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Editorial Office:
Journal of Social Science Education
Bielefeld University
Faculty of Sociology
Postbox 100 131
33501 Bielefeld
Germany
E-Mail: info@jsse.org
http://jsse.ub.uni-bielefeld.de/index.php/jsse/index

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Contents

Editorial

Reinhold Hedtke
Goethe University Frankfurt

Keywords: Financial education, racism, Social Studies, digitalisation, development education, socio-economic education

The current issue of the *Journal of Social Science Education* offers a range of very interesting research which is, however, not contributing to a single featured topic. Two articles of this miscellaneous issue deal with financial literacy and financial education (for an overview see the paper of Lauren Willis, *Finance-Informed Citizens, Citizen-Informed Finance: An Essay Occasioned by the International Handbook of Financial Literacy*, in JSSE 4-2017).

In *Ideology, Education and Financial Literacy*, Thomas Jekel and Sandra Stieger take tests of financial literacy in Austria as an example to analyse the ideological framework assessments of financial literacy are based on. Their content analysis shows that concepts of financial literacy strongly refer to neoclassical economics, to neoliberalism as a political project and to the strategy of individualising economic and especially financial risks and relieving the state from the problem of old-age provisions. Moreover, they reveal that these concepts assume a causal chain from an individual's financial knowledge to his or her financial action, financial performance and well-being. Jekel and Stieger argue that the approaches of financial education present the economy as an autonomous system isolated from the political and social system, push the learners to think and behave like entrepreneurs of their own life, prefer a mechanistic model of free markets, and are therefore "clearly embedded in the neoliberal project". In consequence, the authors criticise, they suppress economic plurality and controversy thus preventing students from critical thinking.

Mattias Björklund starts from the observation that a uniform concept of financial literacy is missing and, therefore, interviews social study teachers in upper secondary schools in Sweden about their understandings of financial literacy, content and pedagogical content knowledge and teaching aims. In *Teaching Financial Literacy: Competence, Context and Strategies among Swedish Teachers* he compares knowledge and preferred approaches of novice and experienced teachers. Both suffer from weak content knowledge. Björklund's study shows that most senior teachers perceive financial literacy as a private matter of personal life drawing on their own financial experience. They are convinced of the impact of financial literacy in improving one's future life. In contrast to experienced teachers and to the conceptual papers analysed by Jekel and Stieger, novice teachers relate private financial issues more strongly to the economy, "both in terms of economics as well as politics". For teaching financial literacy, however, the two teacher groups advocate the intrinsic aims of the social studies subject as well as the extrinsic aim of "supposed future benefits for young people and society".

Corresponding Author:
Reinhold Hedtke
E-Mail: Hedtke@soz.uni-frankfurt.de

The next paper turns the attention from teachers to students and their practice of handling digital techniques of presentation. In *"I mean, everybody is kinda racist", PowerPoint presentations in social-studies classrooms in Germany* Sören Torrau presents a case study which reconstructs the process of negotiation of knowledge as a social process. His research focuses on the transformation of knowledge which is done by the students themselves through working with content in preparing and performing presentations for the classroom. Thus, students are doing didactics – understood as pointing – and, therefore, act as teachers. Moreover, they learn that social science knowledge is "constituted through communicative and social actions between themselves and others". The study analyses in detail a student's presentation on racism and police violence which constructs a direct link from racism in society and the everyday life of the classmates. In sum, the author highlights, students can experience and understand a key concept of the construction of knowledge.

The following two papers deal with the impact of digital media use (see JSSE 1-2016, *Digital Tools and Social Science Education*). While the practice of digitalised presentation seems to foster students' understanding of the very character of knowledge, students' use of the internet apparently promotes conventional or alternative forms of participation. The paper *On the Digital Lane to Citizenship? Patterns of Internet Use and Civic Engagement amongst Flemish Adolescents and Young Adults* of Jessy Siongers, Gil Keppens, Bram Spruyt and Filip Van Droogenbroeck presents results from a representative sample of young people on their aims and forms of Internet use and its relationship to political participation. They show that a pleasure-centred Internet practice is related with alternative forms of political participation whereas internet use focused on information fosters both forms of participation. The authors also find a strong impact of the educational background on participation. The attitude towards conventional participation becomes more positive with increasing age and voting experience. In the end, however, the findings show that a lot of the relationship between Internet use and participation can be explained by *general* media preferences of the youth. Therefore, the impact of the Internet on political participation seems to be often overestimated.

Thomas Nygren, Fredrik Brounéus and Göran Svensson examine the prevailing scepticism about the quality of news read by young people and the danger of misinformation as expressed in buzz words like echo chamber or filter bubble. Their paper *Diversity and credibility in young people's news feeds: A foundation for teaching and learning citizenship in a digital era* gives new insights into "what, where and how useful and biased information is accessed and shared" by the youth in Sweden. The authors use a citizen science project approach involving teachers and students into the research on their own use of news feeds. Against the aforementioned public excitement, the study shows that "girls and boys in all age groups primarily encounter hard news (politics/economy/social issues and crime/accidents) in their newsfeeds". Young people mostly make direct use of the news offered from established news media sites and reviewed by journalists and, in principle they are able to appraise the credibility of the news. In the end, education should support and enhance this practice and, in addition, overcome wrong information by focusing on the facts.

At a closer look, apparently footloose programmes of "education for …" like development education or global education turn out to be closely intertwined with the history of the country in which they do take place (see JSSE 4-2012, *Educations for ... in French Language Context: What Contribution of the Social Sciences?*). For the example of Portugal, Isabel Menezes, João Caramelo and Dalila P. Coelho discuss the challenge of integrating a postcolonial perspective into development education. Their paper *Mapping the field of Development Education in Por-*

tugal: narratives and challenges in a de/post/colonial context emphasises its conflict laden character, its institutional, political, conceptual and financial embeddedness in the field of developmental NGOs and the confusion caused by the diversity of approaches like global education, development education or global citizenship education. The authors raise the key question whether "the field can generate counter-hegemonic views" on the past and the present and "alternative imagined futures". They stress the need of decolonising education and of unlearning efforts which should aim at leaving the still prevailing Northern epistemic stances.

In this issue's book review, Tim Engartner comments *The Socioeconomic Curriculum / Das Soziooekonomische Curriculum* of Reinhold Hedtke.

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Ideology, education, and financial literacy
Uncovering neoliberal ideology in assessment studies of economics education – the case of Austria

Sandra Stieger
University of Salzburg

Thomas Jekel
University of Salzburg

- Curricula serve to make neoliberalism 'palatable' to a wide majority
- Neoclassical economic theory and neoliberal economics education are closely intertwined
- Neoliberals exclude the social and political spheres from economics education
- Current assessment studies are deeply rooted in neoliberal thought
- Assessment studies of economic and/or financial literacy of Austrian students serve mainly political interests

Purpose: This contribution contextualizes the current debate on financial literacy within the discourses on ideology in curriculum design. The critical review questions the concept of financial literacy as used in assessment studies in Austria, revealing the studies' ideological assumptions and their embeddedness within neoliberal ideology.

Methodology: A critical conception of ideology and of curriculum developed by Thompson (1990) and Apple (2004) serves as the basis for analysis. Categories of analysis are derived from neoclassical economics and neoliberal thought. The research is based on a qualitative content analysis of nine recent studies that all argue for enhanced economics education.

Findings: The authors of the studies analysed write in support of an individualistic, naturalized and "apolitical" understanding of economic and financial literacy. This means that they conceive the economy as a closed system, separate from society and politics. The suggested education programs, consequently, are linked mainly to the neoliberal political project, with a lack of emancipatory or transformative ideas.

Keywords: Ideology, neoliberalism, neoclassical economics, economic and financial literacy, secondary education

Corresponding Author:
Sandra Stieger,
Hellbrunnerstraße 34 | 5020 Salzburg, Austria
Email: sandra.stieger@sbg.ac.at, Tel. +43 (0)662 8044-5215

1 Introduction

Financial literacy is a concept discussed widely within economics education (Aprea et al., 2016; Arthur, 2012; Geiger, Meretz, & Liening, 2016, p. 73; Marron, 2014; Retzmann, 2011; Willis, 2017). Thus, its measurement in the form of assessment studies is considered increasingly important (Kaiser & Menkhoff, 2017, pp. 7; 30). In 2012, the OECD extended its Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) with an optional test in financial literacy, and 18 out of 65 countries participated (OECD, 2014, p. 24). Whether a cross-country comparison like PISA or a national study, regardless of reference group and year of investigation, the results of the studies are similar: students' knowledge of economics is unsatisfactory. The lack of economic and financial literacy seems to be ubiquitous (Greimel-Fuhrmann, Bonomo, & Rosner, 2015, p. V; Kaiser & Menkhoff, 2017, p. 2). Results of these empircal studies have informed numerous public relation efforts by the authors that aim for a change of the setup of economics education in Austria (Stieger & Jekel 2018).

However, the significance that the concept of financial literacy has within economics education is just as unclear as the concept itself (Nelson & Sheffrin, 1991, Willis, 2017). Analysis of different publications shows that there are a number of terms (financial literacy, financial competence, financial ability, financial capability, financial knowledge, financial education) that are used interchangeably in the literature and the media (Huston, 2010, p. 296). As Huston (2010) concludes, it is problematic that over three-quarters of 71 studies analysed do not define the measured construct and use the terms 'financial literacy' and 'financial knowledge' as synonyms (p. 303). Accordingly, the dominant way to assess financial literacy is to test participants' financial factual knowledge and numerical skills. Such studies try to predict how participants will behave in financial situations, based on the percentage of correct answers (Fernandes, Lynch Jr., & Netemeyer, 2014, p. 1862). In the view of these publications, financial literacy is the ability of individuals to understand basic financial vocabulary like inflation, interest rate and compound interest, and to manage money by making cost-benefit calculations (Willis, 2017, p. 16). Regarding the latter, it is questionable to what extent financial literacy understood in this way is different from numeracy (Bay, Catasús, & Johed, 2014, p. 40). Other conceptions add non-cognitive criteria and highlight the relevance of motivations and attitudes. Consequently, financial literacy interventions should increase the confidence of individuals in their financial ability and their trust in the financial system. In this view, soft skills such as a propensity for planning, or confidence and willingness to take risk, are rated higher than content knowledge and are addressed in educational programs (Fernandes et al., 2014, p. 1873; Willis, 2017, p. 17). 'Acting responsibly' in these contexts is understood as taking the right level of risk relative to one's means, age, income etc. (Arthur, 2012, p. 81). Despite the methodological issues that arise when it is not clear what exactly should be measured, it is debatable whether these constructs can be measured by assessment studies at all (Huston, 2010, p. 303). Nevertheless, the data acquired in these assessment studies serve as a basis for educational policy claims that aim to foster and enlarge economic and financial education (Stieger & Jekel, 2018).

Most of the literature on financial literacy is based on the belief that there is a causal link between financial knowledge, sound financial behaviour and the financial well-being of individuals. Thus every individual is seen as having the potential to become a capable investor (Bay et al., 2014, p. 37), regardless of financial resources (Willis, 2017, p. 18). As the ability of the individual to take responsibility for their own financial well-being, financial literacy is seen as an "essential life skill" (OECD, 2014, p. 118) which increases not only individual but also societal welfare. In this view, educational programs should enable individuals to handle the growing complexity of financial products, economic crises, and the dynamics of financial markets (Council for Economic Education, 2013, p. v). The secret recipe of this conception of financial literacy: individuals have only to read market signals correctly, so that they can react accordingly (Arthur, 2012, p. 5). Education is reduced to a training of 'desired behaviour', especially in the field of personal finance (i.e. money management, risk planning, wealth creation, retirement planning, taking out loans and credit) that is deemed necessary and beneficial (Geiger et al., 2016, p. 73; Kaiser & Menkhoff, 2017, p. 2; Lusardi & Mitchell, 2014, p. 6; OECD, 2014, p. 118). This conception ignores the inherent tendency of capitalism to create crises, as it presents markets as controllable if they function properly and proper functioning depends only on the right behaviour of market participants (Arthur, 2012, p. 5).

Critical analyses of financial literacy educational programs shows that economic risks are not presented as being mainly socially constructed, but as created by single individuals who are therefore responsible for economic risk management (Arthur, 2012, pp. 10; 14). Accordingly, as responsibility lies only with individual citizens, this belief also trivializes opportunities to shape the economic circumstances of life politically (Willis, 2008, p. 418; 2017, p. 25). Collective risk management is of relatively minor importance, as financial literacy seems to offer individualized solutions (Arthur, 2012, p. xi) and citizens are becoming "entrepreneurs" of their own risk (Marron, 2014, p. 495). This ongoing individualisation of socially-caused economic risk brings new tasks for the state, which should ensure (i.e. by educational programs) that citizens are capable of managing economic risk on their own. Financial education is characterized by "a particular kind of governmentality". It aims to educate people towards an idealized picture of consumerism – namely towards becoming a lifelong, self-confident, self-interested, rational and responsible consumer of financial products and services (Marron, 2014, pp. 494-498). Such a consumer fits perfectly with the neoliberal belief system, as we will show later on. As many critics rightly note, financial literacy, like economic literacy, is a powerful ideological concept within education debates that has to be questioned (Arthur, 2012; Bay et al., 2014, p. 38; Hedtke, 2015; Marron, 2014; Weber, 2010; Willis, 2017, p. 16).

So far, the intention and political interests behind assessment studies have scarcely been analysed in detail. For this reason, our research reflects critically on the ideological assumptions held by study authors regarding both economics and financial education. We question the purpose of different economic and financial literacy assessment studies in Austria, using a methodological tool that allows us to analyse the inherent ideological tenets. By examining nine recent assessment studies in Austria, we show how the current discourses arguing for economic and financial literacy are embedded in neoliberal ideology. We suspect that case studies in different countries would show similar results.

In the following section (Section 2), we discuss the concept of ideology and demonstrate its usefulness as a tool for critical analysis. To examine the ideological underpinnings in the Austrian studies, we develop an analytical framework that systematizes the key assumptions of neoliberalism and neoclassical economics that are the main influencing factors in current educational policy debates (Apple, 2004, p. 2). We also highlight the relationship between ideology and education. In the third section, we explain our research design and study approach in detail before discussing our research findings in Section 4. Finally, we argue for a broader multi-paradigmatic understanding of economics education, namely a conception of socioeconomic education that is able to foster critique, solidarity and sustainability – a conception that is not rooted exclusively at the level of the individual, but one that grounds education in a broader political, social, historical and environmental context, and which by doing so aims at a deep understanding of how a socially-embedded economy works and how it can be shaped collectively and ethically.

2 Ideology, Neoliberalism and Education

> "The flowering of human society depends on two factors: the intellectual power of outstanding men to conceive sound social and economic theories, and the ability of these or other men to make these ideologies palatable to the majority" [1] (von Mises, 1949, p. 860)

Ideology is a useful concept for revealing study authors' understanding of an economics education that fosters neoliberal educational policies and that tries, intentionally or otherwise, to influence thinking in favour of the neoliberal project. Central for our discussion is the ideology of neoliberalism, which has strongly influenced, and continues to influence, discourses on education (Apple, 2004, p. 2). Therefore, we outline the key assumptions of neoliberalism, the relationship between neoliberalism and neoclassical economics, and how, in general, neoliberal policies influence education on different levels. The basic assumptions of neoliberalism and neoclassical economics, together with a critical conception of ideology, form our analytical framework.

2.1 Ideology

Ideologies can be defined as sets of beliefs that represent a societal phenomenon, a social process or a social structure in a distorted, one-sided, naturalizing, depersonalizing or essentializing way. Whether intentionally or not, they represent dominant interests (Apple, 2004, p. 18; Thompson, 1990, p. 32). Domination (e.g. in terms of class, gender or ethnicity) is central for the study of ideology. As Thompson (building on the works of Marx) stresses, ideologies serve to maintain relations of domination. The power exercised by ideology is asymmetrical, excluding, and inaccessible to others (Thompson, 1990, p. 59). Ideologies aim to conceal those dominant interests that serve only a part of society (Apple, 2004, p. 18; Thompson, 1990, p. 32) as they have to be shared by the majority to become hegemonic. Hegemonic ideologies are the "central, effective and dominant system of meanings, values and action" that influence our consciousness and form "the only world" (Apple, 2004, p. 4). As ideologies serve to produce and reproduce beliefs and values that are shared collectively, they foster the adherence of individuals to the existing social order. The hegemonic ideology ensures that, even if there are notable inequalities, exploitation and other social woes, the existing social relations are accepted and reproduced. So the crucial feature of ideology is to aim to win people over and to create a unity under asymmetrical power relations. This can be ensured in two ways: the dominant group exercises hegemony either throughout society or by direct domination through the state (Gramsci, 1971, p. 145; Thompson, 1990, pp. 86-87). The school is one of those highly relevant sites where ideological struggles take place. Schools as 'ideological state apparatuses' enforce ideologies by rituals and habits (Althusser, 2014: 186). As social practices, ideologies depend on people legitimating and representing the belief systems as common sense. Even if scientific authority has a crucial role in this context, findings have to be disseminated. This highlights the importance of educators, who are in a position to construct and reconstruct (or, of course, deconstruct) ideologies (Apple, 1981, p. 77).

