiguration as Scottish Screen in 1997. SCET would merge with the SCCC to form a new bureaucracy: Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS) in 2000.

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locally and promote the MEDP to a wider professional audience (2.1.2). This section will take a particular interest in the ways in which alliances (4.2.4) may have begun to fragment by focusing on four 'events' that took place during AMES' early formation: the construction of the new SCOTVEC modules (4.3.5), AMES' annual conference, the production of a bi-annual journal (*MEJ*) and the industrial dispute.

Constituted as a federal body in 1983, AMES drew its National Committee from the nine local groups²⁹³ of practitioners that had formed following the media education conference held in Glasgow in 1980²⁹⁴. Additional members could be elected from the floor of AMES' annual conference. Its Executive Committee consisted of seven members, one from the primary and two from the secondary sectors, one each from the further and higher education sectors and two from the educational advisory service. Five of the seven came from an English subject background (4.3.2)²⁹⁵. The ambitions determined by the MEDP for a voluntary grass-roots body of practising teachers were considerable but illustrative of the confidence and enthusiasm for the initiative at this point. However, one of the legacies of the first phase of the media education movement in Scotland had been the dominance of English as a subject (4.3.2) and the dominance of the secondary, further and higher education sectors in the development of Media Studies (4.2.4). AMES' federal status required it to include all sector and regional interests on its National and Executive Committees but that legacy would make it difficult for AMES to re-focus the initiative on the primary and early secondary curriculum stages.

²⁹³ Highland, Grampian, Tayside, Fife, South-East Scotland, Central, East Strathclyde, Ayrshire and Dumfries and Galloway. AMES, Newsletter no 1, March 1984

²⁹⁴ *ibid.*

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*

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The work of achieving the outcomes determined for the MEDP²⁹⁶ would be shared between AMES and the newly appointed full-time MEDP officer, Eddie Dick, and indicated the scope of the project as well as the importance of the partnership between them²⁹⁷. The activities illustrate the significance of the partnership with AMES to the success of the MEDP but also to those for whom media education represented a 'democratisation' of the curriculum²⁹⁸. Eddie Dick had been part of the first phase of the development as a classroom teacher of English in Fife and worked in a similar context to that from which FMG had emerged (4.2.4.vi). As an active member of the first phase of the media education movement, therefore, Dick was conscious of his institutional re-alignment in this second phase and the shift he would require to make in his allegiance²⁹⁹. He became a member of the National Committee of AMES (AMES, 1984) but aware of the possibility of tensions arising as a consequence of his institutional positioning in SCET, declined membership of its sub-committees, being "too time-consuming; it would not permit me to have a space in which I could

²⁹⁶ These were intended to articulate with the themes of the Media Education Research Project (MERP). In the main, these were identified as "(i) Concepts: what concepts of media education were evolving in the schools and to what extent could differing approaches be integrated to create a coherent and distinctive field of study? (ii) Curriculum: how could media study be accommodated within the secondary curriculum? What curriculum models could be identified? (iii) Classroom practice: what were the main methodological and management issues?" (Butts, 1986) Media Education in Scottish Secondary Schools: a research study 1983-1986, Summary Report, June 1986, University of Stirling

²⁹⁷ The principal areas of activity as a lobby and advocacy organisation were identified as 1. to coordinate activity on a national basis and assist the work of the regional associations/development groups 2. to gather information on developments occurring throughout Scotland (and where appropriate, the UK and beyond) and disseminate this information to regional associations and educational agencies 3. to seek/assist the development of courses of study of the mass media within the formal education system which will cover all stages and sectors of education, from primary to adult education 4. to publish a journal which will encourage and inform debate around the questions of theory, practice and teaching strategy for media education 5. to organise a major conference once a year around important questions of media education practice and theory 6. to seek to develop courses of in-service training; encourage the development of research into media education; assist the development of a media education diploma for teachers 7. to represent the views of members to a wide range of agencies (i) work for the integration of media education in school, college and university (ii) assist the regional associations to engage with their regional authority in order to provide in-service training, specific levels of resourcing, implement courses of study within schools and colleges (Dick, 1987).

²⁹⁸ The establishing of Media Studies as an alternative curriculum practice could be seen to have removed that possibility

²⁹⁹ Dick, E, Media Education Development Officer, Report One, January 1984. 1/1/336

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potentially distance myself from AMES' decisions and activities" (Dick, 1983).

However, the interdependency of AMES and the MEDP required careful negotiation.

The forthcoming industrial dispute, between Scottish teachers and their employers, the local authorities, beginning in 1984 and continuing until 1986 (5.1.4), would challenge not only the progress of the MEDP³⁰⁰ but would also test the relationships that had supported the new iteration of texts, technologies and culture in Scottish education.

AMES' role, therefore, was similar to that occupied by SEFA and the School Broadcasting Council for Scotland (SBCS) before it, in that it represented classroom teachers in the mediation of policy and practice³⁰¹. At the beginning of the MEDP, AMES was working with SCET, a formal education agency newly constituted and keen to establish its credentials alongside the other bureaucracies that had established a decade previously (1.2.1.iii). An SED Report (1982a) claimed "its [SCET's] work should be central to Scottish education" (p16). However, an evaluation of the SMDP published in the year prior to the operation of the MEDP (Odor & Entwistle, 1982)(5.2.1) did not reflect well on the progress of the SMDP and attributed in the main to management issues. In that context, therefore, AMES may have been implementing a policy imbued with the antagonisms of educational politics circulating in Scotland at that time (4.2.3). In consequence, it may not have been the 'baggage'³⁰² (2.1.1 & 5.3.2) attaching to media education and Media Studies that was

³⁰⁰ In the report of the Media Education Research Project (1986), David Butts notes the need to change the design of the research as a consequence of the industrial dispute. In addition, the subsequent production of curriculum guidelines for media education (SFC/SCDS/AMES, 1988) were considerably hampered by the dispute

³⁰¹ The importance of the relationship between research and practice has been noted previously (3.2.2 & 4.1.3)

³⁰² The use of this term has been noted in a number of informal conversations with advocates of media education and Media Studies when discussing the challenges of introducing both into the statutory

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perceived as inimical to the traditions of Scottish education. It is possible that what was perceived to be the threat was the legacy of previous attempts to reform those traditions (SED, 1947, 1977a & 1977b, CCC, 1986).

5.1.1 SCOTVEC modules: 1983-1985

The 16-18 Action Plan (4.3.5) facilitated the rapid institutionalisation of Media Studies within the upper secondary and further education sectors but the different needs of those sectors created a dilemma that the speed of the process was only able to resolve temporarily³⁰³. The Plan (SED, 1983)³⁰⁴ was the SED's attempt to reform all non-advanced courses in the further education sector in response to the intervention of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) at the 14-18 curriculum stage. Through its Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI), the intervention was intended to improve the employability of young people by introducing technological and vocational elements alongside the more general academic provision but was not without controversy (McPherson & Raab, 1988, Conlon & Cope, 1989, Clark & Munn, 1997, Howieson et al, 1997, Paterson, 2003). Space precludes an in-depth discussion of this initiative in depth but it is important to note the significance of the 16-18 Action Plan to the development of Media Studies

curriculum. It was also used by Cary Bazalgette to justify the nomenclature shift to 'moving image education'.

³⁰³ One member of the Short Life Working Group established by SCET to oversee the writing of the modules gave account of the pressures the writing teams were exposed to. Such pressures resulted in the teams making hurried decisions that undermined the theoretical validity of the modules. Interview with Julie Watt, March 2004.

³⁰⁴ It is worth noting that in the same year as the Anderson intervention, the SED published a consultative paper (SED, 1979) on increasing participation rates in education post-16

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and, subsequently, media education. It is also important to note that this event began the process of curriculum reform at the post-16 stage (SOED, 1994)³⁰⁵.

The decline in the credibility of non-advanced curricula in the further education sector³⁰⁶ and the in-roads made by SCOTEC and SCOTBEC in schools resulted in the establishing of SCOTVEC (4.3.5). Module writing teams were established in cognate groups and supervised by HMI³⁰⁷. The initial draft of the introductory Media Studies module was written by two locally situated and dominant groupings of AMES: the South-East of Scotland Association for Media Education (SESAME) and the East Strathclyde Association for Media Education (ESAME)³⁰⁸. Criticised by the Short Life Working Group (SLWG)³⁰⁹ set up by SCET for being "content-laden" and "not suited to the demands of the Action Plan" (Dick, 1984), the draft was re-written. Where the SCOTBEC course had been "too analytical" and lacking in opportunities "for a proper measure of practical/creative work"³¹⁰, the new introductory SCOTVEC Media Studies module was made "leaner"³¹¹. In principle, a balance between

³⁰⁵ The consultation process began with the paper A Single Examining Body (SED, 1984)

³⁰⁶ During an unattributable interview with a former HMI, concerns about the efficacy of course content and assessment methods in the further education sector were emphasised

³⁰⁷ Archie McGlynn (HMI) was the senior Inspector supervising the drafting of what would become non-advanced Media Studies modules for schools and colleges. Martin Axford (HMI) was also a member of this team but representing the Schools' Office. Media Education Development Project, Report 1, January 1984. 1/1/336. In 1992 McGlynn would later become Director of the Audit Unit for the HMI Schools' Office (Clark & Munn, 1997). Martyn Roebuck was not involved.

³⁰⁸ Media Education Development Project, Report 1, January 1984. 1/1/336

³⁰⁹ Op. cit. 299

³¹⁰ Media Education Development Project, Report 2, February 1984. 1/1/336

³¹¹ During interview, several AMES' members attested to the "instinctive" and "intuitive" nature of the decisions they were under pressure to make. A retrospective discursive playfulness was also in evidence that was not reflected in official accounts constructed at the time. The admission that a module was written "in an afternoon" under "such bloody pressure" but "crying with laughter at the stupidity of our invention" would have posed too great a risk both to the credibility of an emergent discipline and to the policy text creating the conditions for its emergence (4.3.5). In that sense, therefore, AMES was simultaneously compliant and resistant. Interestingly, the respondents did not emphasise the significance of the academic research work, in the form of higher degrees, they were all professionally engaged in. The linking of the personal and the professional in Scottish education has subsequently been constrained by a focus on only "continuous professional development" (CPD). The

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academic and vocational modes was sought but in practice this was difficult to achieve. As a consequence, those involved sought to resolve the tension by creating two broad discursive modes for the Media Studies modules: analysis and production. However, the introductory module in Media Studies was the only example where both modes were explicitly and relationally addressed.

The evolving framework of theoretical tools for analysis and the relation of these to understandings of creative production within Media Studies had not been sufficiently developed or theorised to support the claim that one inherently informed the other³¹² (Dick, 1984a)(1.1.2). Such a claim, therefore, may have been made to accommodate institutional diversity and the needs of the plurality of developing markets³¹³ rather than to facilitate the learning process. However, between sectors and media in the emergence of Media Studies, polarisations were developing sufficient to question the assumption of a developing "critical mass" for media education (Dick, 1987, p39). The ambition³¹⁴, therefore, that a balance of theoretical and practical modules be included in the delivery of a Media Studies course was more in hope than prospect, particularly when the modules existed as free-standing units rather than combined in coherent courses. Practices developed, therefore, that favoured medium specific analysis or production orientations that were too infrequently combined in a balanced framework (Butts, 1986). In this way, the developing specialisms characterising

importance of the personal in the construction of teacher identity has only recently re-emerged. It is not clear, however, whether the passing of time or the researcher's insider positioning affected the collection of this data. Interview with Julie Watt, June 2004. Interview with Dan Fleming, May 2004. Interview with Frank Gormlie, June 2004.

³¹² This was the task of the MERP and only in its first year at this point

³¹³ Markets establishing at this time as a consequence of political, economic, social and cultural factors brought Media Studies and young people powerfully into play

³¹⁴ Expressed as "all modules *should* be seen as containing both analysis and practice, and *should* be taught with this in mind" (emphasis added). AMES, Newsletter no 2, Summer 1984

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Media Studies as subject began to distance it from the model of media education proposed in the Anderson intervention (1979)(4.2.2)³¹⁵.

The demand from schools for SCOTVEC Media Studies modules appeared to be strong but in practice, this demand was for a narrow range of first level modules where the focus was conceptual and analytical³¹⁶. The historically inadequate allocation of funding for technology in schools provided only part of the explanation for this polarisation³¹⁷. The absence of developed and theorised learning relations between the modes of production and analysis, between the vocational and the academic and heavily inscribed in the polarisation of training and education, also had a part to play. In further education colleges, on the other hand, where the operation of occupational technology courses was the core business, funding for technology resources could be more generous³¹⁸.

However, the SCOTBEC Media Studies course had been developed, unusually, by educationists working in a sparsely equipped secondary school (4.2.4.vi). One of the

³¹⁵ The development of Higher Media Studies in its first iteration (1999) would seek to regain the ground won between 1974 and 1983 (Chapter 4). However, restoring the analytical emphasis was done at the cost of production elements and drew criticism from both the secondary and further education sectors. This phase of the development of Media Studies in 16-18 education in Scotland is beyond the scope of this study but the architects of its framework were both former members of the FMG (4.2.4.vi) and SESAME (5.1.1). In addition, one was a former member of the MECC (4.3.1).

³¹⁶ Of one hundred and one institutions offering Media Studies, seventy-four were schools, 55% of which were located in Strathclyde and Lothian Regions. A further 20% were located in Fife. The relation between these percentages and the origins of the media education turn appears clear (4.2.4). The introductory Media Studies module was by far the most popular. AMES, Newsletter no 4, Winter 84/85.