The aim of this study of ideology is therefore to show how ideology works to establish and sustain structured social relations that benefit some people and/or groups more than others

(Thompson, 1990; Apple, 2004). Consequently, ideology can be defined as "meaning in the service of power" (Thompson, 1990: 7). As ideologies give meaning, they have a "material existence" in the conduct of individuals (Althusser, 2014: 185): they are lived practices. Based on these considerations, we define ideology as *a social practice that constructs and reconstructs relations of domination*. Our focus is on the function of ideology – that is, how ideology works, within curriculum discourses on financial and economics education, in order to establish or sustain relations of domination represented by the ideology of neoliberalism.

2.2 Neoliberalism and neoclassical economics: two sides of the same coin

Neoliberalism is a buzzword and lacks a precise definition; it is not a single concept; it is neither a unified tradition (Thorsen, 2010, p. 202), nor a coherent and consistent system of beliefs (Weiner, 2003, p. 22). However, neoliberal ideology is comprised by a set of key assumptions regarding the organization of society and individuals that underpin and influence policy-making around the world (Thorsen, 2010, p. 206) and in society as a whole (Dardot & Laval, 2013, p. 111).

Our research relates in two ways to the ideology of neoliberalism and the scientific paradigm of neoclassical economics. First, as already mentioned, neoliberal ideologies have had a considerable influence on education and continue to influence it (Apple, 2004, p. 2; McGregor, 2009, p. 345). Second, neoclassical economics currently is the dominant theory. On the one hand, it has a hegemonic role in economics, especially in economics education (the term 'mainstream economics' is therefore synonymous with 'neoclassical economics'), and on the other it relates to neoliberalism (Agboola, 2015, p. 417). Below, we explain the relationship between neoclassical economics and neoliberalism, and give a brief history of neoliberal theory and an overview of its fundamental assumptions. The synthesis of that discussion results in a categorical framework for our analysis.

Neoliberalism

The term 'neoliberalism' is most commonly used in critiques of economic liberalization (Boas & Gans-Morse, 2009, p. 138), and is thus associated with three typical sets of economic reform policies: (1) pushing ahead the liberalization of the economy; (2) reducing the role of the state by privatization, and (3) contributing to fiscal austerity and macroeconomic stabilization by controlling money supply, avoiding budget deficits, and curtailing government subsidies (Boas & Gans-Morse, 2009, p. 143). Accordingly, David Harvey defines neoliberalism as "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey, 2005, p. 2).

Even if concrete economic reform policies are the aspect of economic liberalism that is most mentioned in the literature (Boas & Gans-Morse, 2009, p. 143; Thorsen, 2010, p. 189), there are other conceptions of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism defined as an academic paradigm goes beyond the domain of political economy: it is a theoretical paradigm that is closely related to neoclassical economics. Furthermore, understood as a development model, neoliberalism describes a means to modernization. In this sense, it analyses how a society should be organised to ensure well-being and prosperity, and thus assumes more the form of an ideology composed of a specific set of normative ideas. Finally, neoliberalism understood as an ideology consists of assumptions that affect greatly our economic, political and cultural understanding, or more precisely our societal self-image. In sum, the term neoliberalism is used in overlapping ways to characterize different economic, social and political phenomena (Boas & Gans-Morse, 2009, pp. 143-144; Dardot & Laval, 2013, p. 7). As for our study the conception of neoliberalism as an ideology is especially important, we focus in the following historical review on how and why these ideological transformations took place, and what effects they had and still do have on our conceptions of how society and its members should be.

Neoclassical economics and neoliberal ideology: history and key assumptions

Neoliberalism and neoclassical economics not only share the prefix “neo”, but also have a close reciprocal relationship. The theory of neoclassical economics has always been an important reference point for policymaking and influenced the development of neoliberal ideology even there are also notable differences between the two. “Neoclassical economics played the role of an meta-ideology as it legitimized, mathematically and ‘scientifically’ neoliberal ideology” (Bresser-Pereira, 2010, p. 2). As Krätke (1999) observes, neoclassical economics is the dominating economic theory behind neoliberal practices as it provides the theoretical justification and underpinning for neoliberal ideology (i.e. the neoclassical assumption that the free market is the best for everyone, not just for a select few).

Neoclassical economics emerged in the 1870s and attempted to address the challenges created by the rise and spread of capitalism (i.e. social tensions regarding questions of wealth distribution between capitalists and workers) with the aim to explain the “allocation of scarce resources amongst unlimited wants” (Reardon, 2017, p. 321). During the 1870s to 1930s, the key elements of neoclassical theory were developed. The new perspective focused on the economic behaviour of individuals and entrepreneurs (i.e. workers, consumers, businesses), based on the theoretical concepts of wants of individuals and productive abilities (e.g. technologies and resources), choice, self-interest, utility maximization, competition and value, or price. By focusing on marginal utility, neoclassicals developed a subjective value and price theory. The behaviour and interaction of individual economic agents explains price (i.e. the neoclassical hypothesis is to explain every price by the interaction of wants and productive abilities) (Reardon, 2017, p. 321; Strober, 2003, p. 135; Wolff & Resnick, 2012). In sum, the aim of neoclassical economics is to explain all economic phenomena in terms of an optimal situation for fulfilling human needs given scarce resources. According to neoclassical theory, there are two pillars of capitalist society: private property rights, and free, competitive markets. The freedom of individuals is to sell and buy in free and competitive markets. Markets are the focus point of neoclassical economics. Other forms of economic activity that do not take place in the market context are ignored. This should lead to the situation of maximum wealth creation, called ‘general market equilibrium’ – that is, a situation without unused production abilities or unfulfilled needs (Krätke, 1999, pp. 108-109; Wolff & Resnick, 2012, pp. 37-38).

Even if a free market theoretically leads to prosperity, in reality a perfectly competitive market has never existed. Rather, large monopolistic, oligopolistic and cartelized companies emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century (1860-1900), accompanied by rising nationalism. Government policies that tended towards the principle of laissez-faire which is implicit in neoclassical theory did not lead to the ideal situation of market equilibrium. The Great Depression in the 1930s put neoclassical theory under further pressure, and it became very clear that understandings that stemmed from neoclassical economic theory failed to inform developments of existing economic systems (Dardot & Laval, 2013).

An alternative framework provided by Keynes in his *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* created a new macroeconomic foundation for economics. Keynes's theory is "concerned with the behaviour of the economic system as a whole,—with aggregate incomes, aggregate profits, aggregate output, aggregate employment, aggregate investment, aggregate saving rather than with the incomes, profits, output, employment, investment and saving of particular industries, firms or individuals" (Keynes, 1939, p. xxxii). The paradigm shift from the microeconomic perspective to Keynesianism as the most influential economic theory on policymaking lasted until the late 1970s. The central problem of declining rates of profit, the two oil shocks of 1973 and 1979 and the associated phenomenon of stagflation brought Keynesian-informed policies into disrepute (Dardot & Laval, 2013, p. 152; Zeller, 2011, p. 66). The so-called "neoliberal turn" of political practices in the 1980s, of which the Thatcher and Reagan governments are among the best-known representatives, had been set in motion long before and was accompanied by an already long-running ideological struggle (Dardot & Laval, 2013).

Neoliberalism was "an ideology out of time" (Bresser-Pereira, 2010, p. 16) as it sought to offer a feasible counter-position to state interventionism (i.e. Keynesianism) and collectivism (i.e. socialism) (Boas & Gans-Morse, 2009, p. 145; Bresser-Pereira, 2010, p. 16; Dardot & Laval, 2013, p. 46). The foundations of neoliberalism were laid as long ago as 1938, when the Walter Lippmann Colloquium aimed to create the International Study centre for the Renovation of Liberalism. This was followed in 1947 with the founding of the Mont Perelin Society by Hayek and Röpke. These neoliberal think tanks engineered the ideological shift with the support of a number of well-known economists, namely Hayek, von Mises, Stigler and Friedman. In the 1980s in particular, there followed a systematic critique of the welfare state and the praising of the free market through propaganda and education. As Friedman mentions, a free economy "gives people what they want instead of what a particular group thinks they ought to want. Underlying most arguments against the free market is a lack of belief in freedom itself" (Friedman & Friedman, 1962, p. 15). For Friedman and his followers, the market is a component of freedom, and the best way to ensure freedom while other organizations of the economy function through coercion. However, while neoliberals do not question the concept of the free market, the ability of individuals and institutions to adapt themselves to the changing economic order is seen as problematic. As Hayek claims, "[W]e can agree that the economic problem of society is mainly one of rapid adaptation to changes in the particular circumstances of time and place" (Hayek, 1945, p. 524). Therefore, it is necessary to equip individuals and institutions with the ability to adapt rapidly. A normative set of neoliberal ideas, what Dardot & Laval call "a global normative framework" (Dardot & Laval, 2013, p. 7), should allow this.

The neoliberal normative framework: conception of the market, the state, and individuals

The main conceptual pillars of neoliberalism regard the interaction of individuals and the state within the organization of the market. The neoliberal normative framework limits market-based relations not to the economic sphere, but concerns all areas of life. It is a framework within which "[t]he enterprise is promoted to rank of model of subjectivation: everyone is an enterprise to be managed and a capital to be made to bear fruit" (Dardot & Laval, 2013, p. 302).

Table 1 summarizes the basic assumptions of neoliberalism regarding the state, the individual and the market, which are analysed in greater detail below.

Table 1: Key assumptions of neoliberal ideology regarding markets, the state and individuals

Markets (Bresser-Pereira, 2010; Dardot & Laval, 2013; Krätke, 1999)	**State** (Bessner & Sparke, 2017; Dardot & Laval, 2013; Harvey, 2005; Thorsen, 2010)	**Individuals** (Bay-Cheng, Fitz, Alizaga, & Zucker, 2015; Bröckling, 2007; Dardot & Laval, 2013)
social mechanism and best means of (economic) organization	entrepreneurial government	self-motivating individuals, entrepreneurs
principle of competition	competitive – follow market principle	competitive – follow market principle
constructed	construction and reconstruction of markets by legal framework measuring performance and controlling state apparatuses of rewards and sanctions	self-governed, self-responsible, self-interested, and autonomous responding to normative and legal frameworks

In contrast to neoclassical economics, neoliberal ideology is not limited to the economic dimension. Instead, all dimensions of human life adhere to market principles (Bay-Cheng et al., 2015, p. 72) and affect society as a whole (Dardot & Laval, 2013, p. 18). Neoclassical economics and neoliberalism share the conception that the free market is the best way to organize societies (Harvey, 2005, p. 5), but unlike neoclassical economics the market is seen by neoliberals as a “constructivist project” (Dardot & Laval, 2013, p. 301) that requires the intervention of the state and is based on a specific system of law. In the neoliberal view, social reality follows an “implacable and irreversible logic” (Giroux, 2002, p. 428) and the focus, as in neoclassical economics, is on individuals following methodological individualism. However, the concept of the neoliberal individual is slightly different. The principle of competitiveness is of paramount importance. Driven by self-interest, individuals are competitive and try to maximize their benefits. The necessity to respond to market signals functions as a disciplining mechanism. The never-ending practice of self-improvement leads to self-optimization and maximization of human capital. Individuals become increasingly entrepreneurs of the self (Dardot & Laval, 2013; Gryl & Naumann, 2016, pp. 21-23; McGregor, 2009, p. 345).

Therefore, misfortune or fortune are not traceable to structural injustices; they are outcomes of personal effort and decisions. Consequently, social and political interventions and regulations are not necessary (Bay-Cheng et al., 2015, p. 83; Thorsen, 2010, p. 204), and can even be harmful as they run counter to the principle of competition (Bay-Cheng et al., 2015, p. 74). Nonetheless, the state is of the highest importance. Using a set of disciplinary techniques, the state has to structure the field of action of individuals. To give the market participants stability, the state must fix a stable framework and market order. Further, it must construct the maximum number of market situations. The form of the market, with its inherent principle of competition, has to be accepted by individuals as the natural order (Dardot & Laval, 2013). Neoliberal policy practices therefore focus on strengthening the market by deregulation, liberalization and privatization (Ptak, 2017, p. 47). The behaviour of individuals is further influenced by mechanisms of reward and sanction, which are accompanied by monitoring and evaluation systems. However, the state has not only to construct the market actively by a regulative and normative framework, but must itself also respond to the central market norm of competition and conform to the rules of efficiency in relation to other actors (i.e. between states, or agents within the public sector such as schools). The neoliberal state itself becomes an entrepreneurial actor (Dardot & Laval, 2013).

In sum, neoliberalism is better understood as "a system of norms now profoundly inscribed in government practices, institutional policies and managerial styles" (Dardot & Laval, 2013, p. 14). The neo-liberal project is a project to create the ideal market, in which market participants behave according to the rules through internalized norms of competition. Market participants must learn to adapt to the theory or to believe it so that it works in reality. The ideology of neoliberalism constructs and reconstructs relations of domination by individualizing problems and challenges (e.g. inequality or success). Individuals have to act according to the principle of competition and internalize the neoliberal normative framework. This fosters an unquestioned acceptance of inequalities inherent in the existing economic system as the individualistic conception conceals power structures of the political and social system.

2.3 Ideology and (secondary) education

It is within education that the state is best able to control economic and cultural production and reproduction. This is clear from the intense struggle over curricula, the control the state exercises over textbook content, and the respective weights given to specific subjects and disciplines. The state and within, the specific dominant discourses "[takes] control of the cultural apparatus of a society, of both the knowledge preserving and producing institutions and the actors who work in them, [which] is essential in the struggle over ideological hegemony" (Apple, 1981, p. 78). The state therefore becomes the gatekeeper of societal reproduction through education (McGregor, 2009, p. 348). This is embedded in a wider debate over the general aims of the education system, namely the acquisition of a limited set of technical skills for the labour market, or of a wider set of qualifications that allow students to participate fully in society (Giroux, 2002, p. 433; Gryl & Naumann, 2016; Hedtke, 2018; Stieger & Jekel, 2018). This debate is also seen in the discussion on skills and competences vs. capabilities and citizenship approaches (Stieger & Jekel, 2018).

Neoliberal ideology and school

Looking at the neoliberal conception of education in general, we find that quite a few assumptions are constantly used without really being questioned. These include:

- a direct usability of knowledge and skills in terms of workforce orientation, although this is seldom made explicit (Apple, 2004; Weiner, 2003, p. 43)
- considering schools as corporations (McGregor, 2009, p. 347)
- an emphasis on measurability and standardization, both to measure students' output and to control teaching staff (Donert, 2010, p. 70; Strober, 2003, p. 145), leading to a teaching-to-the-test mentality among teachers, and to students becoming alienated from learning (Strober, 2003, p. 146)
- a pervasive tendency to reconstruct students as their 'competitive economic selves' across subjects (Gryl & Naumann, 2016).
- A concentration on so-called 'single truths', usually rooted in statistics more than qualitative interpretation, shown in mono-paradigmatic approaches, often excluding the political and the social (Hedtke, 2018; Weiner, 2003, p. 42).

All these tendencies can quite clearly be termed ideological. As recent research by Hedtke (2018) and Stieger & Jekel (2018) shows, they are prevalent at the very heart of ideas about neoliberal education: in the discussion of new ways to organize economic and financial education.

In Austria, since 1962, the school subject that covers economics education is "Geography and Economics". Traditionally, the economics element was very much informed by socio-economic approaches and a multidisciplinary background (social sciences, citizenship education). As such, it has been at the centre of attention of scholars supporting mainstream neoclassical/neoliberal economics who now need 'scientific' arguments to overturn the current curricula. What follows may therefore be interpreted as an analysis of neoliberal discourses used in the struggle over curricula in economics education. Using von Mises' (1949) words again, we will discuss how neoliberal norms are promoted in such a way as to make them palatable to the majority (p. 860).

3 Analysing economic and financial literacy studies in Austria: research design

The aim of our analysis is to reflect critically on the ideological background of financial and economic literacy assessment studies in Austria. Therefore, our study is based on the following research question:

> Are the discourses in scientific assessment studies of pupils' economic and/or financial literacy in Austria embedded in neoliberal ideology?

To answer our question, we distinguished three levels of argumentation in the studies, and for each level we formulated focus questions:

- Level 1: How do the authors justify the need for their study? What is the purpose of economic education in their opinion?
- Level 2: How do the authors test economic and/or financial literacy? Which content-related questions and/or tasks do they use for the assessment?
- Level 3: How do the authors evaluate the test results? What educational policy recommendations do they derive from their findings?

3.1 Sampling

The data includes all nine studies that assess the economic and/or financial literacy of Austrian students. Although, as shown in Table 2, the studies differ regarding target group, sample size and survey area, they all share the aim of evaluating the level of financial and/or economic literacy. Five of the nine studies were conducted by researchers on business and vocational education in Austria; the other four were carried out by the Institute for Business Education in Vienna, under the leadership of one person. Three of the studies were financed by the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber (WKÖ=Wirtschaftskammer), and two by the research institution for vocational training (IBW = Institut für Bildungsforschung der Wirtschaft) founded by WKÖ and the Federation of Austrian Industries (IV=Industriellenvereinigung). Only the latest study has been published in a peer-reviewed journal. All other studies were internal publications, conference proceedings, or contributions in journals without any apparent peer-review procedure.