³¹⁷ Inadequate both conceptually and materially

³¹⁸ This is not to imply that the further education sector held advantage over the school sector. In Scotland, the relationship between these two sectors is complex, not least in terms of the inequitable distribution of professional and bureaucratic educational resources the further education sector has had access to. In the period this chapter covers, lecturers in the further education sector were not qualified to teach in the secondary sector and few secondary school teachers had the skills required to teach in the further education sector. However, this section is interested in the early formation of AMES and the alliances and antagonisms influencing that period of its history and is not able, therefore, to include a fuller analysis of the further education sector in its scope

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factors preventing its mass adoption by the further education sector had been its theoretical emphasis (MEDPAC, 1984) but the greater popularity of the free-standing SCOTVEC modules was attributed to the more practical orientations contained within (Dick, 1987). However, the relative inaccessibility of audio-visual technologies for most educationists working in schools acted as a barrier to the adoption of the more practically oriented Media Studies modules. In this way, therefore, a discourse of opposition between analysis and production frustrated the development of the theoretical relations between them, as well as between media, but worked to encourage increasing specialisation in specific modalities. Such a process increasingly worked to separate theory from practice, school from college and university, education from vocation more acutely and at a time when significant gains had been made in the alliances between them (4.2.4).

A paradox becomes evident at this stage. The emergence of theoretical, structural and social polarisations³¹⁹ undermined the status of this emergent discipline and worked to maintain the traditionalist discourse that the media education movement had been seeking to change through the convergence of educational technology and culture (4.2.4).

A developing anxiety about audio-visual technology, both in terms of its absence in initial teacher education (Lavender, 1986) as well as its absence in the classrooms of English teachers in particular (4.3.2), continued to frustrate ambitions for a convergence of educational technology and culture, platform and form, through media education. However, public finances at this time were under increasing pressure and

³¹⁹ Developing between members of AMES (5.1.3)

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there were legitimate concerns that increased demand for technology could not be met. Minimal technological specifications in the SCOTVEC modules, therefore, were vital to maintaining a presence for Media Studies in the secondary sector post-16 as well as for media education in the primary and early secondary curriculum stages.

These competing needs gave rise both to alliances and antagonisms within AMES, especially between what were becoming increasingly divergent sectoral needs. In addition, the decision to minimise technological specifications militated against SCET's interests, and more importantly the interests of the RIU.

5.1.2. National Conference

At the same time as the SCOTVEC modules were under construction, AMES held its inaugural conference in Stirling and was celebrated exuberantly in AMES' first newsletter (AMES, 1984)³²⁰. The document attests to the broad coalition of interests converging on media education in Scotland at this time. Harold Evans, editor albeit briefly, of *The Sunday Times*, was introduced to the conference by Alistair Hetherington, formerly of the *Glasgow Herald*, *The Guardian* and Controller of BBC Scotland. Evans remarked that AMES was "a culmination point and a beginning". The involvement of news and television media professionals made clear connections with the ideas that had informed the construction of the Anderson document (4.2.2).

Channel 4's education liaison officer, who was also present at that inaugural event, expressed the hope that AMES would "help reduce the gap between Scottish film-

³²⁰ AMES, Newsletter no 1, March 1984

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makers, educationists and the community"³²¹. Channel 4 had been operating for only a year and its potential as a public platform for the film and television community in Scotland was important. Continued interest on the part of Channel 4 in the work of AMES and MEDP was evident at its third conference when Jeremy Isaacs, then its Chief Executive, gave the keynote address³²².

The format of its early conferences demonstrated AMES' coordinating role in this public second phase of the media education movement in Scotland. Unlike the British Film Institute (BFI) in England, there was a strong institutional presence at these events³²³. Bringing academics and industry practitioners together in a form that was relevant and useful to a wide audience worked to promote the plurality of its coalition but was also a strategic decision³²⁴ that was patterned in the early work of the Scottish Educational Cinema Society (SECS) and the Scottish Educational Film Association (SEFA)(3.1.1 & 3.2.2). The value of exchange between the domains of industry and audience, production and consumption could also be seen in the backgrounds of some of the influential AMES members who had worked both within and between those domains³²⁵. The opening of the afternoon session by Martyn Roebuck, his attendance as the formal representative of SED and the public declaration of its financial commitment to the media education project, "£168,000 towards a number of projects concerned with Media Education"³²⁶, was further

³²¹ *ibid.*

³²² AMES, Newsletter no 6, Autumn 1985

³²³ Cary Bazalgette continually notes the absence of the English equivalent of the SED at Media Studies events in England. This was consequently raised as evidence of the failure of the media education movement to convince policy-makers of its worth (2.1.1)

³²⁴ AMES, Newsletter no 2, Summer 1984

³²⁵ See David Butts, John Gray, Frank Gormlie & Dan McLeod (Appendix C)

³²⁶ The AMES newsletter reports the sum as "£168,000 towards a number of projects concerned with Media Education". AMES, Newsletter no 1, March 1984. However, an official minute records a budget of £78,000 for the MEDP. Media Education Development Project Advisory Committee

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evidence of the interest emerging from key industry and education players converging on the MEDP.

Beyond its national boundaries, AMES may have been regarded as an oppositional grass-roots organisation and individually some of its members may have considered themselves in the same way³²⁷ but its organisation and practices mirrored those of the Scottish educational policy community itself (2.2.2). A concern for pragmatism rather than subversion, arguably a key trait amongst educationists in Scotland regardless of position, was evident in its operations³²⁸. The public disagreements characterising the involvement of the Society for Education in Film and Television (SEFT) and the BFI in the development of media education and Media Studies in England, may also have alerted Scottish media educationists to the risks associated with exposing fractures in a fragile coalition. In keeping with a Scottish tradition, therefore, AMES worked hard to prevent its internal processes (5.1.1, 5.1.3 & 5.1.4) from disrupting its longer-term objectives, "I thought well I'm not going to stop everything, you can't stop everything, it's important to keep it going"³²⁹. Unlike SEFT, AMES continues to function as a grass-roots lobby and advocacy body for media education and Media Studies in the compulsory sector and does so without any institutional support³³⁰.

(MEDPAC), minute of first meeting, 09 March 1984. It is likely, therefore, that an operational budget of £168,000 was allocated by the SED to both the MERP and the MEDP. In addition, Martyn Roebuck had the authority to issue up to £5,000 for specific requests. In preparation for the interview, he brought along a number of notebooks where his notes made at the time attest to this. Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008.

³²⁷ When interviewed Instrell spoke of consciously wearing a suit and tie to "disguise my discourse".

Interview with Rick Instrell, 2004.

³²⁸ Evident in the construction of the SCOTVEC modules and its handling of the damage caused by the industrial dispute.

³²⁹ Interview with Frank Gormlie, June 2004

³³⁰ In that sense it may be properly regarded as a grass-roots organisation

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5.1.3 *The Media Education Journal (MEJ): 1984-1986*

In the same way as local groups had been in existence prior to the establishment of SEFA (3.1.1), the emergence of AMES as a national phenomenon had been preceded by the existence of local regional groups (4.2.4.vi). The need for a second and upper tier to the media education movement was, for some, argued on spurious grounds, "What can the national committee do that the regional groups can't do? [A]ctually it wasn't as easy as it might have been to get really convincing answers to that"³³¹. Concerns about the relationship between what would be seen as the 'centre' and the 'periphery', the 'local' and the 'national', therefore, were evident from the start³³². The National Committee carefully structured its federal identity by using both the annual conference and the local groups as its electoral base³³³. Such a strategy ensured the representation of each group and facilitated the opportunity for additional nominations from the floor. Both the annual conference and the journal worked to make AMES visible and accountable to its local groups as much as to its wider audience.

With the publication costs underwritten by SCET and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation on its first issue³³⁴, the journal was the responsibility of AMES' editorial committee who also published its first issues. A not inconsiderable undertaking, the *MEJ*, as it became known, appeared two years following the demise of *Screen Education*. The latter's failure to encourage and inform debate around the questions

³³¹ Interview with Dan Fleming, May 2004

³³² McPherson & Raab (1988) note the difficulty of locating 'the centre' in the educational policy-making community. Documentary evidence from SEFA and AMES reveal shifts from 'the local' to the 'centre' but also reveal the dominance of 'the local' at 'the centre'

³³³ AMES, Newsletter no 1, March 1984

³³⁴ AMES, *Journal of the Association for Media Education in Scotland*, no 1, 1984

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of theory and pedagogy was attributed to an increasingly hostile political climate (Ferguson, 1977/1978, Donald, 1979) but the failure of *Screen Education* to make connections with teachers working in the school sector may have been a more significant factor (Williamson, 1985). The *MEJ* would attempt to take up that challenge³³⁵.

Although the journal's mode of address is markedly different from that at work in the newsletter, the intensity of the experience of producing its early publications contributed to the development of a strong collective identity for one local group in particular, the South East Scotland Association for Media Education (SESAME)³³⁶. One SESAME member recalled "a group of people who enjoyed each other's company ... arguing through concepts ... we were definitely making it up as we were going along. It was good fun"³³⁷. The National Committee had agreed that the local groups should each produce and edit one issue of the *MEJ*. However, the interruption of the industrial dispute (5.1.3) resulted in SESAME taking responsibility for its first four issues³³⁸. SESAME had operated as a cohesive local group before the constitution of AMES and significantly contained all the former members of the FMG (4.2.4.vi)³³⁹. SCET's project officer had a particularly strong personal affiliation to this group. This was partly due to the relationship he had established with FMG

³³⁵ The fourth area of principal activity for AMES and the MEDP. Op. cit. 297

³³⁶ During interview, SESAME members invoked nostalgia in their recall of memories of collective social endeavour that focused on the production of those early issues of the *MEJ*. Interviews with Julie Watt, March 2004. Interview with Frank Gormlie, June 2004.

³³⁷ Interview with Julie Watt, March 2004

³³⁸ In interview this was remembered as "always end[ing] up doing the Journal. Then we [SESAME] thought we were hogging it but it always seemed to come back to us". Interview with Julie Watt, March 2004. The *MEJ* reflects the eclecticism of the movement in Scotland and, despite the difficulties associated with the production of a bi-annual grass-roots journal, has survived for twenty-four years at the time of writing. A detailed analysis of the *MEJ* and its operations is outwith the scope of this work but worthy of future investigation in its own right.

³³⁹ Secondary school teachers

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before his appointment (4.3.4). A member of a different local group recalled the connectivity between the MEDP officer and SESAME members by their "noticeable" use of "shorthand"³⁴⁰.

The decision of the National Committee to maintain a public presence for the MEDP by continuing to produce the *MEJ*, however, effectively neutralised the political action of some of the local groups (5.1.4) and disrupted the National Committee's fragile coalition, rupturing thus the discursive construction of its federal identity. In the longer term, the increasing dominance of one regional group, SESAME, affected the capacity of AMES to maintain its federal structure (5.1.4).

Nevertheless, the continued publication of the *MEJ* enabled AMES to promote its work to an international audience. In this respect it built on the successes of SEFA in drawing international attention to innovative cultural developments in Scottish educational practices (3.2.3.ii). The first issues of the *MEJ* showcased the development of media education and Media Studies in Scotland and attracted some important international subscriptions³⁴¹. Interest from Australia, New Zealand and Canada led to invitations to the MEDP officer to address international conferences³⁴². During the production of its third issue, AMES embarked upon negotiations with Comedia, a commercial publisher³⁴³. Terms were agreed and Comedia undertook to publish, distribute and market the *MEJ* beginning with its fourth issue. AMES

³⁴⁰ Interview with Dan Fleming, May 2004.

³⁴¹ AMES, Newsletter no 5, Summer 85

³⁴² A number of these were found in the uncatalogued material found in boxes in the Archive

³⁴³ Founded in 1978, the name of the publisher reflected its interests in communication and media. David Morley was involved in its enterprise and its interests were shaped by the fields of political economy and popular culture.

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maintained editorial control with an "editorial collective"³⁴⁴ but the editorial advisory board included SEFT, the BFI and other interested representatives from Wales and Northern Ireland and Comedia, in addition to the members of AMES' National Committee (AMES, 1986). The move to include a broader UK constituency in an advisory capacity reflected the early success of the *MEJ* and its capacity to engage with its diverse educational audiences in a way that had eluded *Screen Education*.

With issues four³⁴⁵, five³⁴⁶ and six³⁴⁷ of the *MEJ*, came a widening of its focus with contributions from UK and from further afield. The register becomes more academic and the editorial disappears. At the same time, however, lower priority is given to providing a platform for a broader section of the media education and Media Studies community in Scotland. This stage of the *MEJ*'s history represented a self-conscious attempt to occupy vacant space in the academic marketplace

and there was some interest in having that happen because there were some people in HE in media studies who wanted places to publish and the *MEJ* wasn't as credible for them as it should have been because it still had one foot firmly in classrooms³⁴⁸

The local group operating in Central Scotland, MASSCOT, included a number of academics working in the higher education sector in the Film and Media Studies

³⁴⁴ AMES, Newsletter no 7, Summer 86

³⁴⁵ AMES, *The Media Education Journal*, No 4, 1986

³⁴⁶ AMES, *The Media Education Journal*, No 5, 1986

³⁴⁷ AMES, *The Media Education Journal*, No 6, 1987

³⁴⁸ Interview with Dan Fleming, May 2004

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department at Stirling University³⁴⁹. As an emergent discipline in a new university, securing an early international reputation in the field was important and neither *Cencrastus* nor *Screen Education* was fit for purpose (2.1.5, 2.1.6, 2.1.7, 2.1.8 & 4.2.2). MASSCOT took editorial responsibility for three issues of the *MEJ* (5-7) and two of those were published by Comedia. Changing the format, MASSCOT reduced the elements relevant to teaching in the primary and secondary sectors to a pull-out section³⁵⁰. In addition, MASSCOT widened the technological lens to include digital technologies in its scope³⁵¹. However, MASSCOT's attempt to use the *MEJ* as a vehicle for Media Studies in the higher education sector contributed to a further rupture in the alliances that had been tentatively forged thus far³⁵². MASSCOT's interest in technological developments were closely related to the work of both SCET and the SFC and made clearer connections between media texts, technology and culture in education. Such connections were suggestive of the constructive alliances formed in the early shaping of the turn to media education in the first phase of SCET's institutional history (4.1.3 & 4.2.2). However, by this point, the MEDP had lost the support of the RIU. More significantly, perhaps, it may have been at this point when AMES lost the support of the higher education sector³⁵³.