Table 2 Overview of the studies reviewed

#		title	author(s)	sponsor(s)	target group	sample size	survey area	publication medium
1	1992	Level of economic knowledge of secondary school graduates[2]	Alfred Freundlinger	IBW	Secondary school graduates	754	Austria: Vienna, Graz and Linz	IBW's own journal
2	2006	Economic knowledge of high school graduates – an international comparison	Tamara Katschnig Günter Hanisch	Institute for School Development and International Comparative School Research WK Vienna (initiator)	University students	2,179	Austria (Vienna only), Germany, Czech Republic, Hungary	internal publication: project report
3	2006	Economics education of students of higher secondary schools	Elke Brandlmaier Herman Frank Christian Korunka Alexandra Plessnig Christiane Schopf Konrad Tamegger	University of Vienna University of economics Vienna WK Vienna	Secondary school students	462	Austria (Vienna and Lower Austria)	internal publication: project report
4	2006	Knowledge regarding international economics	Kurt Schmid	IBW	Students in higher secondary schools	3,300	Austria	journal of the IBW
5	2009	Economic understanding and risk: an empirical study about the relationship between economic understanding and risk	Thomas Köppel Peter Slepcevic-Zach Anna Winkelbauer Elisabeth Friedrich Hemma Till	Karl-Franzens-University Graz Department of Business Education and Development Graz	Students in higher secondary schools	649	Austria (Graz)	conference proceeding
6	2013	„Don't know much about economics and business“	Bettina Greimel-Fuhrmann	Institute for Business Education Vienna	Students in higher secondary schools	400	Austria (Vienna, Lower Austria, Burgenland)	wissenplus
7	2014	Financial literacy – not sufficient	Bettina Greimel-Fuhrmann	Institute for Business Education Vienna	Students in higher secondary schools or at university	423	Austria (Vienna)	wissenplus

8	2015	What students of vocational schools know about economics	Bettina Greimel-Fuhrmann Andrea Bonomo Eva Rosner	Institute for Business Education Vienna	Students in higher secondary schools	213	Austria (Vienna and Lower Austria)	wissenplus
9	2016	"When I think of economics ..." - What students in lower secondary education think and know about economics	Bettina Greimel-Fuhrmann	Institute for Business Education Vienna	Primary school pupils	432	Austria (Vienna, Burgenland, Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Tyrol and Vorarlberg)	wissenplus
	2016	Findings and desiderata for the economics education of Austrian middle school students	Bettina Greimel-Fuhrmann Ralf Kronberger Herwig Rumpold					Wirtschafts-politische Blätter
	2016	Economic knowledge in the lower secondary school level	Herwig Rumpold Bettina Greimel-Fuhrmann					Journal for economics education

Source: own compilation

3.2 Methodological considerations

For our textual analysis, we chose qualitative content analysis, as it is a suitable technique to systematize and interpret manifest and latent textual content by using a category system (Stamann, Janssen, & Schreier, 2016). To operationalize our focus questions, we developed an analytical framework with reference to the previous conceptualizations of ideology and neoliberalism (Section 2). Our textual analysis comprised the following steps:

- First, we assigned a specific colour to each of the three levels of analysis to classify and identify the relevant text sections. We then transferred the findings to a digital coding sheet.
- For the analysis of levels 1 and 3, we used the analytical framework developed by Thompson (1990). This enabled us to analyse the argumentation used by the studies' authors regarding the modes of ideological operations and strategies of symbolic construction used by them (see Table 3).
- To analyse the test items used in the assessment studies (level 2), we addressed the key assumptions of neoliberal ideology (see Table 1). We added *pure factual knowledge* as a further category to that framework.

The following limitations became apparent during analysis. Not all studies provide all test items (Greimel-Fuhrmann 2016; Greimel-Fuhrmann, Kronberger & Rumpold, 2016; Rumpold & Greimel-Fuhrmann, 2016). In order to review the test items of Rumpold & Greimel-Fuhrmann (2016), we issued a request to the first author. However, we were not granted access to this data. Therefore, we partly reconstructed the literacy tests by means of the available publications. However, the study by Köppel et al. (2009) did not give any viable indications regarding the questionnaire used, so we could not analyse their diagnostic instrument. Three studies (Greimel-Fuhrmann, 2013, 2014; Greimel-Fuhrmann et al., 2015) referred to data taken from student dissertations at Master's level. In those cases we compared the data with the materials presented in published journals.

4 Serious scientific work or ideological position paper?

Our focus is on the function of ideology, and we want to show how ideology works in financial and economic literacy assessment studies to win people over under asymmetrical relations of power. We are not claiming that there is such a thing as ideology-free work. Remember that we defined ideology *as a social practice that constructs and reconstructs relations of domination*, and we highlighted that the neoliberal belief system is the dominant ideology influencing education. Now our aim is to show whether and how the studies are embedded in neoliberal ideology, and to make the functions of ideology explicit.

For this purpose, a distinction between different modes of ideological operations and strategies of symbolic construction is useful. Table 3 gives an overview of how ideologies work in symbolic forms such as texts. The modes and strategies are not ideological as such. Only if they serve to sustain or establish relations of domination do we speak of modes and strategies of ideology. Although we can distinguish general modes of ideological operations, to which concrete aims have been assigned, these do not work in isolation, as modes of ideological operations typically overlap and reinforce one another (Thompson, 1990, p. 61).

4.1 Economic and financial literacy – a question of survival?

Two reasons are put forward in all of the studies analysed to argue the need for the assessment of economic and financial literacy in particular and economics education in general: employability and (financial) well-being. While before the financial crisis of 2008 employability was of greater relevance, in the post-crisis era risk taking and risk management serve as the main basis for argumentation.

Sound economic knowledge is considered a requirement for employment. This unquestioned truth legitimizes the evaluation of economic knowledge. Using the strategy of rationalization[3], the first study (Freundlinger, 1992) claims the need for a form of economics education that corresponds to the labour market, so that graduates find jobs. In the early 1990s, problems were emerging due to declining demand for employees. The needs of the labour market were a given (p. 2), while other needs, such as those of students, teachers and society in general, were absent (strategy of passivization). In sum, students have to be equipped with appropriate knowledge (pp. 1-2) to compete in the labour market.

Table 3: Modes of ideological operations and strategies of symbolic construction

General modes of operation	Aim of operation	Typical strategies of symbolic construction	Characterization of strategy
Legitimation	Persuading that a claim is just and worthy of support.	Rationalization	Justifying or defending social relations and institutions by a chain of reasoning.
		Universalization	Illustrating that action, institutional arrangements and/or social relations serve the interests of all and are open to everyone.
		Narrativization	Embedding argumentation in stories.
Dissimulation	Concealing, denying or obscuring relations of domination.	Displacement	Transferring positive or negative connotations of objects or individuals.
		Euphemization	Eliciting a positive valuation of actions, social relations and institutions (e.g. rehabilitation center vs. prison).
		Trope	Dissimulating relations of domination by a figurative use of language (e.g. synecdoche, metonymy, metaphor)
Fragmentation	Dispersing individuals or opposition groups.	Differentiation	Emphasizing distinctions, differences and divisions between individuals or/and groups.
		Expurgation of the other	Constructing an enemy. Calling for expurgation of, or resistance to, the enemy.
Reification	Representing processes as permanent, natural and timeless.	Naturalization	Presenting social-historical phenomena as natural or as effects of natural characteristics.
		Eternalization	Presenting social-historical phenomena as permanent, unchanging and ever-recurring.
		Nominalization and passivization	Influencing the focus by hiding or ignoring actors and agency.

Source: adapted from Thompson, 1990, pp. 60-67.

Similar arguments are found in the study by Brandlmaier et al. (2006): the increasing complexity of the economic framework, globalization and the dynamics of labour markets make economic knowledge indispensable for everyone (p. 1). By using the strategy of eternalization, the process of economization in societies is not questioned but presented as unchanging. Consequently, every individual needs economic knowledge to be capable of taking decisions and of taking responsibility for themselves in society (p. 18): “economics education seems to be a survival issue for every single individual” (p. 320). In the study conducted by Schmid (2006), “Education for a Globalized world – Are Austrian schools keeping up with the internationalization of the Austrian economy?”, the very title highlights the ideological setting in the form of a plea for competitiveness. Again, the employability of single students is questioned, but within the context of global competition. In all of these studies, there is a clear overemphasis on the vocational mission of the school. Although this is indisputably one purpose of education, it is not the sole or primary one, as it would appear to be from the arguments of the authors in question. As Strober (2003) observes, "neoclassical analysis permeates the public's thinking, [and] the benefits of education are increasingly viewed as merely preparation for work" (p. 143). This thinking is misleading, as the educational mission of Austrian schools is to foster "open-mindedness that is based on understanding the existential problems of humanity and on *shared responsibility* [emphasis added]. Teaching has to actively contribute to a democracy committed to human rights as well as to promote the capacity for judgment and criticism, decision-making and capacities to act" (BMB, 2012, pg. 9). Therefore, the value of education in general and of economics education as part of general education is more than as an investment in human capital (e.g. employability); instead of an allocation of responsibility to the individual, the educational mission fosters shared responsibility.

In 2008 the focus of studies changed, as the financial crisis provided a new argumentation base for assessment studies. There is even an increased need for economic knowledge, as attested by the following quotation.

> "The financial market crises, the economic crises, sovereign debt crisis, and its management suggest that a minimum level of economic knowledge is even more necessary than before. At a time when market uncertainty and instability are increasing, basic economics knowledge is even more important to enable economic agents to deal with it properly, and also to avoid aggravating insecurity and instability through wrong practices." (Greimel-Fuhrmann et al., 2016, p. 260)

This strategy of eternalization presents uncertainty and instability as facts that require adaption by individuals. Two studies even attest that the lack of economic knowledge led to the bursting of the real-estate bubble in 2008, as people had invested in financial products they didn't understand (Greimel-Fuhrmann, 2013, p. I; Köppel et al., 2009, p. 65). This strategy of passivization ignores the complexity of the causes of the crisis and attributes them to unwise individual decisions. Based on methodological individualism, neoclassical economic analysis investigates only individual causes. Therefore, only individual actions can be the causes, not structural factors inherent in capitalism (Arthur, 2012, pp. 56, 75).

In general, the authors evaluate the effects of economics education positively by sharing the following causal assumptions: sound financial and economic decisions lead to (financial) well-being (Greimel-Fuhrmann, 2013, 2014, 2015; Köppel et al., 2009; Greimel-Fuhrmann et al. 2016), and/or economic and financial literacy improves employability (Brandlmaier et al., 2006; Freundlinger, 1992; Schmid, 2006a, 2006b). Such strategies of universalization are questionable. Financial and economic successes are presented as if they could be achieved by all, regardless of financial possibilities, the only obstacles being insufficient or wrong knowledge. As economic and financial knowledge is the causal variable in this consideration, we have to take Arthur's question seriously: was there a different answer, if the causal variable was wealth? (p. 49). Reversing this equation would mean that financial success depends on wealth rather than knowledge of financial concerns, which in turn, would have far-reaching consequences for those who are in favour of financial education.

In sum, in all studies the role of economics education in general, and of economic or financial literacy in particular, is defined by its concrete "use value" (i.e. better navigation through times of crisis, financial well-being, better employability), in contrast to its negative "sign value" (i.e. insecurity and instability, debt, unemployment) (Arthur, 2012). The concept of well-being, whether at the level of the individual or of society, is limited to economic well-being, namely the accumulation of goods and services, or (in the case of financial literacy) to the accumulation of money (Strober, 2003, p. 135). Views of well-being in a context other than the market are totally absent. The principle of competition is highlighted repeatedly. Students must adapt to economic challenges; economic knowledge creates the basis to do this (i.e. react properly to market signals). The importance of knowledge is anchored in the neoliberal framework. It is a specific kind of knowledge, which is utilizable in the market and allows individuals to coordinate their actions (Dardot & Laval, 2013, pp. 109-110).

4.2 "Facts", definitions and calculations = economic and financial literacy?

Efficiency thinking and output orientation are complements of the neoliberal education project. As outlined above (see Section 2.3), standardized testing reflects these phenomena (Strober, 2003, p. 145). Thus, generating diagnostic instruments that allow the evaluation of economic or financial literacy is a necessity. It is not surprising that some of the authors criticize Austria for not taking part in the PISA testing on financial literacy (Greimel-Fuhrmann, 2013, pg. II), as evaluating knowledge is a focus of economics education research (Greimel-Fuhrmann et al., 2015, pg. VIII).

For test-item generation, the Test of Economic Literacy (TEL) is the main reference point. For instance, Katschnig and Hanisch (2004) used ten out of twelve test items from the TEL (p. 333). The TEL was developed by the CEE [4] (Council of Economics Education), which is quite clear about the aims of economics education. Their thinking is based exclusively on neoclassical economics, as other economic approaches "would have confused and frustrated teachers and students who would then be left with the responsibility of sorting the qualifications and alternatives without a sufficient foundation to do so" (CEE, 2010, vi) (strategies of rationalization and differentiation). To focus solely on neoclassical economics denies students an insight into economic thinking beyond individual actions, optimization and equilibrium (Fischer et al., 2018, p. 3). However, this statement clearly shows which dominant and at the same time exclusionary role is attributed to neoclassical economics within economics education.

Analysis shows that the TEL is a thematically restricted test with limited validity (Bank & Krahl, 2015, p. 27). In addition, our analysis of studies shows that most of the items test factual knowledge or basic arithmetical tasks (e.g. computation of interest rate). We categorized as questions of factual knowledge (i) all those that required definitions (e.g. defining abbreviations like OPEC); (ii) pure knowledge questions (e.g. number of EU member states); and (iii) questions requiring the identification of simple and direct correlations of cause and effect, without judging the effects (e.g. consequences for the balance of trade if exports increase).

With a few exceptions, all questions that do not fall into the 'factual knowledge' category are ideologically charged by neoliberal beliefs. These particular questions include the following types:

- Questions of simple and direct correlations of cause and effect with a positive judging of effects.
  *Example: "Does an increase of exports lead to higher or lower prosperity?" (*Only the answer higher prosperity is evaluated as correct)
  (Freundlinger, 1992, p. 13)

- Questions of simple and direct correlations of cause and effect with a negative judging of effects
  Example: "Imagine, the youth organization 'Tiger Clan' proposes to increase the minimum wage. What would be the consequences?" (Only the answer "wages would rise and youth employment would decline" is evaluated as correct)
  (Brandlmaier et al., 2006, p. 315)
- Statements of opinion that are ideologically charged
  Examples: "Exports are […] the engine of our economy"
  (Schmid, 2006a, p. 158)
  "It is fair that in our economy some earn more and some earn less." (The Likert-Scale excluded disagreement as possible answer)
  (Greimel-Fuhrmann et al. 2016, p. 255)

We note therefore that all tests are mainly based on neoclassical economics and are embedded in neoliberal thinking. Their authors not only give positive judgements of neoliberal policies, but only evaluate as economically and financially literate those students who share the underlying neoliberal and neoclassical assumptions. We are not denying the utility of neoclassical thought in economics education (it is indisputably a necessary part of such education), but we do criticize its hegemonic and excluding role. Like every theory, neoclassical economics has its blind spots, and an understanding of economic processes requires more than a single, limited perspective.

It seems that the reference to so-called experts is enough to justify the content of a question (Rumpold & Greimel-Fuhrmann, 2016, p. 135). The context of the questions is unclear, and some questions are even unanswerable. For example, the question regarding the increase of exports depends on the perspective as the question about minimum wage that assumes a universal relationship that is not correct. Further political action for higher wages is presented as a disruptive factor with negative consequences for young workers. In addition, it is unclear to what extent these items are compatible with the authors' conceptions of economics education, as the items test primarily reproducible knowledge. This type of knowledge is not significant when evaluating the stated aims of economics education, such as better employability or better risk management. In this context, we may doubt to what extent these assessment studies are more than a means to an end, to embed the required educational policies in a (questionable) scientific setting.

4.3 Satisfactory = insufficient?

The evaluations of all studies show insufficient knowledge. This deficit orientation in the evaluation remains, even if the results are positive (Freundlinger, 1992; Katschnig & Hanisch, 2004; Schmid, 2006a). In the case study of Rumpold & Greimel-Fuhrmann (2016), the deficit orientation is implemented in the concept of the diagnostic instrument (p. 128f.). Regardless of the test results, some authors call publicly for economics education to be increased by extra lessons, or to be treated as an additional (separate) subject on the school curriculum. Both these demands must be questioned for three reasons.

Firstly, the results show that students at vocational schools in Austria, who have close to nine times more timetabled economics education than students at non-vocational schools, do not fare much better in tests (Greimel-Fuhrmann et al., 2015; Köppel et al., 2009), or even score less well regarding their understanding of economic processes (Greimel-Fuhrmann, 2013). Accordingly, the shortcomings of economics education are not due to the number of lessons.

Secondly, there are reasons to believe that the results are reinterpreted to support educational policies. Better-than-expected test results that are inconsistent with political argumentation are explained by authors in various ways:

- Freundlinger (1992) argues that “questions were too easy” (p. 45).
- Students had other competences, such as good levels of general literacy (Greimel-Fuhrmann, 2013, p. VI), that allowed them to answer questions correctly.
- Authors present only specific sections of dissertations by Master’s students (Greimel-Fuhrmann, 2013; Greimel-Fuhrmann et al., 2015) and draw different conclusions.
- Authors focus on deficits only, even if the overall results of tests are positive (Schmid, 2006b).

While these strategies of course pose serious questions of scientific ethics and consistency, in terms of modes of ideological operations and strategies of symbolic construction, we can identify both displacement and passivization. This becomes evident in cases where authors focus on deficits and are concealing positive results. In this way, satisfactory or sufficient results are reinterpreted as an argument for a completely different form of economics education.