³⁴⁹ AMES, Newsletter, no 1, March 1984

³⁵⁰ The publisher was asked to produce this separately for use in classrooms. Resonances between these developing practices in the context of the *MEJ* and the teaching materials published by the BBC to accompany its programmes are evident (3.3.1.ii)

³⁵¹ AMES, *The Media Education Journal*, Nos 5 & 6, both 1986

³⁵² Interview with Margaret Hubbard, June 2004.

³⁵³ The editor of issue seven moved to a new position before its publication at this point and took issue seven with him. It was eventually retrieved in part and published later than anticipated. It should have been published in 1988 but the combination of internal tensions and Comedia's collapse resulted in its delayed distribution, exacerbating its internal tensions even further. The East of Scotland Association for Media Education (ESAME) took responsibility for issues eight and nine but after that the *MEJ* was returned to the control of SESAME. Interview with Margaret Hubbard, 2005.

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The juxtaposition of newsletters and journals uncovers the internal dilemmas created by an organisation promoting "new ways of looking at the world" (Axford, 1984)(4.4) by using "historically determined" hegemonic practices. By using a micro-analysis of a short period of time in AMES' early history, tensions between how it represents itself both internally and externally, between the decisions it takes and the configuration of its 'centre' of power can be uncovered. In this way, therefore, such tensions could be said to have been simultaneously surface and profound (Tosh, 2006)(1.1).

5.1.4 Industrial Dispute: 1984-1986

AMES used its regular newsletter as an informal communication vehicle to keep its members regularly updated about local media education and Media Studies developments in Scotland. Circulating only internally³⁵⁴, the newsletter exhibits a playful tone that contrasts sharply with the greater seriousness of its conference and journal activity³⁵⁵. AMES' early newsletters reveal the emergence of another dilemma, that of a grass-roots organisation committed to a project it considered culturally and educationally important to Scotland, struggling with the impact of one of Scottish education's most serious industrial disputes. Precipitated by issues arising out of the implementation of the Munn and Dunning proposals (4.2.3 & 4.4), the

³⁵⁴ Full membership of AMES included a subscription to the journal, a reduced conference fee and its newsletters. A second category of membership was journal only

³⁵⁵ A parodic playfulness is evident in its mobilisation of media language, the subversion of news and magazine codes and conventions in particular. Such playfulness is illustrative of a media literacy that celebrates its acquisition of knowledges through participative practice and suggests that the affordances of 'new media' may not be significantly different from those associated with older forms

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dispute included a work-to-contract strategy that was intended to disrupt the ongoing curriculum development work in preparation for the Munn and Dunning reforms³⁵⁶.

The Anderson document (1979) had, under the guidance of Martyn Roebuck, proposed a multidisciplinary curriculum model that could be developed across sectors and subjects (4.2.2). The MEDP may have been shaped by critique of the reforms developing in the RIU and emerging through its research and educational technology function and operationalised by SCET. The MEDP may have been funded by the budgets put in place for research and development work tied explicitly to the reforms but was set apart from them in that it did not advocate the maintenance of tradition³⁵⁷. Nevertheless, it did constitute a new curriculum and resource development project and the trade union boycott could not accommodate exceptions. For the media education movement in general and AMES in particular, therefore, the dispute presented a dilemma. On the one hand, the Munn and Dunning reforms were an unwelcome imposition that generated significant workload issues, the outcome of which would be the maintenance of a curriculum model very similar to that which had been in place before. On the other, the MEDP may have been an opportunity to begin breaking the hold of traditional subjects and pedagogies.

³⁵⁶ The implementation stage of this substantial curriculum reform affecting the third and fourth years of the secondary sector was exceeding the threshold of political tolerance. First reported in 1977, the proposals required a substantial amount of further work, partly as a consequence of weak conceptualisation in the first instance but partly also as a consequence of the inability of the traditional curriculum and assessment mechanisms to process the changes. Such a substantial curriculum reform had opened up a number of opportunities to those working outside the traditional policy community but political pressure brought to bear in 1984 and in the form of premature final deadlines encouraged the teaching workforce to seize advantage. A variety of strategies were mobilised subsequently in what was a precisely targeted campaign that resulted in a protracted and bitter dispute over pay and conditions.

³⁵⁷ Humes (1986) does not include the MEDP or audio-visual technology in his survey of the research commissioned by the RIU at this time. In his discussion of the work of SCET, his focus is on the SMDP (5.2).

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Once again, the dominance of SESAME on the National Committee sought to neutralise the damaging impact of the dispute. Mention of industrial action in AMES' third newsletter was made in the opening paragraph of its front page. Its tone made a virtue of the fact that the dispute had not impacted on the numbers attending its second annual conference. In the section reserved for reports from the local groups, however, news of a more fundamental impact emerging on the ground was reported without comment. That the news was held in balance with more positive developments is indicative of the editorial line³⁵⁸. By the time the fourth newsletter was published, the front page contained the headline "Media modules arrive in schools as teachers' campaign begins to bite"³⁵⁹. The position of the National Committee was made clear, it accepted "the duties and responsibilities which teacher members have toward their Union and colleagues" but would strengthen the National Committee with "the College of Education and Advisorate sectors" (AMES, 1984/1985). AMES' capacity to represent all sectors and regions was already under challenge and its response to the industrial dispute suggested that the National Committee was moving further away from the grass-roots. Although anxieties about the inevitable impact such a dispute would have on the development of media education and Media Studies in Scotland were evident in the break-up of its internal alliances, these ruptures were not yet publicly visible.

That conference attendances appeared unaffected by the industrial dispute, the end of which was in sight by 1986, AMES' National Committee began promoting its 1986 conference event³⁶⁰. The construction of an international and academic audience

³⁵⁸ AMES, Newsletter no 3, Autumn 84

³⁵⁹ AMES, Newsletter no 4, Winter 84/85

³⁶⁰ AMES, Newsletter no 7, Summer 1986

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(5.1.3) encouraged AMES to develop the theme of media, technology and culture using a conference platform. A diminished National Committee, one that had lost touch with its wider constituency (5.1.1 & 5.1.3), proposed hosting an International Media Education Conference (IMEC) at Stirling in 1986 entitled *Texts, Teaching, Technology*³⁶¹. The staging of an international event put pressure on AMES' financial resources and it failed to attract sufficient numbers to cover the costs³⁶². Tellingly, however, AMES would appear to have lost support from its industry partners as it failed "to attract sponsorship from media organisations and equipment manufacturers"³⁶³. The 1986 annual conference was thus cancelled, a public indication of troubled times³⁶⁴.

AMES' eventual assimilation by the strongest of the local groups, SESAME, had the effect, therefore, of creating a local elite network, a "miniature leadership class" (Cope, 1989, p14) that placed its claims to federalism under strain. Without the enduring support of SESAME, however, it is doubtful that AMES or the MEDP would have been able to continue. Despite valiant attempts to hold the project together in unexpectedly difficult circumstances, AMES, both as a National Committee and as a federal organisation, had been badly damaged. Once the dispute had been settled, subsequent newsletters spoke of the need to re-vitalise the work of the local groups that had been fundamental to the movement's early successes following the setting up of the MEDP. Some of the original groups did re-engage but their numbers were fewer and much of the momentum had been lost. A view was

³⁶¹ *ibid.*

³⁶² Interview with Dan McLeod, June 2004

³⁶³ AMES, Newsletter no 8, Spring 87

³⁶⁴ Izod (1989) discusses broader theoretical developments affecting the discipline at this time that may have combined with the disaggregation of AMES' broader alliances within its national boundaries. In that sense it was experiencing a 'hollowing-out' (Jessop, 1993)

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forming that the National Committee was gravitating toward centralism and "worn-out cliquery"³⁶⁵.

It had been hoped that a grass-roots organisation such as AMES would have the capacity to build a groundswell of support for the project across all education sectors in Scotland and create sufficient demand for media education and Media Studies that the CCC could subsequently build upon. Despite the internal conflicts disrupting the work of AMES, of the seven areas identified for activity in the MEDP, only one had not been fully achieved³⁶⁶. However, that particular area was arguably its most important in that it required "the development of courses of study of the mass media within the formal education system which will cover all stages and sectors of education, from primary to adult" (Dick, 1987) and key to the concerns of the MERP³⁶⁷.

The focus of the MEDP had been diverted by the opportunities emerging in the upper secondary and non-advanced further education sector as a consequence of the Action Plan (4.3.5) in 1983. It may have displaced the broader aspirations for the MEDP but it provided its project officer with work now that he no longer had other tasks and maintained something of a profile for the MEDP in very difficult circumstances. The absence of development at curriculum stages affected by the industrial dispute enabled Media Studies to grow in spaces not affected throughout the MEDP. At its

³⁶⁵ Private letter between two women members of the National Committee on the need to alter the constitution in light of the breakdown of its federalist structure. The letter recommends maintaining contact with the local associations however "... if only to avoid centralism, worn-out cliquery and other diseases of the central nervous system likely to lead to morbidity." This was a view also expressed during interview with Brian McLean, June 2005. All of these members were positioned on the outside of AMES' dominant grouping

³⁶⁶ Its third (3.). Op. cit. 297

³⁶⁷ Op. cit. 296

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close, therefore, a greater range of popular units and courses in Media Studies had been produced for the upper secondary and non-advanced further education sectors that were more successful than the single SCOTBEC course produced by FMG (4.2.4.vi). Unlike in England, therefore, such diversity would make it difficult for Media Studies to be easily assimilated into English in the statutory sector.

The industrial dispute had affected the capacity of AMES and the MEDP to achieve the considerable ambitions held for it. Paradoxically, asymmetrical power relations favoured the national professional body, the EIS, at this time but damaged more localised professional interests. However, the claims of some that the industrial dispute was the cause of its failure to realise what would have been its most profound achievement, and one that continues to elude its campaigners, is arguable at best. This analysis suggests that causation is "multiple and many-layered" (Tosh, 2006, p152). Furthermore, whether the gains it did make³⁶⁸ would have been achievable without the alliances established in the domains of culture and technology that characterised the particularity of media in education in Scotland is open to question.

5.2 SCET, the SMDP and the MEDP: everyday cultural and technological practices in teaching and learning

SCET's atypical structure had been informed by the texts and technologies that were widely accessible and already in circulation during the 1970s (4.1.3). At this stage in its development, therefore, educational technology was characterised as

³⁶⁸ Op. cit. 297. All except no 3.

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curriculum development, audio-visual aids, programmed learning and educational planning. These four approaches are different from one another, but they come together: educational technology is where they meet

[Becher, 1969]

However, policy development in political and economic domains at national and international levels in respect of microelectronics was becoming more visible at this time.

5.2.1 The Scottish Micro-Electronics Development Programme (SMDP)

The Bellis Report's (SED, 1972)³⁶⁹ advocacy for computers in schools promoted a strategy that would integrate computing into the curriculum as a whole and did not recommend its development as a separate subject (Howieson, 1989). The SED appeared to concur with the conclusions of the Bellis Report and rejected requests for separate subject status until 1978³⁷⁰ (Conlon & Cope, 1989). Policy discourse began to shift at this time and both the SED and the Department for Education and Science (DES) began formulating more concrete strategies to promote the development of microelectronics in schools. In keeping with Scottish educational tradition, the development of microelectronics in Scottish education would be distinct from that in

³⁶⁹ Bellis, BT (1972) *The Computers and the Schools' Committee Final Report*, SED, Curriculum Paper 11, Edinburgh: HMSO. Bellis was headteacher at Daniel Stewarts College (private) in Edinburgh

³⁷⁰ This also influenced Rick Instrell, an FMG founder member, who graduated in 1972 with a physics degree. (Martyn Roebuck had also taught Physics). For Instrell, the Bellis' recommendation "seemed to me to sum up Scotland pretty well" and it was one he didn't agree with. The response to computing influenced his thinking on the subsequent development of media studies but left media education relatively untheorised. Interview with Rick Instrell, April 2004.

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England, Wales and Northern Ireland but its progress was slow³⁷¹ (Conlon & Cope, 1989).

In 1981, however, the Department of Industry (DOI) responded to concerns expressed in the microelectronics industry that the use of technology in schools was not keeping pace with developments in industry³⁷². As a consequence, the DOI offered British computers to schools at half price. Such a move stimulated much-needed investment in new technology, particularly in the production and distribution of the BBC Micro and the Sinclair Spectrum (Paton, 1985)³⁷³. Kenneth Baker's intervention brought considerable pressure to bear not only upon the DES but the RIU and SCET in addition (Humes, 1986). The introduction of microelectronics into Scottish education pre-dated the MEDP and may have influenced the formulation of its development strategy. The SMDP is of interest to this study at this point, however, because it fell to the management of SCET under the general direction of the RIU in 1980 (Odor & Entwistle, 1982).