Thirdly, the authors assume without any foundation that the teachers of the current subject (i.e. Geography and Economics) focus on geographic content at the expense of economics education (Katschnig & Hanisch, 2004, p. 19) or are themselves poorly educated in economic theory (Greimel-Fuhrmann, 2013, p. VIII). Although a qualitative development of teacher training is worth striving for, it would need concrete objectives and not vague demands in the sense of an ill-defined national strategy, because it is not clear at present to what extent a separate subject or a national strategy could contribute to the improvement of economics education.

4.4 Uniting themes and shared beliefs

Although the studies analysed are characterized by a range of interests and different research methods, there are uniting themes and shared beliefs that are present in every study. The argumentation in all studies is clearly a neoliberal one:

- The authors highlight the importance of economic knowledge for individuals to successfully participate in society. If that is the case (and we agree), the selection of knowledge is particularly important. As Apple (2004) highlights, it is crucial to question how the general validity of selected knowledge is linked to ideological configurations of dominant interests (p. 13). Study authors, however, do not explain in any way how the selected content, and therefore the questions or tasks, fulfil this claim. Questions taken by authors from earlier studies seem thereby to be self-legitimized (Greimel-Fuhrmann, 2014; Greimel-Fuhrmann et al., 2015; Köppel et al., 2009), while questions or tasks developed by the authors themselves lack any explanation (Freundlinger, 1992; Katschnig & Hanisch, 2004; Köppel et al., 2009; Schmid, 2006a) or are presented as the consensus about economics education (Brandlmaier et al., 2006; Greimel-Fuhrmann, 2013; Rumpold & Greimel-Fuhrmann, 2016).

- On closer inspection, mainly all test items can be traced back to neoclassical economics – i.e. belief systems of natural laws in economic processes, and the possibility, therefore, of modelling economic processes mathematically. At the same time, the authors perceive the economy as a closed system which allows the exclusion of psychological, historical, social and political components both from the models used and, consequently, from curricula.
- The authors collectively believe that quantitatively-tested factual knowledge is a sufficient indicator to legitimate educational policies.
- All studies share the assumption that the economic knowledge of Austrian students is insufficient, and that therefore there is a need for change. If their test results do not correspond to this assumption, the authors use strategies to conceal or obscure this.
- As we showed in our analysis, authors present their belief system as 'common sense' about social and political matters. Scientific authority plays a crucial rule in argumentations because it serves to legitimate ideological symbolic forms. Hedtke (2018) defines this phenomenon as a "reframing" of study results for political and ideological purposes. As ideologies serve to sustain and construct relations of domination and at the same time conceal these relations, authors describe themselves as representatives of society as a whole (Brantlinger, 1997, p. 438).

5 Conclusion

Making the neoliberal world view palatable to the majority has been the aim of neoliberals right from the start. The discussion in this paper hints at the current ideological strategies of specific interest groups in that regard, and in a single country. The narrow view of economics and financial education presented in empirical studies of Austrian students' financial and economic literacy is rooted in neoliberal axioms: individuals as self-enterprising actors orientate themselves on the principle of competition; 'scientific' laws govern economics if markets are 'set free'; free markets are the optimum. All these assumptions take place in the existing (or even further de-regulated) economic order, with resource distribution and structure of the marketplace as givens (Dardot & Laval, 2013). Absent from this model of economic and financial education are society, nature, power and politics. The studies analysed are clearly embedded in the neoliberal project and its ideological strategies.

The neoliberal line of thought produces respect for the current economic order, not criticism or reform. While this order allows choice on the level of individual economic actions, the same freedom of choice is not available where economic paradigms are concerned. We are not questioning the need for neoclassical thought in economics education, but its hegemonic and exclusionary role, which leads to a distorted representation of economies and implies the need for students to take individual responsibility. Like any other theory, neoclassical economics has its blind spots; to understand economics, more is needed than a single view of the world. Had the studies discussed in this paper succeeded in measuring economics education, they would have documented that more is not better. This is true both for continuous testing of students' cognitive knowledge, as well as for increasing the place of economics education within the curriculum. Both miss the more important question, of *what sort* of economic education is important for students today to successfully understand both their own and their collective positions in an economically framed world, and to be competent in participating in and potentially changing that world. For them to be successful in such ways, reference only to a closed system and to a single theory adhering to unchangeable laws is clearly insufficient.

Rather, multi-paradigmatic approaches to economics education, including the social and political spheres, are absolutely essential. The principles of socioeconomic education foster critical thinking, empower students, liberate thinking through criticism of the status quo and ideology, and through plurality and controversy. Socioeconomic education presents economic phenomena and problems in their socio-political and historical contexts (Fridrich & Hofmann-Schneller, 2017; Hedtke, 2018). This would seem to be an approach that neoliberal educationalists fear.

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Endnotes

[1] The quotation emphasizes the importance of public opinion regarding economics. Von Mises affirms that people can choose between the ideologies developed by intellectual leaders. He sees a great danger in that freedom of choice, because people can also choose an “unsound” ideology. Therefore strategies of persuasion are highly important.

[2] As all studies were published in German, all translations, with a few exceptions, are our own.

[3]To convince readers of the relevance of their research, study authors apply different modes of ideological operations and strategies of symbolic construction that overlap and reinforce one another. As Table 1 shows how the modes and strategies work, only a short reference is given here (Thompson, 1990, p. 61).

[4] The CEE (Council for Economics Education) is an NGO in the US funded by banks, large enterprises and (political) foundations. Their mission is to educate every child in the US in economics and personal finance mainly through the education of teachers. Annually they train about 55,000 teachers and reach 5 million K-12 students (from kindergarten to high school level). The educational training is based exclusively on a neoclassical model, because as the funders argue it reflects “the best scholarship in the discipline” (CEE, 2010, vi). Further, they proclaim that a pluralistic economics “[…] would have confused and frustrated teachers and students who would then be left with the responsibility of sorting the qualifications and alternatives without a sufficient foundation to do so” (CEE, 2010, vi). The CEE is known for their K-12 standards in economics and financial literacy and accompanied by a mass of instructional resources. Those standards and their benchmarks are “always true principles” (CEE, 2010, vi). How these neoclassical assumptions are linked to neoliberal ideologies, is shown in chapter 2.

Sandra Stieger is PhD student at the Department of Geography and Geology and the School of Education of the University of Salzburg. E-mail Sandra.Stieger@sbg.ac.at

Thomas Jekel is Assistant Professor for Geography and Economics Education at the Department of Geography and Geology and the School of Education of the University of Salzburg. E-mail: Jekel.Thomas@sbg.ac.at

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Teaching financial literacy:
Competence, context and strategies among Swedish teachers

Mattias Björklund
Stockholm University

– Teachers' perception of financial literacy teaching pivotal.
– All teachers lack formal financial literacy training
– Experienced teachers use content knowledge and focus on future utility.
– Novice teachers use pedagogical skills and relate private finances to the economy.
– The social studies subject has pivotal impact on choices and teaching.

Purpose: The aim of this article is to compare if and how experienced and novice teachers differ from each other regarding teaching and expressed aims regarding their financial literacy education.

Method: Thematic analysis together with the PCK framework were used to analyse 21 teacher interviews.

Findings: Both aims and teaching differ between experienced and novice teachers even though none of the interviewed teachers has any formal content knowledge regarding financial literacy. This seems related to experienced teachers using their everyday financial knowledge when teaching where novice teachers use their pedagogical skills and refer to syllabus.

Practical implications: Both pre-service and in-service teachers should receive a financial literacy education. Teachers' experience from financial literacy instruction should be considered when designing teacher training in financial literacy.

Keywords: financial literacy, pedagogical content knowledge, experienced teachers, novice teachers, social science

Corresponding Author:
Mattias Björklund
Institutionen för de humanistiska och samhällsvetenskapliga ämnenas didaktik
106 91 Stockholm
mattias.bjorklund@hsd.su.se

1 Introduction

In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) increased its advocacy for introducing financial literacy as a competence taught in schools, and more than 110 educational systems responded favourably to this appeal in the subsequent years (OECD, 2005; OECD International Network on Financial Education [IN-FE], 2012, 2015). Sweden was no exception where 'personal finance' was introduced in curricula and syllabi in 2011 (Swedish National Agency for Education [SNAE], 2011a, 2011b). In upper secondary school (grades 10 to 12), education in financial matters was included as part of the Swedish subject of social studies and its first compulsory course (SNAE, 2011c). The main content features of 'personal finance' stipulated in syllabus correspond with general OECD characteristics of financial literacy (OECD, 2016; Xu & Zia, 2012) and in other literature (see for instance Retzmann & Seeber, 2016). Accordingly, the term *financial literacy* will be used in the remainder of this article.

However, the various stakeholders have not agreed on a uniform definition of what financial literacy is, should be, or could be (Davies, 2015; Lefrançois, Ethier, & Cambron-Prémont, 2017; Retzmann & Seeber, 2016; Willis, 2017; Xu & Zia, 2012). Therefore, even though the social studies syllabus describes some features of this segment, the question of exactly what financial literacy content and skills should be taught is quite unresolved in Sweden as well as in other countries that lack a detailed framework.

Consequently, the practical implementation of financial literacy education and essential parts of the interpretation of aims and definitions, is left to teachers. Previous studies have described teachers themselves as having poor financial literacy (Blue, Grootenboer, & Brimble, 2014; Hensley, 2011; Lee, 2010), leading to frequent calls for more in-service training from teachers, researchers and other stakeholders alike (Hensley, 2011; Otter, 2010; Way & Holden, 2009). In an Australian setting, Blue et al. (2014) described the situation as follows:

> "This highlights the scale and complexity of the task and the significances of what is being asked of teachers. Given that exposure to an FLE [financial literacy education] course or courses during pre-service teacher education at university does not exist in Australia we question how teachers will be able to achieve the vision (or goal) set for them by ASICr [the Australian Securities & Investment Commission].

Although teachers teach financial literacy on a daily basis, educational research has thus far paid little attention to how teachers perceive and implement this responsibility. There are few studies of actual financial literacy teaching (Farsagli, Filotto, & Traclò, 2016; Tisdell, Taylor, & Forte, 2013), and even less is known regarding teachers' understanding and framing of financial literacy (Leumann, 2017).

The aim of this article is to examine how Swedish social studies teachers in upper secondary school frame and plan financial literacy education with relation to their own financial literacy and the Swedish social studies subject. Furthermore, the aim is to compare if, and how experienced and novice teachers differ from each other regarding how they talk about their content knowledge, pedagogical choices and teaching aims. The data is analysed using Shulman's (1986) framework of Pedagogical Content Knowledge, to construe if, and how, this interrelates to teachers' framing of financial literacy. The following research questions are addressed:

- How do novice and experienced teachers describe their financial literacy content knowledge in relation to their financial literacy pedagogical content knowledge within social studies education?
- What aims do novice and experienced teachers express regarding their financial literacy teaching?

2 Previous research

The financial literacy literature has identified a variety of interests of concerned stakeholders in relation to many different economic and political contexts; which can explain why there is no consistent definition of financial literacy. The most common definition, though, derives from the OECD and the financial literacy PISA assessment (Bosshardt, 2016). This definition encompasses the individual ability and confidence to manage financial issues (OECD, 2016; Xu & Zia, 2012), and aim further '…to improve the financial well-being of individuals and society, and to enable participation in economic life' (OECD, 2016).

From this definition of financial literacy, three different discussions become salient: The first discussion concerns individuals' financial behaviour and capability (Antonietti, Borsetto, & Iannello, 2016; Henchoz, 2016; Marchetti, Castelli, Massaro, & Valle, 2016; Sherraden & Ansong, 2016; Siu & Koh, 2016). Here, financial literacy education aims to influence vulnerable groups' financial behaviour. However, there are also concerns regarding what a financial education can accomplish in this regard. Financial aims and remedies vary for different groups of people; for example, some people may be in a position to save money, but for others reducing debts is the most feasible advice (Lusardi & Mitchell, 2013). This question is pivotal, especially in countries where individuals take on long-term debts secured by home ownership.

The second discussion concerns a broader focus on financial literacy which involves individual financial capability and how it relates to and interact with the economy (Retzmann & Seeber, 2016). This view often focuses on what households do or should be doing, which is an argumentation that often leaves the individual responsible, not only for their own financial situation but also for the financial well-being of society. Therefore, Davies (2015) suggested that financial literacy should also cover the financial and economic system so as to empower critical citizens.

The third discussion is relatively critical of financial literacy education in schools as well as of the general idea of financial literacy as a panacea. For these critics, financial literacy is seen mainly as a political practice used to normalise and legitimise the implementation of liberal financial policy, which empowers financial institutions and the wealthy at the expense of the general public. This will further socialise vulnerable and deprived groups into a financial system that made them poor in the first place (Alsemgeest, 2015; Arthur, 2012; Visano & Ek-Udofia, 2016; Williams, 2007).

These three strands of research provide background for the analysis of teachers' framing of financial literacy and instructional aims.

2.1 The curriculum and the social science yllabus

In Sweden, teachers are supposed to interpret the national curricula and syllabi for each subject (Karlefjärd, 2011; SNAE, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c). Thus, it would be misleading to characterise a curriculum or syllabus as if it were a singular monolith that provides teachers with clear and consistent guidance on what to teach and how to teach it. Instead, a multitude of interpretations (i.e. different curricula and syllabi) emerge (Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 1992; Goodlad, Klein, & Tye, 1979). Even though the stated syllabus should be considered an intent (Linde, 2012) rather than an imperative, a growing focus has been placed on assessment and measuring results in the Swedish school system, thus increasing the importance of both curriculum and syllabi (Mickwitz, 2015). Hence, the curriculum and syllabi affect what and how teachers teach, but still leave them with a variety of choices as to how they approach the topic.

In Swedish upper secondary schools, financial literacy is taught as a segment within social studies. The statement in the syllabus for the financial literacy of social studies course 1b is as follows:

> Personal finance: Household income, expenditure, assets and liabilities. Consumer law and consumption in relation to needs and resources. How personal finances are affected by socio-economic changes.

Lefrancois et al. (2017) suggested that when financial literacy is taught within another subject, this subject will have a pivotal framing effect on financial literacy teaching. Research has shown that Swedish social studies teachers have a complex understanding of their subject where different aims and content are balanced in the teaching (Olsson, 2016), even though the Swedish social studies subject consists of many different disciplines such as political science, economics, sociology and law (SNAE, 2011c). Consequently, a 'subject tradition' is formed by social studies teachers, which is especially evident when teachers devise their tests (Odenstad, 2011). At the same time, standard attainment tests and textbooks treat social studies as a bundle of academic disciplines (Sandahl, 2015).

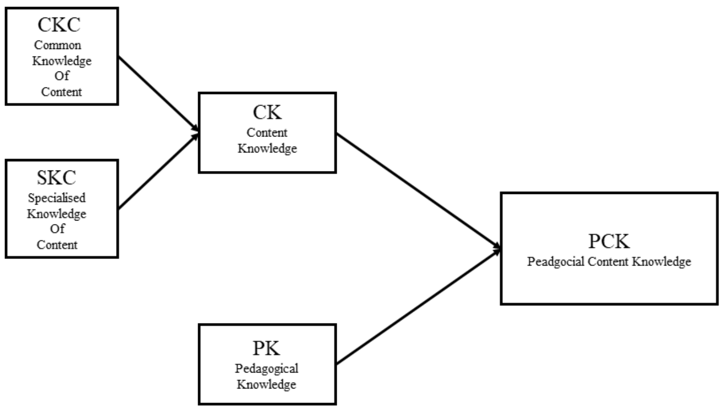
3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Pedagogical content knowledge

To analyse the relationship between Swedish social studies teachers' knowledge of financial literacy and their expressed financial literacy teaching, the framework of Pedagogical Content Knowledge - PCK (Gudmundsdottir & Shulman, 1987; Shulman, 1986) is used. The framework was developed to understand and analyse teachers' unique knowledge and proficiency. Two features within the framework are salient for the purposes of this study: teachers' subject-matter knowledge, also referred to as content knowledge (CK), and teachers' general, non-subject specific knowledge of instruction and learning theory, henceforth named pedagogical knowledge (PK) (Abell, 2007; Grossman, 1991; Magnusson, Krajcik, & Borko, 1999).

Even though Swedish social studies teachers lack financial literacy training and the associated formal disciplinary content knowledge, this study will use the construct of CK as an instrument to analyse what kinds of knowledge teachers draw on and how they use this knowledge. To properly analyse which knowledge teachers draw on to form their content knowledge, the use of sub-constructs of CK is pivotal. Ball et al. (2004) suggested that mathematics teachers draw on both common knowledge of content (CKC), or mathematical knowledge that virtually all adults possess, and specialised knowledge of content (SKC), or knowledge acquired through their study of the discipline, teacher education and classroom practice hence knowledge unique for teachers. These definitions have been applied in several studies of mathematics teaching (Baumert et al., 2010; Hill, Schilling, & Deborah, 2004; Kleickmann et al., 2015; Schilling & Hill, 2007). Hill et al. (2004) and Schilling and Hill (2007) could not empirically distinguish CKC nor SKC (Baumert et al., 2010), but in this study a presupposition is that both sub-constructs are applicable to social studies teachers' financial literacy CK. See Figure 1 for a summary of the framework.

Figure 1: Model of applied PCK theory.



3.2 Experienced and novice Teachers

The PCK framework implies a distinction between experienced and novice teachers, which also is applicable to this study. Early on, Gudmundsdottir and Shulman (1987) further developed the PCK framework by comparing an experienced teacher with a novice teacher. This study suggested that an experienced teacher can utilise a much more elaborated knowledge of teaching, such as segmenting and structuring of a teaching unit, compared to a novice teacher. Experienced and novice teachers may both have expert knowledge of a subject, yet Gudmundsdottir and Shulman suggest that it is especially important to have 'a point of view' regarding the subject in order to transform CK into PCK.