Odor and Entwistle's interim report on the progress of the SMDP was published in 1982 and at the same time as the discussions shaping the MEDP were taking place within SCET's MECC (4.3.1). The evaluation provided detailed evidence that the objectives determined for the SMDP by the RIU had been too narrowly prescribed and specialised. As a consequence, they were more difficult to achieve and created

³⁷¹ The Microelectronics in Education Programme (MEP)

³⁷² It is useful to compare this intervention in 1981 with the later one made by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport in 1999 to support of the film industry (2.1.1)

³⁷³ George Paton replaced Richard Tucker as SCET's representative when the MECC went into abeyance and was replaced by the Media Education Development Project Advisory Committee (MEDPAC). *Op. cit.* 291. According to MEDPAC minutes Paton was not in attendance at any of its meetings.

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hostility towards the project as a whole³⁷⁴. On the other hand, however, a range of more incidental aims had emerged from the professionals developing the initiative that had found greater consensus. The most relevant of those incidental aims as far as the MEDP was concerned included "the need to reflect current uses of technology in society", "a more appropriate usage of all audio-visual aids" and "a greater emphasis on using children's activity and experience" (Odor & Entwistle, 1982, p26). The need to de-centre the place of specialist technology and engage with children's everyday cultural experiences³⁷⁵, mediated by more familiar and accessible technologies, across the curriculum as a whole emerged clearly.

A discursive turn was required for computing that would re-position it alongside a more pluralist conception of educational technology. However, the role of subject specialists, computing and mathematics in this particular case, required skilful management if there was to be any hope of achieving the incidental aims identified by Odor & Entwistle³⁷⁶. What is important about these findings is how they relate to the

³⁷⁴ The Department's objectives were 1. the promotion within SMDP Phase 1 and Phase 11 centres of general awareness of the implications of microelectronics among pupils, students and staff 2. the production of materials and the provision of practical experience within SMDP Phase 1 and Phase 11 centres for those who will conduct teachers' pre-service and in-service courses in the application of microelectronics in various subjects 3. the use of microcomputers in a curriculum context within SMDP Phase 1 and Phase 11 centres for learning and assessment purposes 4. the production of curricular materials within SMDP Phase 1 and Phase 11 centres to enable pupils/students to learn about and gain experience in the use of microcomputers 5. the exploitation of microelectronics within SMDP Phase 1 and Phase 11 centres to assist pupils/students with special educational needs, particularly those suffering from sensory loss 6. the application of microcomputers to management in school and post-school education within the Phase 1 and Phase 11 centres 7. the application of microcomputers to community education and for general awareness in association with the Scottish Community Education Council 8. the development of ways and means of promoting joint industry and education microelectronics projects in association with MEDC (the Microelectronics Educational Development Centre at Paisley College of Technology) 9. the development of a central software and information service in association with selected colleges and regional authorities and 10. the dissemination, collection and exchange of information with other agencies and projects in the UK and abroad (Odor & Entwistle, 1982, p21 & 22).

³⁷⁵ Martyn Roebuck talked about the irrelevance of dedicated educational programming on television when children were watching horror videos at home. Interview with Martyn Roebuck, September 2008.

³⁷⁶ One of the management issues created by key early appointments to the project and made by the

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tensions between Media Studies and media education that were emerging at the same time. Whilst both Computing Studies³⁷⁷ and Media Studies achieved specialist status in the diet of qualification credentials subsequently, neither 'curriculum computing'³⁷⁸ nor media education has made much progress.

Odor and Entwistle's evaluation was a public exposure of the mismanagement of the SMDP and may have prompted the retiral in 1983 of HMCI JG Morris, the first Director of the RIU and one other of its HMIs in the following year (Humes, 1986). The SED initiated a review of the RIU and its operations at this time, the end of which would result in a change of personnel and had "become a little less genial and a little more coercive" (Humes, 1986, p177). The RIU was losing its mediation capacity within the SED and was brought back into line as political control began to increase. According to Humes (1986), SCET's structures had illustrated the centralising control mechanisms of the SED most clearly. In the early years of SCET's existence (1974-1983), the RIU had established itself as a powerful influence. Morris' retiral created a vacuum during which time roles and responsibilities were reassigned and the institution most heavily dependent upon the support of the RIU, SCET, may have been catapulted into change.

The sudden development of Computing Studies as an autonomous SCE subject at the 14-16 curriculum stage, at this time, on the cusp of the introduction of the new Munn

Department, however, was the conflict that emerged as a consequence of the appointment of a lecturer in educational technology from Jordanhill College of Education as Deputy Director and a head of department from computer administration and mathematics at Perth Technical College as Director. As a consequence of the inability to bring these two paradigms together, the former resigned. The SMDP became framed by the latter as a consequence.

³⁷⁷ Unlike Media Studies, however, Computing Studies was available within the traditional curriculum framework as a discrete subject at Standard Grade. This does not imply, however, that it was regarded as a credible qualification by its professional body.

³⁷⁸ Described by Conlon & Cope (1989) as a pedagogic practice

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and Dunning reforms, was suggestive of a rising panic about the lack of progress that had been made in the SMDP and may have been a clumsy attempt to create a more positive image³⁷⁹. However, there were many criticisms of it from within its professional constituency (Conlon & Cope, 1989).

The period during which the RIU review was taking place, coincided with the first year of the operation of the MEDP and may explain the loss of Roebuck's attention. Moreover, the criticism of the SMDP, when compared to the progress of similar developments in England, threatened the distinctive reputation of Scottish education. SCET's institutional reconfiguration may have begun at this point because

[d]espite the change of name SCET's involvement in education was for a long time believed to be primarily associated with film and film culture and with media as 'aids' or as ends in themselves [SED, 1982a, p16]

Its withdrawal from the MEDP may have been a consequence. The collapse of its joint management mechanism, the Media Education Coordinating Committee (MECC)(4.3.1) at this time, had also removed the influence of Richard Tucker, an Assistant Director of SCET, former Education and Training committee member and Secretary of SEFA (4.1.3), from the management of the MEDP. Both Tucker and Brown, an Assistant Director of the SFC, had worked together during the first phase of the media education movement (4.1.3). Tucker's absence can be explained in the context of the development of changing priorities within SCET and his loss may have

³⁷⁹ The arrival of a new examinable curriculum subject was a visible sign of the Department's progress.

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removed an influential long-term voice of support for the conjunction of text and technology through media education within SCET's bureaucracy. The balance of power between the two bureaucracies, SFC and SCET, shifted at this time, therefore and may have impacted on the MEDP. Even when the MECC was re-convened halfway through the project's term, only one official from SCET was in attendance compared with six officials representing SFC³⁸⁰.

5.2.2 What is this technology for?

An SED report (SED, 1982a), reviewing educational technology in the secondary sector, published in the same year as Odor and Entwistle's evaluation of the SMDP, had observed that television programmes were only rarely integrated successfully into the curriculum³⁸¹. SCET's role, it was argued, was to provide the support that would enable teachers to use audio-visual technologies more effectively in the classroom. One of its main concerns was the capacity of subjects to determine the shape of the development of educational technology because "curriculum development is still the prisoner of the subject content" (SED, 1982a, p5). Taking account of what was happening in the SMDP, SCET and the RIU at this time, the report seemed to suggest that a more productive synergy between technology and subjects might help to break down the dominance of traditional subjects and pedagogic practice more effectively. In addition, the more familiar technologies of audio-visual media were more accessible than the specialised microelectronic technology (5.2.1).

³⁸⁰ Media Education Coordinating Committee, minute of first (reconstituted) committee, 16 May 1985. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer

³⁸¹ The author of the Report is not identified but in light of the fact it is an HMI Schools document published by the SED, Martyn Roebuck's influence is assured. It is also important to juxtapose this Report with two previous research reports relating to audio-visual technologies and texts in Scottish schools (4.1.3), one of which was steered by Martyn Roebuck

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Odor and Entwistle's (1982) evaluation had been generated using data from SMDP project centres, a selection of schools chosen by the SMDP Director, a computer administration and mathematics specialist. In addition, some of the respondents in that report clearly drew a distinction between audio-visual and micro-technologies. Unlike using a computer, watching television was typically regarded by the respondents to be a passive not an active experience. Whilst conscious of the necessary conjunction of technology and content, respondents did not consider audio-visual technologies useful in learning but recognised that

there has never been the political or the industrial demand for youngsters to be acquainted with these [audio-visual] devices ...
[but] there is no reason why ... the other media [cannot] be brought in by, shall we say, computer control
[Odor & Entwistle, p33]

However, Roebuck's contact with popular audio-visual culture and technology³⁸² had convinced him otherwise and moreover, audio-visual technologies were readily available and familiar, unlike those that were currently emerging through the more problematic development of computers in schools. In addition, the development of Computing Studies as a specialised subject threatened the development of the broader permeative ambitions for computing technology.

³⁸² Op. cit. 375

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The media education and Media Studies turn in Scotland coincided in its first and second phases with rapid developments in the media and technology industries. To some extent, the technology 'fear gap' identified by Odor and Entwistle (1982), spoke to broader and more significant trends developing amongst the teaching profession and its bureaucracies in Scotland at that time. The equivocal relationship between technology and education symbolised deeply held concerns about the purposes of education and its commodification. The hastily introduced 'O' grade in Computing Studies had been characterised by its imagined utility to commerce and industry (Conlon & Cope, 1989), the paucity of its educational ambition shaped by the pressing need for appropriate computer-related skills in Scotland (MSC, 1982). The polarisations emerging militated against the promotion of a coherent theorisation of the relationship between technology, text and culture.

The disappearance of SCET's MECC may have contributed to the fatal mistakes that began to distance the MEDP from its original ambitions, a danger that Butts was keen to avoid³⁸³ but one that may have been useful for SFC to exploit at this time (4.3.4). What may have been seen as a rejection of technology by those working in the secondary sector in the construction of the SCOTVEC modules, under the auspices of the MEDP, may have effectively prevented SCET from continuing its involvement with media education and Media Studies in a climate that was a "little less genial and a little more coercive" (Humes, 1986, p177). At the same time, developments within the SMDP narrowed SCET's technological focus and audio-visual technologies became consigned to the periphery.

³⁸³ Media Education Development Project Advisory Committee, minute of fifth meeting, 06 March, 1985. 1/1/336

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5.2.3 Changes in temperature

The intellectual rigour of the FMG's SCOTBEC course, informed as it was by the developing academic field of Media Studies in the higher education sector, may have discouraged its take up in the further education sector but may have engaged the early interest of influential members of the academic community³⁸⁴. Rick Instrell, a secondary school classroom teacher, had been invited to become a member of the MECC. When interviewed he later claimed that he was not partial to "equipment"³⁸⁵ which was amply demonstrated by the analytical weight of the SCOTBEC course. By early 1983, the MECC had prepared the ground for the MEDP and its terms of reference were clearly identified as media education, avoiding thus both SCET and CCC's anxieties about focusing on Media Studies as a specialist subject. Strategically, however, media education could be interpreted as broadly or as narrowly as circumstances preferred (Kumar, 1989)(2.1.8 & 3.2.4).

After appointing the MEDP officer, Eddie Dick, the MECC went into abeyance and a Media Education Development Project Advisory Committee (MEDPAC) was set up in consultation with Roebuck. Its purpose appears to have been twofold, firstly it was to "advise SCET Governors on any matters arising from the Project which require consideration or action" and secondly it should provide "guidance to the Project Director, Project Officer and other staff associated with the Project" (MEDPAC, 1984)³⁸⁶. The Project Director was John Brown who, on the occasion of this letter, was identified as a member of the staff of SFC, suggesting that SFC rather than SCET

³⁸⁴ During an unattributable interview, a former HMI emphasised the appeal of its intellectual rigour, particularly in relation to the development of critical thinking not apparent in the teaching of English

³⁸⁵ Interview with Rick Instrell, April 2004.

³⁸⁶ Media Education Development Project, report no 1, January 1984. 1/1/336

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were responsible for its management. This was the first clear sign that the media education movement was losing the support of its key advocate within the educational policy community. Prior to this, project documentation had meticulously recorded the institutional responsibility for the collective endeavour that involved film culture and educational technology as belonging to SCET.

The media education movement had enjoyed cordial relations with the RIU previously but the change in temperature was noted when Roebuck formally wrote to Brown as the Project Director and rebuked him for calling a meeting that neither he nor Axford could attend³⁸⁷. Roebuck warned "ultimately it is counterproductive to arrange an Advisory meeting at a time and place inaccessible to the assessor from the funding organisation" (Roebuck, 1984). A tightening of procedures was in evidence. When interviewed, Butts commented "you can't work as a civil servant and be a revolutionary"³⁸⁸. Roebuck's "interesting mixture of authoritarianism on the one hand and subversion on the other"³⁸⁹ may have characterised the RIU as a whole throughout the period 1972-1983 (Brown, 1985 & 1991). However, the spaces where informal bargains could be made on the peripheries of the Scottish educational policy community became more difficult to find as a political tightening became apparent. The spaces for autonomous action, it would seem, were closing down on all fronts at the same time.

³⁸⁷ Despite earlier being identified as Assistant Director, SFC and Project Director, John Brown on this occasion was designated only as Project Director. Bruce and Cowle were in attendance but both were designated SCET staff members. Eddie Dick himself was identified only as Project Development Officer.

³⁸⁸ Interview with David Butts, April 2002.

³⁸⁹ *ibid*

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In March 1985, Butts urged that the project steering committee, the MECC, be re-established³⁹⁰. The growing problem of officer workload and the prospect of the MEDP achieving its ambitions in the current circumstances was remote³⁹¹. Butts and Axford held the view that if the further development of media education was to be salvaged, a re-engagement with SCET was required. By the time the MECC was reconstituted, however, the remaining life of the MEDP was short and both SCET and the SFC would begin the process of full institutional separation. SCET had been put on notice to establish itself as a commercial enterprise (Paine, 1999)³⁹². New brooms were in evidence as a wholesale clearout of the old 'regime' decimated the alliances, practices and shared understandings that had characterised the partnership between culture, technology and education thus far³⁹³.

5.3 Transitions: the CCC, the SEB, the SFC and media education

1986 was an important year for the SFC as the MEDP approached the end of its funding term. The three years of its operations had coincided with rapid policy changes affecting all sectors. The MEDP had not achieved permeation across the curriculum (Butts, 1986), but it had achieved separate subject status for Media Studies albeit in what was widely regarded as the inferior vocational qualification framework.

³⁹⁰ Op. cit. 383

³⁹¹ Media Education Development Project Advisory Committee, minute of the fourth meeting, 11 December 1984. 1/1/336

³⁹² In 1989/90 it had lost £267,000. Shortly after its establishment as a commercial provider of microelectronic educational resources it became one of the biggest developers of educational software in the UK. It had extensive sales of its software in the US and was selected by Apple to develop launch software for its new laptop produce, the eMate300. SCET's subsequent support for Apple's hardware could be seen in the promotion of its products through SCOTSYS.

³⁹³ Nigel Paine was appointed its new CEO and went on to head the BBC's Training and Development Operation in 2002 and was acting part-time CEO of the Broadcast, Training and Skills Regulator (BTSR) until 2007. Richard Tucker, Joe Murray and George Paton were all marginalised. Unattributable interview.

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The hopes SCET and CCC may have had for it at the beginning of the decade had not been realised and both institutions were undergoing review.

The MEDP had set out to develop the initiative at all curriculum stages but as some in CCC (4.3.1) and the RIU (4.3.3) had feared, what transpired as a consequence of the priority given to separate subject status (4.2.4.vi), was the development of watered-down specialist subject content (5.1.1)³⁹⁴. The development of pedagogic practices appropriate for the articulation of a multidisciplinary cultural and technological innovation to established educational traditions had not fully emerged³⁹⁵. The problems associated with working at all stages and in all subjects simultaneously when the boundaries of the emergent discipline were still being established were highlighted at this time (Butts, 1985). The media education movement was conscious of the dilemma but the combination of the 16-18 Action Plan (4.3.5 & 5.1.1) and the industrial dispute (5.1.4) had provided a temporary respite to what appeared to be an intractable problem. By the time the MECC was reconvened in 1985³⁹⁶, the member invited to attend on behalf of the SEB expressed dismay that no progress had been made in the intervening two years, with respect to "the nature of Media Studies at school level". Furthermore, "Media Studies practitioners still need to make a number of fundamentally important decisions" (Forrester, 1985)³⁹⁷.

³⁹⁴ Op. cit. 384

³⁹⁵ The metaphor of spinning and weaving was deployed to describe the process the MEDP was expected to address (SED, 1982a)

³⁹⁶ Op. cit. 380

³⁹⁷ Scottish Examination Board, Media Education Coordinating Committee, letter from TA Forrester to JF Murray, 23 May 1985. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer. 1/1/335 & 2/15/2

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5.3.1 The CCC: losing its influence

From the outset, the CCC had maintained an interest in the MEDP mainly through members of its Scottish Curriculum Development Service (SCDS)(4.3.2). In addition, however, David McNicoll, the HMI heading the full-time secretariat for the CCC, attended MECC meetings. Evidence for both the motivations behind the CCC's support of the initiative from its earliest days, and the capacity of the more informal sets of relationships at work to effect change in the educational policy community at that time seemed to be related to the Munn and Dunning curriculum reforms (4.2.3). The Chair of the CCC was James Munn, author of the Munn Report (SED, 1977a) and headteacher of Cathkin High School in South Lanarkshire (Humes, 1986)³⁹⁸. One of the local groups, the East Strathclyde Association for Media Education (ESAME)(5.1.1) set up to develop media education had established in this region prior to the invention of AMES. Brian McLean was an influential member of that group³⁹⁹ and had attended the SCET/Jordanhill conference (Cowle, 1981) with the encouragement of his headteacher, James Munn. McLean was a teacher of English and was encouraged to develop Media Studies in Cathkin High School in the same way as the FMG (4.2.4.vi) had been⁴⁰⁰.

In addition, George Paton, a SCET staff member and formerly of the Education and Training committee⁴⁰¹, had chaired one of the CCC's main committees, the Committee on Primary Education (CoPE)(Humes, 1986). The education reforms that

³⁹⁸ Humes (1986) notes the close working relationship between these two men

³⁹⁹ Brian McLean was ESAME representative on the AMES National Committee. AMES, Newsletter no 1, March 1984. He also produced a number of its newsletters.

⁴⁰⁰ Interview with Brian McLean, June 2005

⁴⁰¹ Op. cit. 373

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had begun with the proposal for a balanced common curriculum in the third and fourth years of the secondary sector (4.2.3) were anticipated by the CCC to continue at the 10-14 stage (CCC, 1986, Boyd, 1994). Using the discursive turn from media in education to media education in Scotland (4.2.2), the CCC and SCET may be seen to have been working against the grain of traditional subjects at the upper stages of the secondary school curriculum. At the same time, however, they were losing the struggle with the assessment body, the SEB, as it moved to protect the distinctiveness of Scottish education traditions in response to the intervention of the MSC (4.3.5 & 5.1.1).

In March 1986, McNicoll sent a confidential memo to the chairmen, secretaries and HMI members of all the CCC committees and officers of the SCDS⁴⁰², informing them of the SED's intention to reorganise the CCC structure "at a date yet to be determined" (McNicoll, 1986)⁴⁰³. His covering letter instructed recipients to categorise their priorities according to their concordance with both CCC and government priority "in current circumstances". The tenure of the present CCC, the sixth, was due to come to an end in August 1986 but had been extended until 1987 to facilitate the review.

Beyond the date of this memo, McNicoll was not in attendance at MECC meetings but did continue in dialogue with the MEDP⁴⁰⁴. There is no evidence to suggest at this stage that he regarded the future development of media education as a potential

⁴⁰² Robbie Robertson, of AMES and SESAME, was the SCDS officer responsible for English.

⁴⁰³ Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, Future Organisation and Priorities of the CCC to 1987 and Beyond, 05 1986. AHG00903.115. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer. 2/15/2

⁴⁰⁴ Media Education Coordinating Committee, minute, 24 September 1986. 3b). 1/1/335

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problem⁴⁰⁵. Increased opportunities for cross-sector and interdisciplinary approaches were expected by the 10-14 Report (CCC, 1986). Assuming SED acceptance of the recommendations contained within the Report, McNicoll anticipated a number of possible options for the continuation of the media education initiative post-MEDP (MECC, 1986)⁴⁰⁶. Meantime, a key remaining task for the MEDP was the production of its final report (Dick, 1987) and an updated version of the Anderson document (SFC/SCDS/AMES, 1988). Changes to the structure of the assessment arrangements in place at the 14-16 and 16-18 curriculum stages had been made since its original publication (1979)(4.2.2) and developments in Media Studies needed to be included in an updated issue. That task remained outstanding at the end of MEDP but application to the SED for an extension to its funding was initially refused⁴⁰⁷. In an eventual partnership with the British Film Institute, however, the Department agreed to extend the life of MEDP for a further six months to facilitate these tasks.

In October 1986 at its final meeting⁴⁰⁸, the MECC made a last attempt to appeal to SCET's governors for SCET to support the continuing existence of a central committee that would manage the development of media education as the only educational agency with "a stated commitment to Media Education, both in terms of policy and manpower" (Murray, 1986). The CCC remained under review and the priorities for its seventh term had still to be agreed with the SED. However, the rejection of CCC's proposals for changes to the 10-14 stage (CCC, 1986), replaced by

⁴⁰⁵ Internal SCET/SFC memo, note of meeting with CCC/SCDS, 09 October, 1986. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer. Scottish Curriculum Development Service: Edinburgh Centre, Media Education Coordinating Committee, letter from Robbie Robertson to David Hutchison, 07 October 1986. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer. 2/15/2

⁴⁰⁶ Op. cit. 403

⁴⁰⁷ Media Education Development Project Advisory Committee, minute of 14 March 1986. 1/1/336

⁴⁰⁸ Media Education Coordinating Committee, minute, 22 October 1986. 1/1/335

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the SED's preference for a root and branch reform for the entire 5-14 stage (SOED, 1994, Boyd, 1994), signalled a shift of influence that would bring to an end the CCC's ambition to overhaul a curriculum structured by the needs of the SEB and the university sector.

5.3.2 The SEB: tightening its grip

In seizing the opportunities that were emerging during a period of rapid educational reform, the media education movement may have made a number of tactical mistakes during this phase (1983-1986). Failing to make the fundamental decision about subject or pedagogy, and identified by Butts (1985) and Forrester (1985), created significant difficulties on administrative fronts that were competing for influence at a critical juncture in educational politics. Focusing almost exclusively on the production of modules for SCOTVEC in the first phase of the MEDP (4.3.5 & 5.1.1) prevented early progress being made at the curriculum stages CCC and SCET were most interested in. The breakdown in industrial relations the following year between teachers in the compulsory sector and their employers (1984-1986)(5.1.4), continued to frustrate the development of media education at these stages because the function most affected by its actions, curriculum development, was the core responsibility of the CCC.

Of greater concern at this time, however, especially when the operations of the RIU and SCET were under intense scrutiny (5.2.1 & 5.2.3), may have been that the MEDP, located in a technological resource development agency, was producing work for an assessment body with no locus within the educational policy community (4.3.5

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& 5.1.1). That body was SCOTVEC⁴⁰⁹, whose primary market was in the further education sector and only incidentally and marginally involved in the upper secondary sector. It offered an alternative (4.3.5) to the longer established and more traditional SEB. In this analysis, the MEDP engaged with activity that was the responsibility of a sector to which SCET had no formal responsibility⁴¹⁰. During the subsequent SED review of its core activity, therefore, SCET may not have had any choice but to dispense with the MEDP at the end of its funding term and the SFC did not have the resources with which to continue its development beyond that term.

The focus on SCOTVEC may have given rise to another administrative problem. The MEDP officer had approached Douglas Osler, an HMCI with SEB responsibilities, to explore the possibility of developing short and multi-disciplinary Media Studies courses⁴¹¹. The new Standard Grade framework of assessment was a consequence of the Dunning reforms (SED, 1977b) and replaced the more traditional Scottish Certificate of Education (SCE). Osler rejected the proposal but the rejection surprised an SEB panel member who "expressed his disappointment that the SEB had not used its power to encourage the development of Media Short Courses" (MEAC, 1988a)⁴¹². The development of Media Studies within SCOTVEC (4.3.5 & 5.1.1) may have allowed the SEB to argue that Media Studies was already available as an elective subject, albeit in an alternative assessment framework.

⁴⁰⁹ The new body formed from SCOTEC & SCOTBEC (4.2.4.vi), SCOTVEC, was not formally constituted until 1985

⁴¹⁰ The paucity of professional and bureaucratic support available to the further education sector in Scotland has been noted elsewhere. *Op. cit.* 318

⁴¹¹ Scottish Film Council, Media Education Advisory Committee, minute of meeting, 16 February, 1988. 1/1/337

⁴¹² Scottish Film Council, Media Education Advisory Committee, minute of meeting, 07 December, 1988. 1/1/337

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Claims that the SEB was disdainful of Media Studies and that Osler regarded it to be "mickey mouse"⁴¹³ have been made. However, acceding to a request made for the development of new courses in the aftermath of a damaging industrial dispute (5.1.4) may not have been likely in any case. Other multi-disciplinary short course options were available at Standard Grade but these had been established prior to the call for a boycott on curriculum development⁴¹⁴. Moreover, those short-course options had been constructed using existing SEB award-bearing school subjects (Munn & Morrison, 1984)(4.2.3).

The delicate educational politics underpinning the intervention of the MSC (4.3.5) was set to continue for a further decade (SOED, 1992). To permit the development of a new course simultaneous to its location in another assessment framework may have been too difficult a political manoeuvre to perform at this time⁴¹⁵. The Media Studies short course proposed by the MEDP officer at the 14-16 stage was predicated on a modification of the existing SCOTVEC modules⁴¹⁶. Protecting the status of the SEB as an award-bearing body and the traditional values represented by its public examination awards, was ineluctably related to the protection of the Scottish education brand (McPherson & Raab, 1988, Paterson, 1997). Prior to devolution, the relationship between the university sector and the SEB had been key to that process.

Anxieties about what may have been regarded as the taint of SCOTVEC on awards

⁴¹³ Unattributable interview with a former HMI.

⁴¹⁴ These were regarded as having low status, however.

⁴¹⁵ Douglas Osler was promoted to a Chief HMI position when Michael Forsyth was Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State and promoted to Senior Chief HMCI in 1995 when Forsyth became Secretary of State. Osler was responsible for steering the merger of the SEB and SCOTVEC to the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA). After retiring Osler occupied a number of appointed positions on government enquiries. He is currently a consultant to his son's PR company, Osler Media. Martin Osler had previously worked as a senior press officer for the Scottish Government.

⁴¹⁶ Scottish Film Council, Media Education at S3/S4, summary of informal meeting, 25 August, 1987. 1/1/337. Roebuck had warned of the dangers of this type of course (4.3.3) but his patronage was no longer available.

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kite-marked by the SEB and available at the statutory stage of Scotland's education system may have been present. A merger, proposed in 1984, between the SEB and SCOTVEC into a single award-bearing body, had been postponed at this stage and was seen by some (McPherson & Raab, 1988, Paterson, 1997) as evidence of unease in the higher education sector. The invoking of Mickey Mouse as a metaphor may not, therefore, have been directed at Media Studies but at the Action Plan (4.3.5).