Several other studies have suggested that novice teachers differ from experienced teachers in almost every aspect of teaching. According to Bransford et al. (2005), it is crucial to educate pre-service teachers in a professional practice of teaching, which includes what knowledge is needed to teach, what skills are needed to provide productive learning and what professional commitments every teacher must make. Skott (2001) suggests that a novice mathematics teacher's view of teaching was deeply affected by a reform of mathematics education. Thus, we can expect different answers from teachers with different levels of experience regarding the research questions in this study.

4 Method

4.1 Interviews

Shulman (1986) suggests that teachers possess unique and interdependent competencies that equip them to teach. In relation to financial literacy teaching, where Swedish social studies teachers lack formal training, interviews proved to be a feasible approach to enable teachers to explain their views and choices. During four pilot interviews, teachers' uncertainty regarding financial literacy education became obvious. Accordingly, when the 21 semi-structured interviews were conducted for the main study, the aim was to empower the teachers to talk about their teaching material rather than just reflecting on their knowledge of core content. To facilitate this, the informants brought their own exercises and tasks with them to the interviews, and these materials were used as elicitation tools (Barton, 2015).

Due to the power relation between the interviewer and the informants, in which the researcher could be perceived as knowing the 'right answers', it was important to conduct the interviews as conversations with a reflexive approach (Thomsson, 2002), in which the informants were allowed to speak freely about their views and concerns (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014; Mears, 2012). Each informant was also informed of the aim and nature of the interview before signing the consent form.

4.2 Participants

The evidence analysed in this study was drawn from 21 interviews with Swedish social studies teachers in upper secondary schools. The selection of interviewees followed the principal of opportunity – teachers that accepted to be interviewed were included in the study. The sample was about equally divided between urban and rural schools. Eight of the informants were women and thirteen of the informants were men. The seniority between the informants spanned from ten months to 23 years. The interviews lasted between 21 to 37 minutes and were conducted in Swedish at the participants' different schools during fall 2017. The interviews were later transcribed and translated from Swedish to English. Thus quotations in English inevitably involve interpretations, however, the intent is to reflect informants' use of either formal or colloquial language.

4.3 Procedure

The interview protocol contained 15 semi-structured questions (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014). Questions concerned what financial literacy content informants' teaching consisted of, how and why this content was chosen, the planning of financial literacy teaching, and to what extent the syllabus and the social studies subject as a whole were taken into consideration when planning and teaching financial literacy. The aim with the interviews was to encourage the teachers to talk freely about their conceptions, their self-perceived competence and their teaching aims with regard to financial literacy.

At the end of each interview, the teachers were asked to reflect upon on financial literacy questions devised by Lusardi and Mitchell (2007). These questions concern three basic financial concepts: interest rate compounding, inflation and risk diversification. The first two of these three questions required mathematical skill; the third question required basic knowledge of mutual funds and stocks. In addition, they were asked to answer original questions, devised specifically for this study, on how the economy affects personal finances—for example, how an increase in the inflation rate affects a household budget for someone with a mortgage. None of this latter group of questions required any mathematical skills.

5 Data Analysis

5.1 Thematic analysis and coding

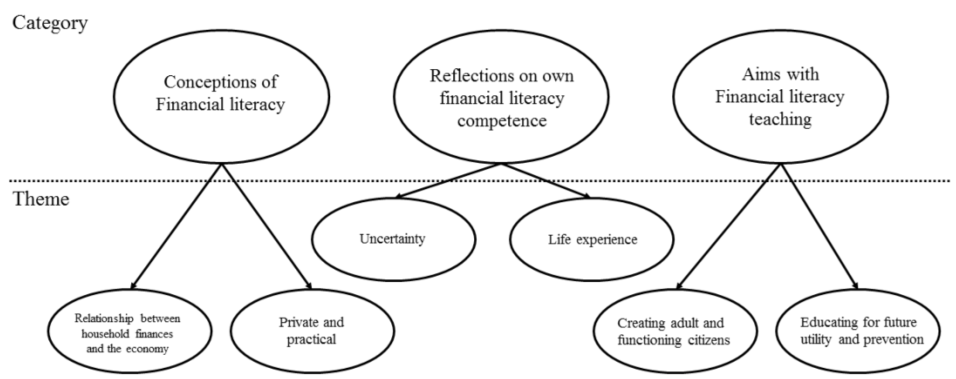
Data analysis in this study followed the thematic pattern suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006). This may be described as an abductive approach in which data and theory interrelate. Since thematic analysis is a rather flexible method, a more meticulous definition of the approach used in this study is warranted.

Coding began with an initial reading of the material in which salient features of answers to different interview questions were written on sticky notes. Answers were placed in three categories derived from the PCK framework: conceptions of financial literacy drawn from the construct of CK, reflections on one's own financial literacy competence drawn from CKC and SKC, and aims in financial literacy teaching as derived from PCK.

Within the category of conceptions of financial literacy two major themes could be identified: Financial literacy as a relationship between household finances and the economy, and financial literacy as something private and practical. Teachers' reflections regarding their own competence could also be classified into two themes: uncertainty and life experience. Finally, aims of financial literacy teaching could be divided into the two themes of creating functioning adult citizens and educating for future utility and prevention. These themes are displayed in Figure 2.

All themes were checked against each other and against the transcripts after relevant data extracts were transferred to an Excel file.

Figure 2. Model of applied method of data analysis using thematic analysis



5.2 Analysis

All teachers were at first treated as a single group. As a result of coding and initial analysis, no salient differences were found between female and male teachers, or between teachers working at rural and urban schools. By contrast, salient differences were found between novice and experienced teachers where each group could be associated with different themes through coding. Previous research has shown that it is difficult to establish how many years a teacher must work before becoming an 'experienced' teacher. Instead, several studies have focused on different features displayed by different teachers as a means to categorise teachers as either novice or experienced (Okas, Krull, & van der Schaaf, 2014; Pilvar & Leijen, 2015). In this study, the most eloquent examples of novice teachers' conceptions of financial literacy came from teachers with a seniority less than five years, yet in this group, which includes five teachers, there was one obvious exception. Among the experienced teachers, the most expressive examples came from teachers with more than ten years of teaching experience, although there was at least one outlier in this group as well. Despite the unusual cases within each group, it was still deemed feasible to divide teachers into novice and experienced teachers, where novice teachers have less than five years seniority and experienced teachers have more than five years of seniority.

Since age is correlated with seniority in most cases, age was quite hard to single out as an affecting factor. However, one teacher with only ten months of seniority was born in 1974, and this teacher's utterances aligned most closely with those of other novice teachers. Therefore, age was omitted as an affecting factor.

Swedish social studies teachers at the upper secondary level do not have identical academic backgrounds, but all teachers have training in political science, economics and sometimes sociology. Therefore, teachers' academic background was considered equivalent and was omitted as an affecting factor in the analysis.

The PCK framework was used to analyse the origin of and causal relations between themes associated with experienced and novice teachers. Furthermore, different use of CK and PK could be associated with the two groups of teachers. When CK could be associated with the teaching design, the sub-constructs of CKC and SKC were used to identify what knowledge teachers drew on as well as how teachers use their CKC and SKC. When PK could be associated with the teaching design, the relationship between PK and SKC in other disciplines as well as curriculum was used to understand the relation to PCK.

6 Results

6.1 Teachers' CK

All the teachers interviewed for this study confirmed that they did not receive any financial literacy training during their pre-service education or after becoming teachers. Even the novice teachers conveyed that they had only received formal training in economics yet nothing regarding financial literacy, even though they began their teacher education after 2011, hence after financial literacy had been implemented into the social studies subject. This lack of formal disciplinary CK indicates that none of the interviewed teachers possessed SKC regarding financial literacy teaching.

However, experienced and novice teachers seemed to relate to their lack of SKC in different ways which, in turn, seem to affect the different aims of financial literacy teaching, expressed by each group of teachers.

6.2 Experienced teachers' CK and PK related to their PCK

Experienced teachers seemed to draw mainly on financial insights and practical knowledge from their personal life when teaching financial literacy, and they also framed their financial literacy teaching as something that belongs to the private sphere. Salient content features included income (often related to occupation), expenditures, paying bills, buying a home, insurance, and mortgage and interest rates. This last topic was often discussed with reference to the short-term loans with high interest rates (called text-message loans) that have been hotly debated in Sweden in recent years. Teaching often seemed to focus on producing budgets and understanding financial concepts. The choice of subject matter and how to present it seemed to be derived directly from personal life, which also can be considered a compensation for the lack of SKC:

> It is very much grounded in my own experience. Like, this is the way I planned when I moved or…It becomes very private almost, or at least very personal. I don't have any academic background to fall back on when it comes to financial literacy. In that sense it's harder, but at the same time easier in a way. A little bit of common sense and general knowledge make us able to understand, for instance, that we must have a home insurance in case of a fire.
>
> (Experienced teacher, 11 years seniority)

> I consider myself to be rather well-read, and that, I believe, is my biggest talent when it comes to [financial literacy teaching]. It's easier now when I am 45 than it was when I was 25; that's really my sentiment. That I have lived a little, a fairly long life. It's my own life, and I am probably someone who uses myself [as an example] pretty much. It doesn't threaten my integrity to tell how big my mortgage is, that we choose to amortise. … But I don't have poor finances which perhaps makes it easier.
>
> (Experienced teacher, 19 years seniority)

The tendency to draw on one's own life experience when teaching financial literacy was so strong that when experienced teachers lacked personal experience regarding a certain financial subject matter—even a rather unpleasant one—they viewed this lack of experience as a problem:

> As a teacher, sometimes it can be a merit to have … experience from the situations you're supposed to talk about, but I don't! I haven't dealt with the Swedish Enforcement Agency [High Court Enforcement Officers]. … I haven't been unemployed either, really. But sometimes it's a good thing to have that experience, but unfortunately I don't!
>
> (Experienced teacher, 22 years seniority)

When talking about financial literacy, experienced teachers referred to quite commonplace knowledge, such as the practical financial skills needed to manage a household. This type of knowledge can be considered CKC. However, some teachers did not express the lack of SKC to be a problem, since they considered financial literacy to be mainly of a practical nature. Since they are adults who manage households and function in society, they considered themselves proficient enough to teach financial literacy. In contrast, other experienced teachers expressed concerns regarding their lack of SKC, both in terms of formal education and because the formal demands when teaching financial literacy were equivalent to those of other segments within the subject of social studies:

> What the Swedish National Agency for Education expects is focus on social science methods and models and theories and those kinds of things, but I don't think that I possess the tools when it comes to financial literacy, so it becomes more of instructions, information. … This is the way to think concerning income and expenditures.
>
> (Experienced teacher, 11 years seniority)

Even though experienced teachers sometimes expressed doubts regarding their financial literacy teaching proficiency, many experienced teachers draw solely on their CKC to form their CK, thus using CKC as if it were SKC. Many experienced teachers use their CKC in this way without any further doubt or hesitation, hence making no distinction between the financial literacy segment and other segments in the social studies subject concerning their teaching proficiency, which one of the experienced teachers recognised during her interview:

> I am starting to ponder that right now! But, I don't have any formal education to teach financial literacy … and you don't consider that, because there's so much stuff that you're supposed to teach.
>
> (Experienced teacher, 12 years seniority)

There were, however, exceptions among the experienced teachers. Two of the experienced teachers described their financial literacy teaching as encompassing micro economics where they used the flow-of-income model to explicate how households are affected by the economy, such as how a rise in interest rates affects household finances on a theoretical level.

The most salient exception regarding financial literacy teaching strategies was a teacher who claimed that she personally was not financially competent, making the financial literacy segment quite difficult for her to teach. Although she had 16 years of seniority, she did not express that she drew on CKC when teaching. Instead, she used her PK to design her financial literacy teaching:

> I am no expert when it comes to these segments … my strong side is perhaps not subject-specific, but on the other hand we can relate [this topic] to rather interesting discussions, and I am pretty good at creating interesting questions and discussions.
>
> (Experienced teacher, 16 years seniority)

This teacher conveyed a quite different approach to her financial literacy teaching, expressing a clear view of what she considered her personal strengths and weaknesses. Yet her deliberative teaching approach can also be considered an elaborate framing of financial literacy instruction.

6.3 Novice teachers' CK and PK as related to their PCK

Novice teachers expressed that they lacked personal experience of financial issues altogether, or at least substantial aspects of the topic that are needed to deliver financial literacy teaching. This seems to be a concern.

> I am just 26 years old and I haven't bought a home yet, and then they [the students] can be into borrowing money from a bank, and then it becomes complicated. Then you have to study all the time and try to keep up.
>
> (Novice teacher 3 years seniority)

Even for novice teachers, it seemed natural to draw on their CKC to acquire CK regarding financial literacy, even though many novice teachers claimed that they lacked CKC and this alleged deficiency appeared to contribute to their difficulty in teaching financial literacy. At the same time, novice teachers quite freely admitted that they found several aspects of teaching social studies difficult, with respect to both content matter and instructional approach. When they doubted their CK, novice teachers seemed to resolve this predicament by two different measures.

Novice teachers turned to disciplines in which they considered themselves more proficient with regard to both CK and instruction—namely, the disciplines included in their pre-service teacher education, such as economics and political science. Even though novice teachers described the same financial literacy content as experienced teachers, novice teachers more frequently related issues of income, expenditures, mortgages and interest rates to the economy, both in terms of economics as well as politics.

> I find it really important that when you work with economy, that you really acknowledge the relation between personal finances and the economy. Because if we have made a budget, still you cannot expect that this budget will last forever because things can happen.
>
> (Novice teacher, 2 years seniority)

Thus, novice teachers related their financial literacy teaching to the interdependence between household finances and the economy. A desire to 'do the right thing' in teaching financial literacy seemed to influence novice teachers a lot, where novice teachers seem to relate many of their choices, both regarding content and what causal relations to focus on, to the social studies syllabus which they frequently referred to during their interviews.

> I think … I try to go by [the social studies syllabus] as strictly as I can concerning content. The financial literacy segment I consider to be the most transparent in the syllabus—what you should know about financial literacy.
>
> (Novice teacher, 5 years seniority)

Regarding their actual teaching novice teachers expressed that they used their general pedagogical skills, or PK, to elaborate a task that became a way for them to handle the financial literacy segment. Novice teachers used this approach to compensate for their lack of discipline-specific CK, but when doing so, they also enabled learning in a different way and of a different kind than experienced teachers.

Another solution to novice teachers' expressed lack of financial literacy CK was collaboration with teachers of other subjects. For example, one novice teacher planned and carried out a financial literacy project together with a mathematics teacher. The societal segments of the project were covered within the social studies class, and all the calculations were taught and executed with the mathematics teacher.

So, whereas experienced teachers drew on CKC to teach financial literacy, hence treating CKC as if it was SKC, novice teachers instead drew on their SKC in other disciplines and consulted the social studies syllabus, hence enabling their PK to become a foundation for their teaching in a much more explicit way than experienced teachers did. These differences concerning how experienced and novice teachers related their CK and PK to their PCK seem to explain the quite different aims between the two groups with regard to financial literacy teaching. The differences became evident in discussions of the financial literacy segment's place and role within the social studies subject, which definition of financial literacy experienced and novice teachers subscribed to, and what financial knowledge was promoted in their teaching.

6.4 Experienced teachers' CK and PCK as related to their expressed aims

When discussing financial literacy as a segment within the contextual boundaries of the social studies subject, experienced teachers most frequently mentioned the relationship between financial literacy and economics. Since economics has been an important part of the social studies subject for many years, many experienced teachers referred to economics as of great significance and a core topic around which much of their teaching revolved. They often described economics as a means to understand society and as a tool to discuss societal problems:

> Financial literacy is one segment, and economics is one segment and the labour market is one segment, but still it should all lead up to one examination. And the focus of the examination is often on economics.
>
> (Experienced teacher, 11 years seniority)

> There is an intention that it [a general focus on economics through the social studies course] should motivate why economics is important for them as private citizens. Not just academically speaking or for some other special interest.
>
> (Experienced teacher, 8 years seniority)

> Financial literacy is a, a new feature within the social studies subject and economics has a … much stronger position and root in the [social studies] subject. The content matter has been around for a longer period of time and it's more established in textbooks and in the [social studies] course.
>
> (Experienced teacher, 14 years seniority)

On the other hand, since many experienced teachers related to financial literacy as something private and practical, they expressed difficulty in teaching financial literacy as a part of a broader of economy segment.

Financial literacy seems to be taught as a separate segment by experienced teachers, consequentially before or after the economics segment, from the perspective that financial literacy is a viable way to introduce economics or a good way to understand the personal consequences of the economy and political decisions. Still, experienced teachers' main objective with the economy segment seems to be understanding of economics.

> But still it is some kind of general knowledge, that you have understanding of the economy. If you do not understand the big picture, it can become difficult to manage your own finances.
>
> (Experienced teacher, 10 years seniority)

As mentioned earlier, two experienced teachers choose to teach financial literacy as an aspect of micro-economics, with help from the flow-of-income model.

Almost all experienced teachers expressed an ambition to relate financial literacy teaching to economics, and especially the economy, yet many also expressed difficulty in doing so. Two relevant considerations were time limitations within the social studies course, since other segments also need sufficient time and attention, and the difficulty to understand how to really incorporate financial literacy in an economy section and further into the social studies subject.