Tensions between the curriculum and assessment functions of Scotland's compulsory education sector had been in evidence since the Second World War (SED, 1947, 1977a & 1977b), but the intensity of the most recent struggle, generated by the Munn and Dunning reforms, increased suddenly in 1983 (4.3.5). The development of media education and Media Studies in Scotland coincided with the re-election of a Thatcher administration in the UK. Swift responses by the educational policy community in Scotland to the epidemic of educational policy initiatives emerging from Westminster (Ball, 1999) were required. The 16-18 Action Plan may have been the first evidence of such a response. The MEDP took full advantage of the opportunity that had unexpectedly been created by the dynamic shift in tension from between educational bureaucracies within Scotland to between the SED and the Scottish Office and Westminster. However, the outbreak of a damaging industrial dispute in the following year may have exposed Scottish education to risk once again and the SED may have moved at that time to tighten its internal control mechanisms further.

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5.3.3 SFC: from insider to outsider

In 1987 and prior to the outcome of the review of CCC (5.3.1), the SFC also became subject to review⁴¹⁷. The subsequent policy hiatus may have hampered any new development work but did facilitate the continuation of funding for media education development in the SFC until its review was completed in 1988. At this time, David Bruce was appointed Director of SFC, John Brown remained an Assistant Director and Kevin Cowle became its head of education and training⁴¹⁸. Following the end of the MEDP and in the interim, the SED agreed to fund a new post of Media Education Officer to be located within the SFC for the period of one year pending the outcome of an SED policy review⁴¹⁹.

Eddie Dick, previously the MEDP officer, occupied the temporarily extended post of media education officer in the interim. In May of that year, SFC convened the first meeting of its new Media Education Advisory Committee (MEAC), comprising members of the former MEDP Project Advisory Committee and Martin Axford remained in place as SED assessor⁴²⁰. David Hutchison, however, replaced David Butts in the Chair. In addition to confirming that the SFC had "de facto responsibility for this area" (MEAC, 1987), the minute of MEAC's inaugural meeting highlights the priority to be given to the commercial development and publication of resources. In common with the CCC, therefore, and following the outcome of review, SCET was

⁴¹⁷ Scottish Education Department, Media Education Officer, letter from DG Campbell to David Bruce, 06 August, 1987. Scottish Film Council, Media Education, letter from David Bruce to DG Cambell, 02 October 1987. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer. 2/15/2

⁴¹⁸ Scottish Film Council, Media Education Advisory Committee, agenda for meeting, 01 May 1987. 1/1/337. Education and training had previously been in opposition to film culture in SCET (4.1.2).

⁴¹⁹ AMC00111.036

⁴²⁰ Op. cit. 418

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tasked with resource production and indicated the restraints being placed upon curriculum development at this time.

Progress in the development of media education in the primary and secondary sectors, at the 10-14 stage in particular, was an immediate priority and a potentially lucrative source of income. Dick had approached the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE) with a proposal for a two year research project⁴²¹. With an initial focus on the anticipated 10-14 Report (CCC, 1986), Sally Brown, then director of SCRE⁴²², agreed to manage both the project and its funding⁴²³ (Brown & Visocchi, 1991). However, when the recommendations in the 10-14 Report (CCC, 1986) were rejected in favour of an educational reform affecting the entire 5-14 cohort (SOED, 1994), the research proposal had to be adjusted (Brown & Visocchi, 1991). The 10-14 Report had pre-supposed the involvement of teachers in its development, promoted a multidisciplinary model and substantially at odds with the developing educational climate (Boyd, 1994). In addition, Westminster had imposed national curriculum orders and Michael Forsyth was in place in the Scottish Office. His dislike of the operations of the Scottish educational policy community (Humes, 1995)(2.1.8) would suggest that he would be inclined towards a different approach to his predecessors.

The final report of SFC's policy review was published by the SED in February 1988 and recommended non-departmental public status for the SFC to support the development of film as cultural object and as a creative industry in Scotland, thus

⁴²¹ Dick, E (SFC), Cowle, K (SFC) & Brown, S (SCRE) Submission to Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation for a Research Grant for Media Education in Scotland, 01 October 1987. Uncatalogued 'found' material in boxes belonging to former MEDP officer. 2/15/2

⁴²² Op. cit. 204 & 222

⁴²³ ESRC and Calouste Gulbenkian.

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securing its institutional independence once again. In addition, the SED agreed that institutional responsibility for media education should continue to be located in the SFC. However, direct support from SED for SFC's media education work should cease⁴²⁴. The Department made clear that it is "open to question whether SFC can properly be regarded as the appropriate agency to take a leading role in the field of media education" (SED, 1988). Forsyth's presence in the Scottish Office demanded an additional tightening at the centre and the capacity of those on the periphery to effect change was removed.

5.3.3.i Hurdles and Incentives (Brown & Visocchi, 1991)

Tightening budgets and remits placed severe constraints on all educational institutions in Scotland at this time and the research planned by the SFC and SCRE was affected accordingly. The project went ahead but with more modest ambitions. The key question of what counts as media education (Brown & Visocchi, 1991, p2) was one that five years previously should have been addressed in the MEDP (4.3.1). A particular interest in the value of the conceptual framework that had been developed for Media Studies⁴²⁵ and the efficacy of a permeation model informed its method. However, the current and prevailing climate dominating the educational policy community in 1988 was substantially different to that in 1982. Funding was provided by the ESRC rather than the SED, also indicative of the shifts afoot.

⁴²⁴ Scottish Education Department, Scottish Film Council: Report of Policy Review, Revised Version, 7. Media Education, February 1988. A0200132.047.

⁴²⁵ Op. cit. 9

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Published in 1991, its final report confirmed the presence in the secondary sector of a structure that intrinsically obstructed permeation and multidisciplinary working as a consequence of the continued dominance of traditional subjects and pedagogies. Such a dominance was one that some in the CCC and SCET had been anxious to reduce during the aftermath of the Munn and Dunning Reports (SED, 1977a & 1977b). The Report concluded "the success of the innovation must rest ultimately on overcoming the resistance (or indifference) of the majority of teachers to this aspect of the secondary curriculum" (Brown & Visocchi, 1991, p42), suggesting there may have been some basis for one element of Bazalgette's claim (Bazalgette, 1999) (2.1.1). However, using the revised curriculum guidelines (SFC/SCDS/AMES, 1988), the research assumed the appropriateness of a conceptual framework developed for Media Studies to the needs of learners and teachers at other curriculum stages. In the foreword of the Report, Dick claims the guidelines had "legitimised media education in a way that had never been done before in Scotland". Such a claim may have had some validity for Media Studies but its relation to the broader project of media education remained without evidence. The ESRC research appeared, therefore, to be working from something of an unstable premise.

In addition, the research was conducted in the difficult climate of the late 1980s and did not appear to factor in the legacy of educational reforms impacting on the secondary sector at that time. Secondary school subject teachers had experienced attacks on their professional autonomy in a manoeuvre that could be regarded as one that would potentially deskill and re-skill the teaching workforce. Further evidence of that growing trend may have been identified in the emphasis on the commercial production of curriculum resource materials. Gitlin and Margonis (1995) argued that

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resistance to education reforms demonstrated the "good sense" of teachers. Whilst the legacy of the industrial dispute may have continued to make itself felt, teachers may have been resisting what was perceived as irrelevant to their needs. Another paradox seemed to be emerging at this point that derived from an assumption of a hierarchical relationship between the subject and its pedagogy. The media education movement had sought to break down such assumptions about the privileging of knowledge. In the rush to invent media education, however, some elements of the media education movement appeared to have forgotten about one of its first principles.

More encouragingly, however, the research concluded that at this time, the primary sector was more conducive to curriculum innovation that promoted the permeation of children's everyday cultural experiences and practices through media education.

Crucially, however, the research was conducted prior to the publication of the 5-14 curriculum guidelines (SCCC, 1993a). The guidelines encapsulated a typical trait of the Scottish educational policy community to ameliorate the worst excesses of policy developments in England, in this instance, the National Curriculum. However, the assault on professional autonomy was clear in the extraordinary detail of what required to be taught and the benchmarking of attainment outcomes. What had been reconstituted as the Scottish Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (SCCC) in the wake of the review of the CCC, continued to be sympathetic to the early objectives of the media education movement long after its fracture. However, the absence of a model appropriate to the stages of the curriculum for which it had responsibility, if increasingly notional, prevented the SCCC from promoting its more widespread development. The publication of SCCC's later curriculum documents

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(SCCC, 1993a & 1999), made reference to media education as a multidisciplinary and permeating element but in the continued absence of a more intellectual engagement with how it might work in practice, its mention was without effect.

5.3.3.ii The road to Scottish Screen

In 1989, the Director of SFC advised MEAC that the Scottish Office had acceded to the request that SFC become a non-departmental public body (NDPB), independent of SCET, with a continuing remit for media education (MEAC, 1989)⁴²⁶. The discourse of corporatism had arrived in the education system. Multiple references to corporate planning, performance indicators and clients peppered not only SFC official documents emerging at this point but also played out in its relations of power with AMES⁴²⁷. At this juncture, when culture entered the commodity market in Glasgow in particular (Myerscough, 1988) and Europe in general, the Council's focus for its future work in the area of media education would, ironically, be restored to film⁴²⁸. In this final phase of the SFC's preparations for independence as a cultural agency, however, it continued to support media education by developing and publishing resource materials and organising professional development opportunities for teachers in the same way as the British Film Institute. It grew increasingly distant from AMES, however. The SED continued to provide funding for this work but in keeping with the general trend in education, moved substantially away from a general model and toward training and skills development.

⁴²⁶ Scottish Film Council, Media Education Advisory Committee, minute of meeting, 22 March 1989. 1/1/337

⁴²⁷ AMES, letter from P Visocchi to K Cowle, 17 August 1989

⁴²⁸ A later discursive shift in policy moved media education into moving image education (2.1.1)

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In its first significant publication (Dick, 1990), the Council positioned itself as self-consciously European whose reinvigorated purpose was the promotion of an indigenous film and television industry. A re-focusing on cultural representations in the new politico-economic context of a single deregulated European market provided the impetus for a more institutionalised approach to cultural production in Scotland.

The MEDP had raised the profile of Media Studies, evident in the number of SCOTVEC modules and the number of centres and students presenting in that area⁴²⁹. Whether that also constituted a "qualitatively different situation for Scottish media education to that which obtained in the early 1980s" (MEAC, 1988b, p13) is open to question. Evidence of the efficacy of the SFC's ability to progress the development of media education at the 5-14 curriculum stage at this time is difficult to find. Its publications sold well but the relationship between that, media education and what was actually going on in the classroom far from clear⁴³⁰.

5.4 Conclusions

Responsibility for the failure of media education to make a significant impact at the primary and early secondary curriculum stages in Scotland's statutory sector⁴³¹ has been variously located in the industrial dispute (Butts, 1986, Dick, 1987)(5.1.4), the policy making community (Instrell, 1983, Dick, 1987, Gormlie & Instrell,

⁴²⁹ Around two hundred schools and colleges were teaching media studies modules. Media Studies 1 being the eighth most popular module in a catalogue of approximately 1500. Extract from publication 'found' amongst uncatalogued material in the Archive. Date and author unknown but likely to have been published in the late 1980s

⁴³⁰ Powell (2000) Whatever Happened to Media Education? Funded by the Scottish Executive, the research looked for evidence of media education as described by Curriculum Guidelines some twelve years previously. Evidence of its elements emerged but all were fragmented and incoherent.

⁴³¹ Op. cit. 300

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2004/2005)(5.3.1 & 5.3.2) and the collapse of the 10-14 initiative (CCC, 1986)(Brown & Visocchi, 1991)(5.3.1). For those who consider media education and Media Studies in Scotland to have made significant gains, on the other hand, it has been the work of the SFC and AMES (Dick, 1987, Bruce, 1996, Bazalgette, 1999, Masterman, 2002, 2004/2005) that has attracted plaudits. This study has shown the work of SCET and the RIU has also played a part in some of the progress made. All these factors are present in the trajectory of the MEDP.

This chapter shows realignments in the Scottish educational policy community as it sought to maintain its power during the second term of a Thatcher administration that was working to expose the public sector to market forces. In the process, a hierarchy re-established that strengthened the influence of its traditions and practices to protect its particularity (4.3.5 & 5.3.2). As a consequence, when political control began to tighten, those on the periphery of its activity became more vulnerable than others. Positioned on the margins of the education system the MEDP had required an opportunism (Morley, 2007) that exposed the initiative to the forces of institutional politics at a particularly turbulent time.

Restricting the chronology of this chapter to three years has enabled the analysis to focus on the administration of the MEDP through the agency of its three central actors: AMES, SCET and the SFC. The thick description produced through this chapter and the previous one has revealed that between 1977 and 1982 the preconditions created by cultural and technological reform (1.2.3, 2.1.3, 2.1.4, 2.1.5, 2.1.7, 2.1.8, 4.2.1 & 4.2.3) precipitated the emergence of Media Studies at the post-16 stages of education in Scotland (4.2.2, 4.2.4, 4.3.1, 4.3.2 & 4.3.5). In 1982, an

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evaluation of the SMDP (Odor & Entwistle, 1982)(5.2.1 & 5.2.2) may have prompted a re-evaluation of the efficacy of educational technology in learning and teaching in the general curriculum (SED, 1982a). Together with the Grunwald Declaration (UNESCO, 1982)(4.3.1), therefore, these events may have triggered the formulation of and the funding for the MEDP.

At that point, however, culture and technology began to cleave in two different directions as the SFC and SCET found new sources of funding from the arts (Bruce, 1996)(1.2.3.i, 2.1.7) and microelectronics (Paine, 1999)(2.1.3) respectively. Each would acquire independent institutional identities and coherence⁴³² in the process but would lose the communicative space between them where platform and form could engage in a developmental dialogue through the conjunction of culturally relevant everyday texts and technologies (5.2.1 & 5.2.2) for teaching and learning in Scottish schools. Microelectronics policy discourse brought both political and economic pressure to bear (Conlon & Cope, 1989), however, and SCET's exit from the management of the MEDP in 1984 in order to focus on the intensifying debate was swift. David Bruce's (4.1.1 & 5.3.3) subsequent attendance at steering committee meetings, however, signalled an equally intensifying interest on the part of the SFC in the MEDP.

The establishment of the Scottish Film Production Fund (SFPF) in 1982, had given a major public fillip to film making in Scotland but limited funds in its early days "prevented it from making a serious impact on film production" (Bruce, 1996,

⁴³² Len Masterman's (2002) critique of the failure of media education to make an impact on the general curriculum in England suggests the reason can be found in the institutional incoherence of the British Film Institute (2.1.2).

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p139)(1.2.3.i, 2.1.7, 4.1.2 & 4.3.4). The SFC was struggling, therefore, to support this new emphasis on cultural production and was not in a position to fund a post for media education (4.3.4). However, the developing UK and international profile that media education in Scotland was establishing (5.1.2 & 5.1.3) was one SFC wanted to maintain (Dick, 1987) and in light of Bruce's history of negotiations between the SFC and the SED, he knew the benefits of maintaining that relationship in difficult economic and political circumstances (4.1.2)⁴³³. Unlike before, however, SCET was under significant pressure at this time and not in a position to respond to the workload issues (5.2.3) the management of the MEDP created for the SFC (5.1.1 & 5.1.4). When the SFC became the dominant influence in the MEDP (5.2.1), the boundaries of the educational policy community had begun to shrink. The intensity of that centralising movement left the SFC without significant friends.

The key to the success of the partnership between the SFC and SEFA had been its formation on the cusp of the development of film technology (3.1.1, 3.2.1 & 3.2.2). SCET emerged on the cusp of the development of microelectronics in education (Bellis, 1972). The first phase of its institutional development focused on enhancing the efficacy of the more familiar and accessible technologies of film and television (2.1.3, 2.1.4, 4.2.4.i & 5.2.2). However, at the same time as the Anderson document (1979) was published (4.2.2), the first computer arrived in a secondary school in Glasgow (Stuart, 1989), fifty years after the first 'cinema' arrived in the same city (3.1.1). From this point, therefore, SCET embarked upon a similar journey to that which may have been experienced by the SFC, SEFA and film in the 1930s. The SMDP (5.2.1) created tensions within SCET but re-positioned it in the vanguard of

⁴³³ As had Russell Borland (3.1.1.i & 3.2.2) and Ronnie Macluskie (4.1.1 & 4.1.2) before him

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the development of educational electronic publishing (Paine, 1999). Such tensions moved the focus away from the MEDP and away from 'old media' and everyday cultural practices (5.2.1 & 5.2.2) to 'new media'. In addition, the end of the MEDP coincided with increasing pressures on the educational policy community as a whole. From this point on further developments in media education at a national level began to stall.

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Between 1977 and 1979 in Scotland's statutory education sector (4.2.1, 4.2.2 & 4.2.3), media education sought to resolve the structural inequalities in Scottish education that educational technology had thus far failed to address (3.3). The solution was a cultural one. Political interest in the relationship between media and education at this time triggered the production of *Media Education in Scotland: Outline Proposals for a Curriculum* (Anderson, 1979). That document marked the significant discursive shift that had been taking place within the Scottish Education Department (SED) for two years. The cultural and economic symmetry of media education and educational technology, however, was short-lived. The Media Studies turn (Cowle, 1981)(4.3) created an antagonism between media education and educational technology (Caughie, 1990) and cast culture and technology in opposition. Further development of media education within the policy-making community of Scotland's statutory education sector stalled (5.1, 5.2 & 5.3).

Drawing on historical and ethnographic methods of enquiry (Tosh, 2006, Haney & Horowitz, 2006)(1.1), this study has shown a relationship between media and education in the statutory sector in Scotland enduring for at least fifty years. It has revealed long-standing contests between the elite and the popular, medium and form, institution and individual, nation and state, and the shifting asymmetries of power within and between. The act of deconstructing and reconstructing this history of media education has allowed the boundaries drawn by antagonisms past to be dissolved. In so doing, therefore, it offers a new perspective on the historic relationship between media and education in Scotland that explains its potency since the 1930s.

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By analysing a range of public and private documents circulating on the margins of the Scottish educational policy-making community over five decades of Scottish education, this work shows the significance of the institutional conjunction of media culture and technology in and to Scotland throughout the twentieth century. The historical narrative re-constructed by this account does not imply, however, a straightforwardly sequential causal relation between temporal and spatial signifiers. Nevertheless, this narrative does place a different emphasis on the political and economic agency of individuals, organisations, institutions and events in the development of media culture and technology in Scottish education.

Media culture and technology discourses emerging simultaneously in Scotland in the 1970s and 1980s (2.1) have inscribed media education and educational technology contemporaneously. This study suggests the discursive construction of both can be discerned earlier. The creation of an atypical institutional link between culture and technology in the Scottish educational policy-making community from 1934 until 1990, through the Scottish Film Council (SFC) from 1934 to 1974 and the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET) from 1974 to 1990, highlights the significance attached to the production of an indigenous media culture in Scotland.

The historic traditions of Scottish education point to two defining and related characteristics: an institutional commitment to the provision of a broad general education and the promotion of a cultural belief that connects Scottish education with a national egalitarianism (McPherson & Raab, 1988). Early achievements in the spheres of media culture and technology in the compulsory sector can be understood in that context (3.1 & 3.2). In this way, therefore, SFC held with the "moral

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framework of the myth" (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p452)(2.2.2) and can be located as a key educational bureaucracy in the period from 1934 to 1964. Over time, however, shifting asymmetries of power can be seen to have distributed and re-distributed agency within and between differently located 'centres' to construct and re-construct "common purpose" between the SFC and the Scottish Education Department (SED). When media education discourse became visible in the 1970s and 1980s, therefore, it emerged from the traditions of Scottish education but was an attempt to give it greater contemporary cultural, technological, political and economic relevance.

At least three possible iterations for media and education in Scotland can be discerned in this study. The first iteration appears to emerge in the late 1920s and following the first BBC school radio broadcast in Scotland. Establishing the SFC might be seen as a move to introduce an agent of change in Scottish education, on the cusp of the emergence of new texts and technologies and in the context of expanding educational provision (3.2). Little is known, however, about the relationship between the newly constructed educational audiences for these newly constructed texts beyond the narrowly defined purposes of research undertaken at that time.

More work is needed to excavate the films used in and made for Scottish classrooms and to juxtapose these to historical audience studies to understand the potency of media culture and technology in education. Little is known about the articulations between schooling and the social processes of reception and production for teachers and learners at that time during the period between 1929 and 1938 in particular.

Moreover, what is known about them in Scotland today?

6. Conclusions

A second iteration for media and education can be seen to emerge in the UK with the arrival of television. In broadcasting, an antagonism between the public and commercial sectors focused on education as a site of contest from which the discourses of educational technology and media education respectively emerged (3.3). The policy focus on television as a technology in the service of education triggered the development of media education as an oppositional discourse but in so doing created a binary between media culture and technology. In Scotland, on the other hand, the emergence of educational technology and media education discourses can also be seen at this time but administrative turbulence between 1964 and 1974 constrained institutional development. The act of establishing the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET), however, allowed for a common purpose to re-emerge when the failures of those discourses to articulate with Scottish particularity created the third iteration. At this point, media culture and technology are brought into a symmetrical relationship within the educational policy-making community (4.1 & 4.2.1).

The Media Education Development Project (MEDP) might be seen as the start of a fourth iteration for media and education in Scotland and one that further work might investigate in comparison with its first. In this version, consent for the SFC was lost when a new political and economic context created an asymmetry that would bring media culture and technology back into antagonistic relation. At this point, therefore, "common purpose" was re-established but this time between the SED and the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET).

6. Conclusions

Drawing upon the work of Raphael Samuel, a social historian, Steedman (2001) writes of the potential that might be created by the "remove [of] historical explanation from the hypnotic fix of linear time" (p79). In similar vein, Tosh (2006) argues that using analytical history as a method requires the suspension of narrative. By dissolving the chronological boundaries between early use of media in education in the 1930s and the media education turn in the 1970s, this study has articulated documents from a more distant past with those from a more contemporary period to explore "the interface of past and present" (McCulloch, 2004, p128). Using "a strong fabric of interpretation out of the warp of sequence and the woof of contemporaneity" (Tosh, 2006, p152), therefore, this study has disaggregated the discursive construction of media education in Scotland in the late 1970s and early 1980s. By applying the analytical mode of historical enquiry to the trajectory of a single case over a longer period of time, media education in statutory education in Scotland, therefore, this study has been able to identify the manifest and latent, profound and surface "forces and events" (Tosh, 2006, p156)(1.1). This has allowed a different emphasis to be brought to a historical narrative that connects educationists and cultural workers throughout the twentieth century in Scotland.

The meta-narrative of the relationship between media and education in Scotland can be understood in the context of its constitutional position in the UK. In the approach to the 1979 devolution referendum, political, economic and social discourses conjoined with media culture and technology in Scottish education. However, in 1979, the installation of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government in the UK re-focused priorities for all. The Media Studies and media education turn in the

6. Conclusions

compulsory sector in Scotland could be seen as historically situated, therefore, in the complex nexus of its constitutional relations.

If the significance of a term is the antagonisms that determine it (Morley, 2007) which, in turn, refer to asymmetrical power relations (Kellner, 1995), this study has used media education to explore the antagonisms between media and education in Scotland. In so doing, it has observed the construction of an antagonism between culture and technology in education at historic political and economic junctures. This study has shown an institutional legacy conjoining media culture, technology and education reaching back to the 1930s. As a history of the institutional relationship between the SFC and the SED in twentieth century Scotland, this study has sought to reprise the oppositions constructed between media producers and education professionals, between media culture and media technology. It suggests that more work is needed to understand the relationship between and the potential of media culture, technology and its audiences, past and present, in educational spaces in Scotland. In the context of accelerating debate about media literacy in the UK (1.1), a new iteration for media and education in Scotland in the twenty-first century is overdue.

Appendices

Appendix A

Documents selected for further scrutiny and held in the Scottish Film & Television Archive (GB 2120 SSA) during period 2001 - 2002. File number, author, title, form and date have been stated where a reliable identification could be made.

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August 1949
- 1/1/43 Organisation of Visual Education in Scotland. Diagram. August 1949
- 1/1/43 Edinburgh Educational Film (Festival and Conference) Committee.
The Film in Education. 24 August, 1950
- 1/1/43 UNESCO Questionnaire. Tabulated information regarding Scottish
schools. March 1950
- 1/1/48 Edinburgh Educational Film Festival & Conference Committee. Films
in Technical Training. 21 & 22 August 1952
- 1/1/60 The Schools Will Be In Luck. Press cutting. 15 December 1950, p4
- 1/1/61 Scottish Film Liaison Committee for Visual Aids in Education: Visual
Aids in Scottish Schools. May 1958
- 1/1/108 The Scottish Educational Journal. The Cinema and The Teacher in
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- 1/1/237 Scottish Educational Sight and Sound Association. Record of meeting. 27 June 1933
- 1/1/237 Glasgow Corporation Education Offices. Letter to Sir Robert Rait. 25 May 1934
- 1/1/237 Corporation of Glasgow Education Offices. Letter to Col JM Mitchell of Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. 09 June 1934
- 1/1/237 Corporation of Glasgow Education Offices. Letter to unknown recipient. 12 June 1934
- 1/1/237 Corporation of Glasgow Education Offices. Letter to Rev Lang of East Lothian County Council. 22 June 1934
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- 1/1/237 Scottish Central Library of Educational Films. Note of decision of Scottish Directors of Education on 18 March 1938. Date unknown
- 1/1/237 City of Edinburgh Education Offices. Letter to RM Allardyce. 05 June 1934
- 1/1/238 Conference on the Film in School, Stow College, Glasgow. Agenda. 12 May 1939
- 1/1/238 Scottish Evacuation Film Scheme. Final Report
- 1/1/238 Scottish Evacuation Film Scheme. Press Statement

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- 1/1/238 Scottish Film Council. A Plan for the Purchasing, Installation and Servicing of Visual Aids Equipment in Scottish Schools
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- 1/1/238 Scottish Educational Film Association. Proposed Scheme for the Production of Visual Aids. January 1946
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December 1934
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March 1935
- 1/1/250 Scottish Film Council. Minute of Meeting of Scottish Film Council. 12
March 1935
- 1/1/250 Scottish Film Council. Minute of Meeting of Scottish Film Council. 15
September 1934
- 1/1/250 Scottish Film Council. Minutes of the Twenty Seventh Meeting. 21
September 1938
- 1/1/247 Scottish Film Council. Minutes of the Education Panel. 04 December
1935
- 1/1/251 Scottish Film Council. Minutes of the Eighth Annual General Meeting.
29 October 1941
- 1/1/251 Scottish Film Council. Minutes of the Ninth Annual General Meeting
of the Members of the British Film Institute resident or located in
Scotland. 18 November 1942