> It is not specified which problem, societal problem to address or social phenomena to explore. It can be economics, or politics, or social issues or something else. This segment of the syllabus is formulated as the individual's income and expenditures, and it is really hard to get that to work with any other segment of the subject.
>
> (Experienced teacher, 8 years seniority)

> If you know what a budget is and have some familiarity with it, and if you know your rights and the consumer laws and that stuff. Then it becomes somewhat like checking off a box… rather than some form of analytical knowledge like the other subject matter.
>
> (Experienced teacher 9 years seniority)

Thus, even though understanding the relationship between private finances and the economy was expressed as an aim, few experienced teachers indicated having any explicit means by which to facilitate teaching this relationship. Instead, the overarching aim for experienced teachers with their financial literacy teaching was future utility, hence some form of adult proficiency.

> In financial literacy, I find it important to include the commonplace things you need to enter adult life. … I have interpreted financial literacy as such, that these tools are … [so] that they can function for themselves when they have moved away from home.
>
> (Experienced teacher 22 years seniority)

> One question can be – You are in a family with two adults and two kids. What is reasonable to assume that you have to spend on food each month? A common answer may be about 1000 SEK, [krona, the Swedish currency] maybe 1500 SEK [laughing]. Then it's really necessary to work on these questions, because many [students] actually lack this understanding.
>
> (Experienced teacher 12 years seniority)

Experienced teachers often stated that financial literacy is important to learn, yet many experienced teachers also expressed doubts whether financial literacy should be integrated with the social studies subject. At the same time, experienced teachers have incorporated financial literacy in their teaching in social studies, hence spoke freely about their financial literacy teaching and presented their planning and tasks. Furthermore, several experienced teachers described the questions, devised by Lusardi and Mitchell (2007), as math questions indicating that their financial literacy teaching did not include calculations, yet they also expressed that they could see themselves using these questions in their teaching. On the other hand, more experienced teachers described the new questions devised for this study as typical of their teaching. Often, they added comments concerning their students' (and their own) struggles with numbers and calculations.

A definition of experienced teachers' aim in teaching financial literacy could be financial matters that concern the private and household sphere alluding towards future utility of this knowledge in enabling people to function as adults in society. This definition covers several salient aspects of financial literacy framed as an individual's financial behaviour and capability. But a greater number of experienced teachers expressed a desire to give students important financial experiences so that they could improve their future life, hence touching on the very core of the OECD definition of financial literacy.

6.5 Novice teachers' CK and PCK as related to their expressed aims

Novice teachers related their instructional aims and choices to what the syllabus stipulates regarding financial literacy and emphasised the relationship between private finances and the economy, with questions regarding income and expenditure as quite distal features.

> [This concerns their] understanding regarding money and the value of money, and income and expenditures. How this connected to others' finances and the economy, I consider advanced understanding. I guess that this is really important to understand, together with an understanding of how the system works regarding mortgages, interest rates, taxes and also what we get back from society
>
> (Novice teacher, 1,5 years seniority)

As this relationship between personal finances and the economy was a focal point, novice teachers looked for means to realise this aim in their teaching, in spite of their expressed lack of CK. The search for ways to relate theoretical discussions concerning income and expenditures to students' everyday life and the economy was sometimes conveyed as almost a search for the epistemology of financial literacy.

> [The financial literacy segment] has been tricky. Now I am content with this [task], but until I devised this [task], this segment has been tricky. Earlier, my financial literacy teaching evolved into something … that I constantly needed to rectify. But then, I have been working for only five years. … I modified all the time. I taught a lesson, and what I really had planned to do I had to change, because I wasn't content.
>
> (Novice teacher, 5 years seniority)

A common expressed practice for novice teachers was to elaborate financial literacy teaching from their PK skills and design teaching in which classroom activities, such as class discussions or students working together with a task, replaced lectures and teacher instruction.

One notable exception among the novice teachers described the aim of her financial literacy teaching as future utility for her students, where basic financial ability was promoted. The teaching was described as evolving around household budget discussions and tasks, resembling strategies associated with experienced teachers in this study. Also similar to more experienced teachers, this novice teacher expressed the difficulty of relating financial literacy, viewed as something private and practical, to society and the social studies subject.

> I find it [financial literacy] important for every student to have knowledge of, and it's really good to have when you leave school. … But when you ask what the social studies subject consists of in the upper secondary school, then it is more about how society works, and then all of a sudden you are supposed to talk about the private [sphere]. That feels a bit like, 'Okay, is that supposed to be included here? Is this really the right subject for this
>
> (Novice teacher, 2,5 years seniority)

Yet this teacher also gave voice to a common feature among novice teachers, namely that the most important objective is to carry out financial literacy teaching in a correct way, i.e. according to syllabus. Novice teachers did not find financial literacy to be redundant or unimportant, but they seemed quite preoccupied with their actual teaching.

The aims of novice teachers' financial literacy teaching seemed to be predominantly grounded in income, expenditures and household budgeting. Yet this aim address the relationship between private finances and the economy, hence touches on several salient aspects of financial literacy, understood as the individual's financial capability related to the wider socio-economic context. At the same time, novice teachers emphasised the importance of making calculations when doing budget exercises; they expressed this concern even before Lusardi and Mitchell's (2007) questions were presented to them. This aim touches on several aspects of the OECD definition of financial literacy as well.

6.6 Differences between experienced and novice teachers

It was clear that Swedish social studies teachers' lack of SKC concerning financial literacy poses a problem for them. This concern was expressed mainly by experienced teachers, who primarily tried to use their CK explicitly to teach, thus using CKC as if it were SKC. These teachers did not tend to refer to, or make choices from, any underlying disciplinary rationale for financial literacy when drawing on their CKC. They often expressed having problems deciding what subject matter to choose and how to relate this subject matter to or integrate it with other social studies disciplines.

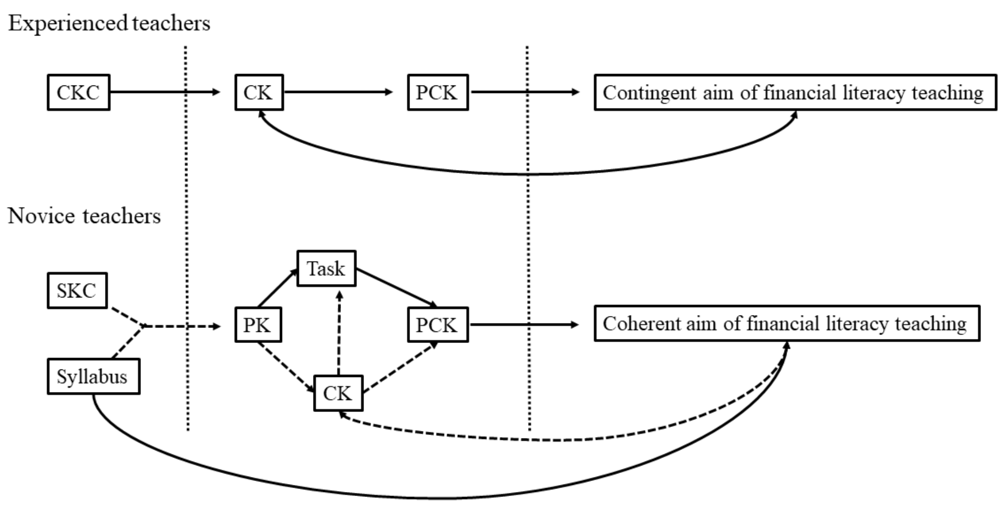
When experienced teachers use CKC to frame financial literacy and to design their financial literacy teaching, they draw on their personal knowledge and their ability to manage a household. Thus, financial literacy becomes something one does as part of managing a family, rather than to relate households' financial activities to wider economic or political aspects and prerequisites.

Still, experienced teachers seemed to teach financial literacy as an individual discipline within the social studies subject, even while drawing mainly on their CKC. This tendency, together with their rather practical definition of financial literacy, left most experienced teachers applying a quite contingent aim of financial literacy, hence regarded as a segment within the social studies subject yet experienced teachers presented a rather utilitarian view of the wider societal purpose of financial literacy.

For most novice teachers, on the other hand, the financial literacy segment does not seem to pose different problems compared to other segments of the social studies subject. This finding can perhaps be explained by the fact that they are quite new to the profession, without a perspective shaped by earlier curricula. However, novice teachers do express specific doubts and concerns regarding their financial literacy teaching. Their starting point for their instruction is their PK, supplemented by reference to the syllabus and their SKC (mostly in economics and political science). Their instructional preference is often to assign a particular activity or task, undergirded by instruction that draws on their CK in economics and political science.

The expressed aim of novices' financial literacy teaching is mainly influenced by the syllabus, which guides them to focus on the relation between financial literacy and the economy, including wider societal factors and prerequisites. This focus falls rather conveniently within the contextual boundaries of economics and political science, from which underlying rationales can be drawn to devise financial literacy tasks. Because novice teachers are attentive to the relationship between personal finances and the economy, their aim of the financial literacy segment within the social studies subject is rather comprehensive. At the same time, their presentation of the wider societal purpose of their teaching is skewed towards economic and political considerations. See Figure 3 for a graphical representation of the main approaches used by both groups of teachers.

Figure 3. Applied PCK model of how experienced and novice teachers relate their teaching to their instructional aims.



7 Discussion

This study confirms the suggestion by Lefrancois et al. (2017) that the subject within which financial literacy is taught will have a substantial effect on the aims and methods of financial literacy. However, Sandahl (2015) indicated that Swedish social studies teachers tend to treat the different segments within the subject as separate disciplines and the financial literacy segment does not seem to be an exception in this regard, especially for experienced teachers who tend to use their CK as a basis for their financial literacy teaching.

As Skott (2001) and Bransford et al. (2005) have suggested, novice teachers tend to rely heavily on their pre-service teacher education, which seems to deeply affect their understanding and perception of their teaching commitment. One aspect of that understanding is the development of what Bransford et al. (2005) called professional practice, which for novice teachers seems to start with general pedagogical skills. Novice teachers have more limited CK in financial literacy than experienced teachers, but this study has found, in contrast to Gudmundsdottir et al. (1987), that both experienced and novice teachers can have a clear position or 'point of view' as to what to teach. Even though experienced and novice teachers differ in PCK, both experienced and novice teachers have found ways to apply their available knowledge so as to fulfil their commitment to teaching financial literacy.

This study also shows what knowledge teachers draw on. This factor, along with how the actual teaching is designed, affects how teachers conceive and present the aims of financial literacy. How teachers relate to and draw from curriculum and syllabus is also a pivotal factor. Here we can describe teachers' educational aims as both intrinsic and extrinsic (Husbands, Pendry, & Kitson, 2003; Olsson, 2016; Strandler, 2017). Intrinsic aims are related to the discipline and stipulated by the syllabus, so they change over time. Extrinsic aims are more of a political or societal nature, such as educating responsible or perhaps critical citizens. This study shows that teachers relate their financial literacy aims to both intrinsic aims of the social studies subject and extrinsic aims which can be described as supposed future benefits for young people and society. As shown, both the intrinsic and extrinsic aims differ between experienced and novice teachers. Yet it is reasonable to assume that other factors, such as the school's location and the students' abilities, background and age, affect teachers' choices. Thus, more research is needed regarding how teachers frame and motivate their financial literacy aims.

Within the wider perspective of Swedish social studies teachers' financial literacy teaching, the picture is rather complex and laden with a number of common questions and challenges for all teachers. It is important to note that many teachers teach what the syllabus stipulates with very small means at hand. For example, when shown the financial literacy questions devised by Lusardi and Mitchell (2007), a number of teachers expressed uncertainty regarding their ability to complete the requisite calculations and no teacher commented on the concept of risk. So that students can receive more advanced financial literacy education, financial literacy should be introduced in teacher training programmes and in-service teachers should be offered some form of financial education. However, any efforts to deliver financial education to teachers should be carefully assessed, and teachers' own experiences in teaching financial literacy must be included in this assessment. More research on actual classroom practices is needed to understand how financial literacy teaching plays out and how learners respond to different teaching approaches. What kind of financial literacy we want to promote and to what end we educate young people financially can not only affect the well-being of individuals and society but can also help to educate critical citizens.

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Mattias Björklund is a PhD student at Department of Humanities and Social Sciences Education, Stockholm University. His research mainly concerns how financial literacy education can contribute to citizenship education.
https://www.su.se/profiles/072matbjo-1.292829
E-mail: mattias.bjorklund@hsd.su.se

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Article

"I mean, everybody is kinda racist." PowerPoint presentations in social-studies classrooms in Germany

Sören Torrau

Teacher at district school, Hamburg

- Learn and explore how students hold presentations in social-studies classrooms and how they foster "racial literacy".
- The article shows that presentations have didactic functions: Students learn to transform knowledge in a socio-constructivist way.
- A case study catches the deconstruction of racism in everyday school life.
- Presentations are an indicator of a change in the culture of teaching.

Purpose: PowerPoint presentations have changed representations of knowledge. They represent a social transformation process of communication which is also reflected in social-studies classrooms. Thus, it is important to examine not only how students hold presentations but also to explore the construction of knowledge through presentations: What are the *didactic* functions?

Methodology: The article focuses on a case study that was part of a doctoral dissertation that uses audio recordings, interviews and classroom observations in order to explore presentations in social-studies classrooms.

Findings: A presentation – the shooting of Michael Brown – by 10th-grade student Laura shows: *Students select and transform knowledge in a socio-constructivist and didactic way.* Presentations are the starting point of a process of negotiation of knowledge, which is triggered by the presenting students. Laura asks within the lesson: What is racism and what can we learn about racial structures? By reading the article teachers can learn about teaching students about race and racism through presentations.

Keywords: presentations, social-science education, transformation of knowledge, performance, racism, racial literacy, Michael Brown, anti-racist Bildung

Corresponding Author:
Sören Torrau
E-Mail: soerentorrau@gmail.com

1 Introduction: presentations as a cultural phenomenon

"PowerPoint is a social phenomenon, and as society is constructed by meaningful social actions, it is also a cultural phenomenon." (Knoblauch 2013, p. 3) Presentations are well established in society (cf. Heafner 2004; Knoblauch 2007; Mason et al. 2000; Peters 2011) and children are introduced to presentations early in school – they are an integral and ritualized part of school teaching (cf. Hertz et al. 2015; Kernbach et al. 2015): "Now, PowerPoint is everywhere and is expected everywhere." (Knight 2015, p. 271) Students learn how to prepare a presentation, how to deal with a topic and how to introduce it to fellow students. A presentation is always followed by a discussion and a feedback: Students learn how the act of speaking becomes a presentation and they are taught to present knowledge to others in public, i.e. in the classroom. In school, teachers introduce students systematically to this complex task.

The social significance of presentations is not new, lectures were held before the appearance of digital slides. Nevertheless, theoretical approaches to society, especially in the context of the use of digital media, speak of a cultural change (cf. Schnettler/Knoblauch 2007): Presentations "as a form of communicative action" (Knoblauch 2013, p. 5) are the very essence of a so-called knowledge society (cf. Schnettler/Knoblauch 2007) or an expression of a performance culture which stresses the relevance of presentations in modern society and the importance of developing different ways of dealing with knowledge. From a sociological point of view it is relevant to analyze the way presentations form knowledge:

> "Knowledge is not 'just there' but subject to processes of negotiation, acceptance, canonization, and transmission by more or less institutionalized teaching and learning processes. It is exactly at this juncture that powerpoint plays a prominent role. The powerpoint presentation is, in a nutshell, the communicative form of knowledge. It is by the very form of the communicative actions performed in powerpoint presentations that something can be treated as 'knowledge' is constructed. As knowledge is in principle intangible, it depends on being objectivated by communication […]. The knowledge society depends even more on processes by which 'knowledge' can be objectivated, fixed and made transferable […] Powerpoint presentations are the very form for this objectivation and fixation." (Knoblauch 2013, p. 17)

In the following, I use a case study from a social-studies lesson of a district school in Hamburg, Germany to show how students learn to act in a didactic way.[1] I will discuss what these findings mean in the context of school in general and particularly for social-studies classrooms:

- How is knowledge presented and staged by students in presentations and how are presentations held by students?
- Which didactic functions do presentations have in social-studies classrooms?
- How is the topic of the presentation – racism – negotiated in the classroom?

This article shows that presentations in social-studies classrooms have a unique function: The case study of a 10th grade class reveals how students learn to select a topic, develop questions, choose pictures or videos and distinguish between the important and the unimportant. Students not only learn how to present in front of a class, they also learn to transform knowledge. In short: They learn to *point* in a didactic way.[2]

Transforming knowledge is originally the central task of teachers. By transferring the act of pointing to students, the central didactic function can be identified: With presentations, students learn that knowledge – in the social-sciences – is constituted through communicative and social actions between themselves and others.

The second chapter defines racism and stresses the importance of negotiating racism in social-studies classrooms. In the third chapter, I will discuss the construction of knowledge from a socio-constructivist point of view and connect that process with the act of pointing. In the fourth chapter, I will present an empirical evaluation approach for the analysis of knowledge processes on the basis of the model of knowledge forms (cf. Grammes 1998). The fifth chapter deals with the reconstruction of a lesson on racism. In the sixth chapter I will conclusively discuss presentations as a ritualized method which is crucial for the development of understanding how knowledge is constituted through social actions.