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- 1/1/251 Scottish Film Council. Minute of the Annual General Meeting. 20 October 1939
- 1/1/250 Scottish Film Council. Minute of the Third General Meeting. 10 October 1936
- 1/1/252 Scottish Film Council. Minute of the Twelfth Annual General Meeting of the members of the British Film Institute resident in Scotland. 19 September 1945
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- 1/1/251 Scottish Film Council. Minute of the Thirty Second Meeting. 20 October 1939
- 1/1/254 Scottish Film Council. Minute of the Second Annual General Meeting. 30 September 1952
- 1/1/252 Scottish Film Council. Minute of Special General Meeting. 02 March 1950
- 1/1/250 Scottish Film Council. Minute of the Seventh Meeting. 04 September 1935
- 1/1/250 Scottish Film Council. Minute of the Twelfth Meeting. 05 June 1936
- 1/1/250 Scottish Film Council. Minute of the Ninth Meeting. 06 December 1935
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- 1/1/237 Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. Letter to RM Allardyce. 26 May 1934
- 1/1/249 Scottish Film Council. Minute of Social Service Panel. 15 December 1934
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- 1/1/252 Scottish Film Council. Minutes of the 14th Annual General Meeting of the Scottish Film Council with members of the British Film Institute resident in Scotland. 22 October 1947
- 1/1/252 Scottish Film Council. Minutes of the 15th Annual General Meeting. 15 October 1948
- 1/1/252 Scottish Film Council. Minute of the 16th Annual General Meeting. 02 March 1950
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- 1/1/250 Scottish Film Council. Minute of Fourth General Meeting. 19 October 1937
- 1/1/251 Scottish Film Council. Minute of the Thirty Third Meeting. 20 December 1939

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- 1/1/252 Scottish Film Council. Minutes of the 65th Meeting. 15 November 1948
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- 1/1/336 Media Education Development Project. Notes on the meeting of the Project Team. Kevin Cowle. 07 February 1984
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- 1/1/336 Media Education Development Project. Minute of special meeting of the Project Advisory Committee. 14 March 1986
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- 1/1/336 Media Education Development Project. Note of meeting held on 12 December 1983. Kevin Cowle. 21 December 1983
- 1/1/337 Media Education at S3/4. Summary of informal meeting. Kevin Cowle. 26 August 1987.
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- 1/1/335 Media Education Coordinating Committee. Agenda. 18 May 1982
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- 2/15/2 Times Educational Supplement. Heady Brew. 21 June 1985, p20
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- 5/7/123 Edinburgh Cinema Enquiry Committee: The Edinburgh Cinema Enquiry. John Mackie. 1933
- 5/7/127 Programme from The Seamore Picture House 1915

Appendices

- 10/12/99 Keynote Speech by Professor Philip Schlesinger to the 'Screentime'
Festival Dinner, Tarbert, Argyll. 20 November 1999
- 12/3/99 Scottish Screen. Media Education Advisory Committee. Minute. 05
February 1998

Appendices

Appendix B

Selected newspaper articles consulted during period 2001 - 2002 in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

Films for the Schoolroom: New Scottish Society's Aims, Glasgow Herald, 18 May 1931, p9 c)

Glasgow Schools Lead: Films for Educational Purposes, Glasgow Herald, 28 May 1931, p7 d)

Friday Night, Glasgow Herald, 04 July 1931, p10 d)

School Cinemas: An Edinburgh Experiment, Glasgow Herald, 20 October 1931, p7 a)

An Aid to Backward Children: Educational Value Proved, Glasgow Herald, 16 December 1931, p7 a)

Films and Education: Experiment in Edinburgh Schools, Glasgow Herald, 22 January 1932, p9 f)

Films and Education: Report on an Edinburgh Experiment, Glasgow Herald, 15 October, 1932, p7 b)

Cinemas in Schools: Novel Experiment to Begin in Glasgow Today, The Bulletin, 08 February 1932

Appendix C

Selected information derived from the interview transcripts.

Interviewees	Date of interview	Status at interview	Previous positions	Media education in Scotland
Eddie Dick	September 2001	Producer: Makar Productions	Classroom teacher of English & Media Studies Director SFPF	AMES: National Committee member SCET: MEDP Officer SFC: Media Education Officer
David Butts	April 2002	Retired	BBC Education Officer Radio & television producer Head of AV Media Department, Jordanhill College, University of Strathclyde Research Fellow, Education Department, University of Stirling	SCET: MERP Principal Investigator MECC: Convener
John Gray	March 2004	Retired	Member of GPO Film Unit BBC Scotland broadcaster Lecturer, Queen Margaret University College	AMES: founding member SESAME: local committee member
Julie Watt	March 2004	Lecturer in Media	Classroom teacher of English & Media Studies Head of Communication Department, Stevenson College, Edinburgh	AMES: founding member SESAME: local committee member
Rick Instrell	April 2004	Freelance provider of CPD for teachers	Classroom teacher of mathematics Head of Computing Department Classroom teacher of Media Studies	FMG: founding member AMES: founding member SESAME: local committee member MECC: committee member

Dan Fleming	May 2004	Professor of Media & Cultural Studies	Classroom teacher of English Lecturer in Media, Falkirk College Lecturer at Robert Gordon's Institute, Aberdeen	AMES: National Committee member MASCOT: local committee member MEJ: editor
Frank Gormlie	June 2004	Head of Media Studies	Journalist Poet Roadie Classroom teacher of English	FMG: founding member AMES: founding member SESAME: local committee member MEJ: editor
Dan MacLeod	June 2004	General Manager, Lochaber College, UHI	Classroom teacher of English BBC Education Officer Lecturer in Media Studies, University of Stirling	AMES: founding member & Convener MASCOT: founding member
Margaret Hubbard	June 2004	Freelance provider of CPD for teachers	Head of English Department Classroom teacher of Media Studies	AMES: National Committee member & Convener SESAME: local committee member MEJ: editor
Brian MacLean	June 2004	Head of English Department	Classroom teacher of Media Studies	AMES: founding member ESAME: local committee member

Martin Axford	July 2008	Visiting academic	Classroom teacher of English Lecturer, John Wheatley College HMI: English & Media Studies	SFC: SED HMI assessor
Martyn Roebuck	September 2008	Honorary Professor of Education, Glasgow University	Classroom teacher of Physics Lecturer, Glasgow University RIU: SED HMCI	RIU: HMI educational technology

Appendix D

Timeline for selected individuals, organisations and publications/events

Year	Individuals	Organisations	Publications/Events
1840		Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) established	
1872		Scotch Education Department (SED)	Education (Scotland) Act: compulsory education for 5-13 year olds
1914			First World War begins
1918			Education (Scotland) Act: brings an end to the governance of schools by local boards First World War ends
1920		Association of Directors of Education in Scotland (ADES) established	
1924			First school radio broadcast in Scotland
1929	RM Allardyce: becomes Director of Education in Glasgow	School Broadcasting Council Film Society of Glasgow Local Education Authorities	Labour Government Local Government (Scotland) Act
1930	AR Borland: founder of SECS Charles Cleland: President of SECS	Scottish Educational Cinema Society (SECS)	
1931			First cinema in Glasgow school

1932			The Film in National Life (Gott, 1932) Sunday Entertainments Act
1933	JB Barclay: founder of SESSA JB Frizell: Director of Education in Edinburgh Cleland: Chair of Glasgow Corporation Education Committee	Scottish Educational Sight and Sound Association (SESSA) British Film Institute (BFI)	Edinburgh Cinema Enquiry (Mackie, 1933)
1934		Scottish Film Council (SFC) Scottish Federation of Film Societies (SFFS)	
1935	Cleland: acting chair of BFI Frizell: President of SEFA	Scottish Educational Film Association (SEFA)	Conservative Government
1937	Borland: first SFC employee		
1938		Films of Scotland Committee (1)	SEFA records five thousand members Glasgow Empire Exhibition
1939	Borland: Director of SFC & SCFL Frizell: Chair SCFL	Scottish Central Film Library	Scottish Film Evacuation Scheme Second World War begins
1944	Allardyce: resigns as Director of Education in Glasgow		
1945			Labour Government Education (Scotland) Act Second World War ends
1946		National Council for Visual Aids in Education (NCVAE)	
1947	Borland: resigns SFC & SCFL		Advisory Council Memorandum (SED, 1947) Edinburgh International Film Festival (EIFF) Local Government (Scotland) Act

1948			Radcliffe Report (Office of the Lord President of the Council, 1948) BFI loses its educational film-making function SED contributes to funding of SCFL
1949			National Film Finance Corporation
1951			Conservative Government
1950	DM Elliot: Director SFC & SCFL	Society of Film Teachers (SFT) Joint Production Committee (JPC)	SFC company limited by guarantee
1954		Films of Scotland Committee (2)	Field, M (1954) Children and Films: A Study of Boys and Girls in the Cinema Broadcasting Act 1954
1957			STV
1958			Television & The Child (Himmelweit, 1958) Teaching Machines (Skinner, 1958)
1959		Society for Education in Film and Television (SEFT)	Modern Studies emerges
1961	Frizell retires as Director of Education in Edinburgh		First television broadcast in Scotland Television in the Lives of our Children (Schramm, 1961)
1962		JPC becomes Educational Films of Scotland	Pilkington Report

1963	Frizell resigns from SEFA	Scottish Certificate Education Examination Board (SCEEB)	Newsom Report (Ministry of Education, 1973) Robbins Report (Committee on Higher Education, 1963) Education (Scotland) Act UNESCO: Screen Education
1964			Labour Government
1965		Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (CCC)	Brynmor-Jones Report: Committee on Audio-Visual Aids in Higher Scientific Education
1966	Barclay: Director of Glasgow CCTV	General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS)	BBC conference: Educational Radio & Television First closed circuit television service in Glasgow
1967		National Council for Educational Technology (NCET)	
1968	RB Macluskie: Director of SFC & SCFL		University of Stirling opens
1969	David Bruce: Assistant Director SFC	SEFA integrates with SFC	
1971	Macluskie appointed to working party for Hudson Report (1972)		Conservative Government
1972	JG Morris: Director of RIU	Research and Information Unit (RIU)	Hudson Report (DES, 1972) Bellis Report (SED, 1972) The Computers and the Schools' Committee Final Report
1973	M Roebuck appointed to RIU	National Inter-College Committee on Educational Research (NICCR)	The educational value of non-educational television (IBA) Mass Media in the Secondary School (Murdock & Phelps, 1973) Local Government (Scotland) Act

1974		Scottish Council for Educational Technology	Hayter Report: Using Broadcasts in School Labour Government (Harold Wilson)
1975			Bullock Report (DES, 1975) Two-tier system of local government introduced
1976			Ruskin Speech (James Callaghan) Film Bang
1977			UNESCO: Media Studies in Education Annan Committee Munn & Dunning (SED 1977) Cinema in a Small Country
1978		Educational Broadcasting Working Party (EBWP)	BFI Film Fellowship at Stirling A Critique of the Munn & Dunning Reports (McIntyre, 1978) A General Curricular Model for Mass Media Education (Minkkinen)
1979			Anderson (1979) document First computer in Glasgow school <i>That Sinking Feeling</i> (Forsyth, 1979) Devolution Referendum Conservative Government
1980		Forrester Media Group (FMG) Scottish Microelectronics Development Project (SMDP)	Media Education Conference (Cowle, 1981) Teaching About Television (Masterman, 1980) <i>Gregory's Girl</i> (Forsyth, 1989)
1981			School Broadcasting in Scottish Schools (MacIntyre, 1981) Tony Lavender begins research (1986)

1982		<p>Scottish Film Production Fund (SFPF)</p> <p>Media Education Coordinating Committee (MECC) replaces EBWP</p>	<p>SMDP evaluation (Odor & Entwistle)</p> <p><i>Teaching English</i>. Media Studies Conference on Film and Television in English teaching</p> <p>Computing Studies emerges</p> <p>UNESCO: Grunwald Declaration on Media Education</p> <p>Scotch Reels</p> <p>Films of Scotland disbanded</p> <p>Computer Manpower in Scotland</p> <p>Learning & Teaching in Scottish Secondary Schools: the contribution of educational technology (SED, 1982a)</p> <p>The Munn & Dunning Reports: Framework for Decision (SED, 1982b)</p> <p><i>Screen Education</i> ceases publication</p>
1983	<p>Eddie Dick: MEDP Officer</p> <p>David Butts: MERP Officer</p> <p>Morris retires from RIU</p> <p>Margaret Thatcher's second term of office</p>	<p>Media Education Development Project (MEDP)</p> <p>Media Education Research Project (MERP)</p> <p>Association for Media Education in Scotland (AMES)</p>	<p>16-18 Action Plan (SED, 1983)</p> <p>DES (1983) Popular Television and Schoolchildren</p>
1984		<p>Media Education Development Project Advisory Committee (MEDPAC) replaces MECC</p>	<p>RIU review</p> <p>First AMES annual conference</p> <p><i>MEJ</i> published</p> <p>Teachers' Industrial Dispute</p> <p>SMDP finishes</p>

1985		Scottish Technical and Vocational Education Council (SCOTVEC) replaces SCOTBEC & SCOTEC MECC re-convened	Teaching the Media (Masterman, 1985)
1986			AMES conference cancelled Lavender (1986) MERP Report (Butts 1986) Industrial dispute settled CCC review 10-14 Report (CCC, 1986) MEDP finishes
1987	Michael Forsyth in Scottish Office		SFC review MEDP report (Dick)
1988			The economic importance of the arts in Glasgow (Myerscough) Revised Curriculum Guidelines: Media Studies (SFC/SCDS/AMES) Hurdles & Incentives research project (SFC/SCRE)
1989		SFC given non-departmental public body status	
1990			Glasgow: European City of Culture

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