2 Teaching and learning about racism

"To what extent does racism trigger police violence?" asks 10th grade student Laura in her presentation. Laura selects the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, MO – an unarmed black teenager who was shot by a police officer (Ransby 2018, pp. 47 ff.) – to reflect upon and to criticize racism in society and everyday life. She is interested in the topic and after she was assigned the task to hold a presentation, she uses this communicative form to discuss racism. Laura chooses pictures, charts and statistical data in order to convince her teacher and her classmates that there is a connection between racism and police violence – exemplified by the shooting of Michael Brown. She renders the topic in a specific way: by *her* interest, *her* guiding question and *her* contextualization of the event.

"Race is without a doubt a complicated, contentious, and highly charged topic." (Brown/Brown 2011, p. 9) Anti-racist teaching and learning processes (German: Anti-racist Bildung) locate racism not merely as a phenomenon of individual prejudices and attitudes – "racism-as-prejudice view" (Bonilla-Silva 2015, p. 1361) – but rather as a "socially constructed category" (Bonilla-Silva 2015, p. 1360). Anti-racist Bildung tries to empower students to recognize, understand and criticize racism in its various forms and grasp racism as a multidimensional and "material" (loc. cit.) phenomenon which is embedded in historical and sociopolitical contexts (cf. Elverich/Scherr 2017). Students should be enabled to deconstruct the central belief of racism that "some people are better than others because of their race" (Bonilla-Silva 2015, p. 1359) while 'race' can be regarded "as primarily a biological or cultural category easy to read through marks in the body […] or the cultural practices of groups" (loc. cit.).

Even though it is important for students to reflect personal attitudes and prejudices, central questions should embrace socio-political conditions and structural patterns of racism: "A structural analysis views racism not as a misperception but as a structural arrangement among racial groups." (Sleeter 1993, p. 164) In which way, under which conditions and with what consequences are attitudes and actions – of individuals, groups and institutions – conveyed through racism? What kind of functions have racist structures and how can they be changed?

Students can identify and criticize a "racial structure" (Bonilla-Silva 2015, p. 1360), that is defined as a "network of social relations at social, political, economic, and ideological levels that shapes the life chances" (loc. cit.) of different groups and individuals. This structure "places subjects in common social locations" (loc. cit.), in which individuals experience racist structures – as personal mindsets – and reproduce them through social actions. Although races are invented categories, people experience them as "socially real" (loc. cit.; cf. King et al. 2018). This framing gives students the opportunity to grasp racism as an invented biological or cultural category that is not only significant in overt racist mindsets and systems like Nazi Germany; the structural analysis can rather reveal that the origin of extreme and racist thinking and structures can be located in ordinary socio-political, socio-economic and social-cultural conditions (cf. Bonilla-Silva 2015; Varela/Mecheril 2018).

Although many teachers emphasize the relevance to teach about racism in social-studies classrooms, "many teachers feel uncomfortable teaching about race, period." (Brown/Brown 2011, p. 10) In Germany, most states do not stress the topics of racism and discrimination in their curricula and teaching about race and racism rather takes place in extracurricular education (cf. Elverich/Scherr 2017). This observation also applies to other countries like the U.S.: "The official curriculum tends either to ignore these concepts or to dilute their complexity or significance." (King et al. 2018) King et al. argue that one reason why teachers feel uncomfortable is because "we lack a common racial literacy" (King et al. 2018, p. 316).

When students hold presentations in social-studies classrooms they can stress certain topics. Laura for example examines the case of the shooting of Michael Brown and tries to speak about and define racism not only in U.S. contexts: By connecting the case of Michael Brown with German social realities Laura grasps racism as a global problem that needs to be discussed and criticized. While holding her presentation, Laura is the mainspring to discuss racism. Thus, presentations are significant for students to address topics in social-studies classrooms that are ignored or marginalized in curricula – such as racism.

3 Knowledge, presentations and pointing

Presentations put students – like Laura – in a central role in the production of knowledge: the interplay of speech, gestures and slides constitutes knowledge in the situation of a presentation (cf. Adams 2006; Idel/Rabenstein 2013). Thus, presentations emphasize the communicative actions of students who are put into a situation that is unique in the classroom – they should take over the process of pointing: "PowerPoint enhances, quite literally, the ability or power to point." (Adams 2006, p. 398) The presenting students significantly influence the way in which knowledge is presented and they influence the mediation of knowledge.

Despite the frequent use in everyday school life, little is known about the didactic functions of presentations and there are no detailed case studies on presentations in social-studies classrooms so far. Lesson plans conceive presentations as a teaching method independent of the content (cf. Vallance/Towndrow 2007). That is why presentations have often been criticized for promoting a so-called disposal of the content (cf. Gruschka 2011) focusing rather on competences than on topics. But it is not just competences that matter: Presentations are "event[s] [that] integrate technology, audiences, and presenters" (Knoblauch 2013, p. 19). This concept is called performance:

> "The action of presenting slides to an audience by a speaker – its performance – bestows meanings and thus situationally creates knowledge not inscribed or encoded in the documents [like slides, S.T.]. Performance as the embodied form of communication in time, rather, adds corporeality and sociality, and with it time, space, and new meaning to the information." (Knoblauch 2013, p. 20)

Hence, it is relevant to focus on the content of a presentation or, more precisely, on the process *how* content is *formed* in a presentation.

Presentations are directed – socially – to others, a process that Weber calls social actions (cf. Doolittle/Hicks 2003; Berger/Luckmann 1966/2013; Weber 1922/1980). Social actions are key concepts for social constructivism to define knowledge: "Knowledge is not a mirror image of reality." (Doolittle/Hicks 2003, p. 82) The foundation of the social-constructivist approach rather is that "the construction of knowledge and the making of meaning are individually and socially active processes" (Doolittle/Hicks 2003, p. 83). Presentations represent this understanding of knowledge in particular: This – the presentation of knowledge by students in front of others, the follow-up discussion which is "a backseat to socially agreed upon ways of carving up reality" (Prawat 1996, p. 220) – is "where knowledge construction occurs" (Doolittle/Hicks 2003, p. 80).

In order to negotiate topics in the classroom, teachers usually *point* to topics: Prange (cf. 2012) calls pointing the main operation of didactics. Thus, a topic that is negotiated in society is *re-presented* in the classroom (cf. Grammes 1998 & 2012). In this respect, the content is not technically mediated but rather didactically transformed. The didactic transformation of the topic should lead students to a learning process, that ideally promotes Bildung:

> "It proposes that Bildung should be perceived as an experience that the subject [that is the student, S.T.] comes out of changed; a change which not only affects one's thinking, but rather the subject's relation to the world, to others, and to itself." (Koller 2017, p. 33)

By transferring the act of pointing to students, topics are addressed in a different manner. This not only affects the general structure of lessons but also the transformation of political topics.

4 The model of knowledge forms

In order to analyze the dynamics of knowledge processes in the classroom, a didactic definition of knowledge is required. For teaching in social-studies classrooms, it is not only important to re-present the topic through pointing, but also to consider how and in what *form* the topic should be addressed. Therefore, teachers need to differentiate between different knowledge forms. They have to ask: Under what perspectives should the topic be dealt with?

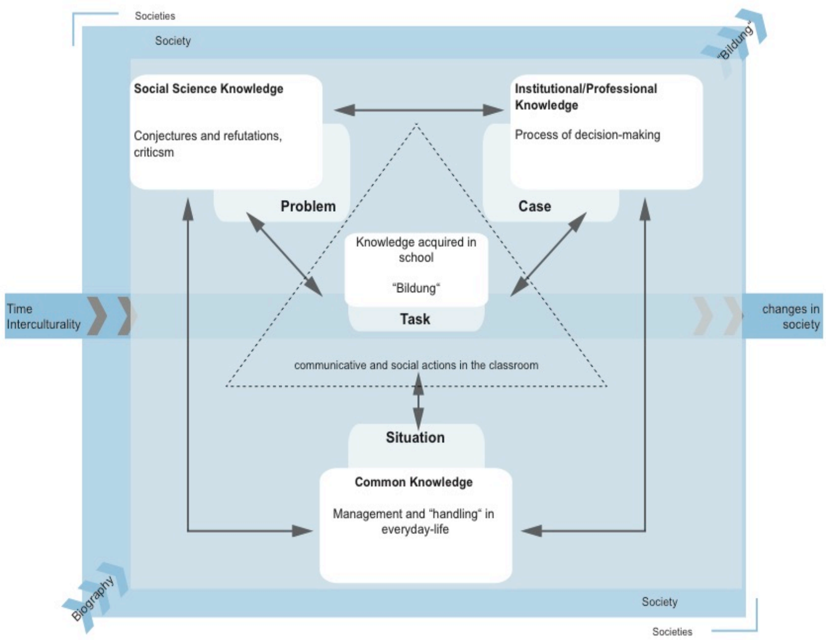


Fig. 1: Model of knowledge forms according to Tilman Grammes (1998, p. 70), translated from German into English.

The model of knowledge forms (cf. Grammes 1998, p. 70; Petrik 2017, p. 182) emphasizes differences of perspectives as the central didactic category and focuses on transformation processes of knowledge. A topic can be staged in many ways: is it about common knowledge or a situation of everyday life that is to be introduced in the classroom? Should a current political case be addressed? Is it about an analysis of a problem that affects society as a whole? These questions reflect different ways of accessing a topic in social-studies classrooms. Nevertheless, all modes of access are part of society, but there is a didactical difference with regard to specific contexts – a situation, a case, or a problem.

Circling back to example of 10th grade student Laura, it makes a difference whether racism is addressed (i) as a *situation*, for example experiences of the students with racism in their everyday lives and the way they *handle* them; (ii) as a political *case,* for example the shooting of Michael Brown and the following lawsuit against the police officer which requires a *decision*; or (iii) as a *problem*, exemplified by Laura's central question "To what extent does racism trigger police violence?", that addresses structural causes of racism which can be *researched* and *criticized*.

Through the act of pointing, teachers develop a specific perspective on the content. With the three forms of knowledge – common, institutional, social-science knowledge – teachers develop tasks which should lead to a learning process. The model uses the Didactic Triangle (in the background of the model) as the fundamental concept of teaching. The arrows represent the didactic act of pointing. The model of knowledge forms can be used as a tool for preparing and analyzing social-studies lessons (cf. Grammes 2016).

The model understands knowledge in a sociological and socio-constructivist way: In general, knowledge is linked to action. In social relations – such as PowerPoint presentations – ideas of the individuals shape knowledge by legitimizing and meaningfully selecting and justifying it. Knowledge is no external category that is beyond reach for individuals but rather individuals constitute knowledge and social reality through actions (cf. Berger/Luckmann 1966/2013): "Thus, constructivism emphasizes the active role played by the individual learner in the construction of knowledge [and, S.T.] the primacy of social and individual experience in the process of learning". (Doolittle/Hicks 2003, p. 78) The model visualizes the 'action of presentation' and the social 'making of knowledge'. It helps to differentiate didactically between different processes of legitimization und justification of knowledge, such as the process of decision-making in the context of cases or the 'handling' of everyday-life situations (cf. Grammes 2016).

The model focuses on the operative logic of teaching (cf. Meseth et al. 2012; Proske 2015), which produces a certain social order of teaching through the cooperation of teachers and students: Operative, in this case, means that the structure of the lesson is determined through communicative actions – depicted in the center of the Didactic Triangle. Thus, knowledge can be reconstructed in presentations, since the communicative actions are constitutional for the construction of social-studies lessons.

The empirical study was divided into two parts. In the first part presentations were recorded in the classroom; slides, transcripts of students and teachers as well as planning notes were obtained. In the second part the students and teachers were invited to listen to the recorded presentations in an interview. They provided their views, impressions and opinions on the lesson and on the subject of the presentation.

Both parts were combined in a revised transcript and were interpreted with the didactic model of knowledge forms described above. This evaluation method interprets the transcript hermeneutically (sequence analysis) and focuses on actions: The objective was the reconstruction of the social meaning of interaction and specific kinds of communication in the classroom. (cf. Reichertz 2007) This method which uses the model of knowledge form as the centerpiece to reconstruct learning processes in social-studies classrooms is called "Wissensdidaktische Hermeneutik" (cf. Torrau 2018).

5 "I mean, everybody is kinda racist." Student's didactic actions in presentations

The following excerpts contain the interaction in the classroom during and after a presentation and the political controversy surrounding the issue of racism. The lesson was recorded in November 2015 in a 10th-grade class in social-studies with 23 students and the class and subject teacher, Mr. Mueller. Mr. Mueller has been teaching the class for several years in sports and socials studies. In the last few weeks the class dealt with the Weimar Republic, Nazi-Germany and the Second World War, as well as the current debate about refugees and right-wing extremism. At the moment, presentations are being held. All students chose their topics on their own.

Today, Laura, a 15-year-old Afro-German, holds a presentation and presents her topic – racism and police violence using the example of the shooting of Michael Brown – in the final lesson of the day. Her presentation starts after an hour-long lunch break.

The teacher announces at the beginning of the lesson that Laura's is a "very serious topic". He briefly mentions that the presentation is about "racism in the US" and that the lesson follows the typical, ritualized pattern: (i) the presentation is held followed by (ii) a discussion and (iii) a feedback for the presenter.

After a brief overview of the lesson given by Mr. Mueller Laura introduces the topic to the class starting with the following slide:[3]

[The slide reads: Police violence (Ferguson)]

Laura: “So, my topic is police violence in the US, especially the shooting of Michael Brown.”

The slide shows a protester of the "Black Lives Matter" movement on a demonstration in Oakland, CA, following a decision by a grand jury not to open a criminal case against the police officer who shot Michael Brown (cf. Ransby 2018). Laura says, that her presentation is about “police violence in the US”. Subsequently, she reads her central question to the audience:

[The slide reads: To what extent does racism trigger police violence?]

Laura: [Next slide] So, I start with my central question which is: To what extent does racism trigger police violence?

With her central question Laura takes a specific perspective on “racism”: She stresses the topic of “police violence” and examines the shooting of Michael Brown to answer the central question of the presentation. The act of pointing is transferred to Laura: by asking questions, Laura develops the topic of racism. The presentation is not about racist comments on Twitter nor the change of communication on the internet. Neither is it about the strengthening of right-wing parties and their effect on the party system in Germany – although these questions would also address racism.

Within the scope of the model of knowledge forms, her question transforms the content specifically: Her perspective shows an approach of a political *case* (shooting of Michael Brown) as well as a social and political *problem* (racism in police action in the US in general) that goes beyond the case of Michael Brown. Thus, Laura transforms knowledge in two ways: she specifically mentions the case of Michael Brown and addresses the problem of racism on an abstract sociological level. With her lead question Laura renders racism not as “simple acts of individual prejudices” (King et al. 2018, p. 318) but rather examines racism in its socially constructed structures (connection between “police violence” and “racism”).

In the interview after the presentation Laura says about her choice of the topic:

> Laura: "Uh, just because I'm interested in it and I mean, it isn't that extreme like in the US, but that's what it's like in Germany sometimes, too. And I just wanted to deal with it, because it's kind of, it is about me, too [Laura is an Afro-German, S.T.], and about the world, how it works with racism and so on. That is why, I was just interested in the topic." (Interview Laura)

Laura's choice of the topic is influenced both by her interest in the case of Michael Brown and by her understanding of "the world, how it works with racism". Laura contextualizes the topic from different perspectives, which reveals a complex process of pointing: Firstly, through her own interest ("it is about me"), Laura deals with the topic in her *everyday life* (common knowledge) and transfers her personal interest into her presentation topic – she "just wanted to deal with it". Thus, she chose a *case* that interested and affected her. Going beyond her own experiences with racism, she develops another perspective through the case of Michael Brown. Thirdly, she also takes a socio-scientific perspective by pointing out the transnational significance of racism ("that's what it's like in Germany, too"), pointing at racism as a political and social *problem*.

These relations lead to the central question: "To what extent does racism trigger police violence?" The different aspects of the topic (situation, case, problem) are connected – especially for Laura herself – and are translated into the presentation. Laura contextualizes the topic in a way in which she can identify a "racial structure" (Bonilla-Silva 2015, p. 1360) that goes beyond individual mindsets and prejudices.

Shortly afterwards, Laura presents the circumstances of the crime for which she uses a series of pictures of the shootings of Michael Brown and Trayvon Martin, who was also shot unarmed by a member of a neighborhood watch:

> Laura: So [next slide], this is Michael Brown, this is how he lay on the ground. And a lot of pictures were taken, that was one of them.

An image appears on the digital board in the classroom. Mr. Mueller and the students can see a corpse lying on a street: "So, this is Michael Brown, this is how he lay on the ground," says Laura. Using that image, she introduces Michael Brown to her presentation and immediately adds that he lay on the ground after the shooting. She also says that the picture shown here is one of many pictures.

By showing the picture of the dead body of Michael Brown it becomes crystal clear, that 'race' as "an invented concept" (King et al. 2015, p. 318) is "real for those who are victim to the social construct's manifestations in actions and thoughts, and to the systems that have been created to oppress and privilege certain groups of people" (loc. cit.). [4]

In the interview Laura answers to the question, why she chose the picture:

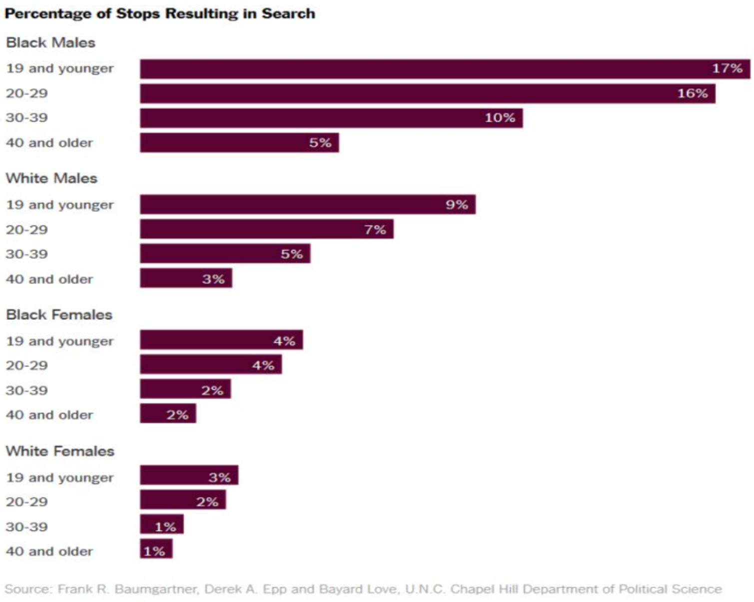
> Laura: "This picture [slide with Michael Brown, S.T.], yeah, simply, because it is simply genuine and this is exactly the way, how he lay on the ground. That is why, I simply wanted to [stress, S.T.] the importance, and that it didn't happen just like that but that it really needs to be taken seriously what's going on in America. Well, somehow I cannot play down what exactly happened there." (Interview Laura)

The presentation of the pictures serves to enable the students and Mr. Mueller to get an accurate idea of the events. The photos are used for the documentation of the events, they mirror the actions that happened in the streets of Ferguson, according to Laura. It becomes clear that she did not choose the photos arbitrarily – they carry social reality into the classroom: She says that the picture is "genuine", it visualizes social reality: "This is exactly the way, how he lay on the ground." On the one hand, the exact representation of the shooting of Michael Brown in the presentation stresses the "importance" of these events which Laura already highlighted when choosing her topic. On the other hand, Laura argues that the explicitness of the picture precludes a reading of *objective, unalterable* reality: "It didn't happen just like that." Laura identifies and contextualizes racism as a socially constructed concept: The photo can "serve as a catalyst to help students critically consider the nature and impact of race in the U.S." (Brown/Brown 2011, p. 11) and in the world which is due to actions of individuals in existing socio-political, socio-economic and social-cultural conditions.

She says about her presentation that the selected images were used to *point* at an important topic: "That it really needs to be taken seriously what's going on in America." Laura identifies the problem as a result of a social construct (racism) and points to the problem based on this political case (shooting of Michael Brown). The students and Mr. Mueller do not only see the image itself, but also the importance of dealing with racially motivated crimes in the United States: The image could trigger an irritation, it is a wake-up call.

Laura proves this by presenting the case of Trayvon Martin. By doing this Laura emphasizes that there is omnipresent racism that goes beyond the case of Michael Brown – her presentation is a structural analysis.

Following a brief account of the police officer's trial and subsequent protests in Ferguson, Laura uses charts to answer her central question. The following chart shows road checks in the US by ethnicity (black/white), sex (male/female) and age, and was published in the New York Times. [5]



> Laura: Okay, yeah. As you can see, racism might trigger police violence. It also happens quite often, that is why there are quite a lot of cases like Michael Brown's or, or Trayvon Martin's […] And this is [pointing at the chart], for example, when you're stopped in road traffic or something like that in America […] so most of the time dark-skinned, male Americans are stopped the most.

Laura cites the chart as evidence ("as you can see") that "racism might trigger police violence". Laura verifies the connection of police violence and racism and answers her question from the perspective of social science by relying on empirical data (visualized by the charts). It is no longer just about the case of the shooting of Michael Brown – even though the strong and emotionally laden pictures support her argument – because now Laura focuses on a general social context: "It also happens quite often, so there are quite a lot of cases like Michael Brown's or Trayvon Martin's." Her presentation represents a process of legitimization of knowledge in the classroom: "Knowledge acquisition and meaning making cannot simply be transferred or transmitted from one individual or group of individuals to another." (Doolittle/Hicks 2003, p. 83) Due to the verification of her lead question in front of her classmates and her teacher, meaning-making and the construction of knowledge are "active social processes of social negotiation [and, S.T.] shared discourse" (Doolittle/Hicks 2003, p. 84). The presentation is the starting point of this process.

At this point, the presentation is not about one specific *decision* made in a trial but about *conjectures* and *criticism*: The diagram that Laura chose deals with the police road traffic inspections, situations similar to that of Michael Brown's: "So most of the time dark-skinned, male Americans are stopped the most." Laura draws rudimentarily a connection that is also relevant in academic papers:

> "Where there are large Black populations, high unemployment, crumbling infrastructure, and an active underground economy, there is heavy-handed policing, which takes different forms. So-called broken windows policing, a racist and highly flawed model, has been the modus operandi of the Chicago and New York police forces and many others across the country for years. The supposed logic maintains that smaller, seemingly benign offenses portend serious crimes, and tackling the former will prevent the latter. In other words, there is criminal behav-

ior and 'precriminal' behavior. This mind-set sets the stage for racial profiling and harassment of entire groups of people, who 'might' be headed toward serious crimes. Michael Brown's treatment at the hands of Ferguson police is an example of where this approach can lead: a petty, or perceived, infraction leads to confrontation and deadly results." (Ransby 2018, p. 68)

Laura's findings and theses lead to an intense discussion in the social-studies classroom. The presentation becomes "a springboard to discussion" (Adams 2006, p. 403). The following part shows the interaction in the classroom after the presentation and the political controversy surrounding the issue of racism.

[The slide reads: Thank you for listening.]

The students applaud at the end of the presentation and the teacher, Mr. Mueller, takes over starting a classroom discussion using the image last shown in Laura's presentation:

Teacher: Nice picture here *[reads]*: "Black Lives Matter." What does that mean?

Duhan: I don't know what "matter" means.

Teacher: Yes, Laura *[Laura raises her hand]*, I know that you know. Can anybody else tell me what this English phrase means?

Duhan: Clara?!

Clara: Why me?

Teacher: Well, Clara, you know it, too. *[Student: "Lives of Blacks are also important."]* Yes, correct. Black lives...

Laura: ...matter. *[Student: "Yes."]*

Teacher: […] Okay, questions, observations, comments. I'm sure there is something you can say about it, right?! Questions, observations, comments. Apply it to the topic, what is it about, socially? […]

Jonathan: Well for example there also are black police officers, uhm, are they also discriminated against by their white colleagues or somethin' like that? And, is there also, do black police officers also discriminate against Whites? Rather not, right?

Laura: *[some laughter]* Sorry, I didn't listen.

Teacher: That's a good question that Jonathan asked, right?!

Anthony: *[to Laura]* If Whites uhm… the colored police officers discriminate against Whites?

Lara: If there is racism going the other way, so to speak.

Laura: How? What? Whites are… I don't know.

Teacher: More questions, first we collect, we try to bundle the questions a little bit.

Laura: It probably happens, I mean, everybody is kinda racist.

Teacher: Can you … again … well, everybody is somehow a racist? *[Maurice, ironically to Laura: "Are you trying to offend me?"]*

Laura: Yes.

Teacher: What exactly do you mean?

Laura: *[to Maurice]* <u>NO</u>, well not everybody is a racist, but uhm…

Teacher: I know, that you mean something specific, you mean that everybody has *[Lara: "Everybody has some prejudice."]* some subtle prejudice maybe or something like that?

Laura: Yes, I don't mean racist, like really bad, I rather mean generally, we've all got it in us.

Laura comments on the lesson:

Laura: "What Jonathan said upset me most."

Interviewer: "Do you remember what he said?"

Laura: "Yes! That racism against uh Americans or Europeans, well, that Blacks discriminate against White. That was something that he like… mentioned. Well, we were just talkin' about […] problems for colored people in the US and then he talked about how Whites are treated in the United States. That's why… I didn't think it was very considerate." (Interview Laura)

After the attempt to translate and clarify the meaning of the English phrase (and movement) "Black Lives Matter" (cf. Ransby 2018) Mr. Mueller asks the students for „questions, observations, comments" and specifies this request further by adding: „What is it about, socially?"

Mr. Mueller links his question – from a didactic point of view (cf. the model of knowledge forms) – to the social-scientific conclusion of the presentation and poses the guiding question for the discussion from this perspective. It is neither about the case of the shooting of Michael Brown nor about personal experiences or opinions of the students, but rather what the shooting of Michael Brown "is about *socially*": This question could move the discussion into a social-scientific field. With the help of the presentation, the students should identify a structural *problem* which is relevant for society. At the same time the students are encouraged to ask "questions" and formulate "observations and comments" themselves that could evoke other contexts such as personal experiences in everyday life situations. The teacher is undecided whether to work out a problem on the one hand or to discuss spontaneously given comments by students on the other hand. The argument from Laura that the charts are evidence that racism "might trigger police violence" is not contested, and therefore it can be read as accepting her central findings.

In class, the need for clarification of the aim of the discussion becomes obvious. Jonathan asks Laura two questions: First, if "black police officers" are "discriminated against by their white colleagues" and then, if "black police officers also discriminate against Whites". In the interview it becomes clear that Jonathan's question annoys Laura: His question "upset" her the "most" and in Laura's opinion it was not "very considerate" to talk about how „Whites are treated in the United States" after listening to her presentation. Laura stresses in the interview that her presentation was about "problems" of "colored people". Laura reacts to Jonathan's question with incomprehension: "How? What? Whites are… I don't know." This scene illustrates how the importance of the content of the topic of racism grew from talking about the case of Michael Brown and racism in the US, to also becoming personally significant for the students – for example for Laura as an Afro-German – themselves: Laura wants or can not answer this question: "I don't know."

Nevertheless, Laura takes up – after a brief invitation of the teacher to ask "more questions" – the comment expressed by Jonathan and formulates the core of the upcoming discussion: "It probably happens, I mean, everybody is kinda racist." Laura no longer argues socio-scientifically, as she did in her conclusion using the charts. Now, with this statement she locates racism on the level of everyday life by expressing experiences and/or personal opinions as a declarative sentence ("Everybody is kinda...") and thus addressing her classmates directly ("Are you trying to offend me?").

Mr. Mueller is surprised by Laura's statement ("Can you … again … well, everybody is somehow a racist?") and asks for clarification ("What exactly do you mean?"). Laura puts her statement in perspective ("I don't mean racist, like really bad") after Mr. Mueller tries to reconstruct that Laura "means something specific" – the teacher tries to defuse the statement ("subtle prejudice"). Laura, nevertheless, concludes: "I rather mean generally, we've all got it in us." [6]

Thus, Laura invites the audience to further discuss the issue of racism in the classroom and to deal with the question of racism in society. Laura creates a "teachable moment" (Brown/Brown 2011, p. 11) about racism and provocatively invites her classmates to talk about the topic because she connects current events and social-cultural conditions with the "social realities" (loc. cit.) of the students and Mr. Mueller: "To put it simply, race and racism are already explicitly and implicitly part of the students' lives" (Brown/Brown 2011, p. 12) and Laura stresses that connection. Thus, Laura – as a student – models the social-studies lesson significantly: To talk about and reflect on racism is everyone's business.

Laura's presentation in general and particularly her results lead to an intense discussion. Laura expresses her everyday life observation as a statement which her classmates will refer to their own experiences. From a didactic point of view, Laura establishes a direct connection between the problem of racism in society and the everyday life situations of her classmates. In short, Laura *points* at this connection through communicative actions. Thus, her classmates discuss an important question for every society: What is racism and how is it expressed in everyday life situations and society in general? The 10th graders discuss what racism is about, in Germany and in the world, they discuss their own experiences with racist insults including forms of "New racism" (cf. Bonilla-Silva 2015), struggling with the ambiguity of political and social knowledge – brought up in Laura's presentation who points at an important topic and as a result encourages her classmates to gain "racial literacy" (cf. King et al. 2018). Not only her last slide reads "Black Lives Matter", her whole presentation is a wake-up call that "All Black Lives Matter" (Ransby 2018) and that racism is a structural problem which affects every society and therefore needs to be addressed and discussed.

6 Conclusion

When students hold presentations they transform knowledge, because they act didactically. The distinguishing feature of the method is that during the presentation, the act of pointing will be transmitted from the teacher to the student.

Since the results are presented to others, a process of social legitimization of knowledge is triggered – teachers and classmates discuss the acquired knowledge controversially.

Presentations are a method of producing knowledge in society:

> "The legitimation of knowledge is no abstract process; it is rather embedded in the event of a presentation, since it is prepared and performed by the speaker (or presenter) with the technology [in front of an, S.T.] audience who take the presenter and speaker to represent knowledge." (Knoblauch 2013, p. 20)

Hence, presentations are used as a teaching method in class in order to explore the socio-constructivist constitution of knowledge in social sciences.

This is relevant for teaching in social-studies classrooms and for students to learn about the importance of social actions (cf. Weber 1922/1980). Students can explore this central aspect *explicitly* through presentations and learn how to act didactically themselves:

First, students prepare for a presentation, they deal with sources such as articles or videos on the topic, they decide what is important, they choose a central question and work out results such as Laura who is personally involved and wants to send a message to her classmates. Therefore, students use knowledge that has been objectivated through communication processes (for example sources like a chart) in society and re-present it in their presentations: Laura, for instance, re-presents the exact sequence of events of the shooting of Michael Brown. However, the presented knowledge is specifically transformed by the key question and the acts of pointing – Laura points out, that there is a connection between police violence and racism albeit she could have come to another conclusion.

Second, presentations always lead to *discussions.* Mr. Mueller tells his students to comment on the topic. The presenters discuss the represented and transformed knowledge of the presentation with others: For example, the results of Laura's presentation and especially her statement „Everybody is kinda racist" that came up through questions by her classmates.

Third, students and teachers can therefore discuss and deal with the results and statements of presentations and decide together what is right and what is wrong; for example what comments in everyday life are racist and if or in what way "everybody is kinda racist".

It is a *ritualized* process that takes place during every presentation. This process is especially important when teaching and learning about racism because it can expose racism as a socially invented category. In social-studies classrooms, the concept of racism can be challenged and criticized due to a socio-constructivist understanding of knowledge that presentations foster. Students learn how to act didactically themselves and hence learn about the *social making* of knowledge in social-sciences.

This is an indicator of change in the culture of teaching because the act of pointing is transmitted from the teacher to the students. Students thus have a great influence on what knowledge is presented and they have influence on co-designing school curricula in *action* (cf. Young/Lambert 2014). Thus, students are actively involved in the constitution of "powerful knowledge" (loc. cit.); Laura brings up a topic which is not part of the official curriculum and thus decisively shapes the construction of knowledge in the classroom. For teaching, these findings mean that the task to hold a presentation can be staged and used in pedagogical practice. Students can grasp a key concept of the construction of knowledge: In social sciences, knowledge cannot be transmitted technically but rather is mediated through social and communicative actions – it is an active social process.

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Endnotes

[1] *Didactics* is a term used in German-speaking articles to stress the difference between pedagogical and didactic actions in school and lessons. By using the term didactics, I can focus on the *subject* of lessons, on the *transformation* of knowledge which is different from subject to subject and on curricula in which official knowledge is determined.

[2] In this article I use the term *pointing* didactically. In this sense, pointing is the central action in lessons to transform knowledge and to develop learning processes.

[3] The following excerpts are translated from German. Laura uses a photo for her presentation: Source: cf. Sim, D. (2014): Black Lives Matter: Ferguson protests in Oakland, New York and Other US Cities. International Business Times (Online-Ausgabe UK): https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/black-lives-matter-ferguson-protests-oakland-new-york-other-us-cities-1476525 [02.02.2016]. Laura uses this photo again on the last slide.

[4] Publishing and printings those pictures is a controversial and contentious topic (cf. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/14/magazine/media-bodies-censorship.html). The disrespectful and inhumane treatment of Michael Brown's corpse by leaving him uncovered in the streets of Ferguson should not be downplayed. The author is aware that an uncommented and isolated publishing of those pictures can lead to a further dehumanization of the victims of racist crimes. Ransby criticizes: "Michael Brown's lifeless body was left in the middle of Canfield Avenue as crowds gathered and news of the latest murder spread by cell phone, texts, and Twitter. This callous disregard for Brown's basic humanity had 'Black Lives DON'T Matter written all over it." (Ransby 2018, p. 48) To criticize that inhumane treatment, Laura chooses to show this picture to her classmates and her teacher. I support Laura in showing that picture as a wake-up call to deconstruct racial structures in society. But I decided not to publish the picture in this text. In this article, a blank slide is published instead.

[5] Source: Oppel Jr., R. A. (2014): Activists Wield Search Data to Challenge and Change Police Policy. The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/21/us/activists-wield-search-data-to-challenge-and-change-police-policy.html [02.02.2016].

[6] With another interpretation of this sequence one could argue that the teacher provides further misunderstandings und misconceptions about racism with his questions and comments: One could argue, that instead of helping facilitate the conversation and to help push students in their thinking about race the questions and comments instead allowed for "white tears" to dominate the conversation and make it about them instead of the subject of Laura's presentation: Black Lives Matter and police violence against Black Americans.

Sören Torrau, PhD., is a teacher at a district school in Hamburg. Research focuses: classroom research, Antiracism, social-science education & "Wissensdidaktische Hermeneutik"

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On the digital lane to citizenship? patterns of internet use and civic engagement amongst Flemish adolescents and young adults

Jessy Siongers
Vrije Universiteit Brussel – Ghent University

Gil Keppens
Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Bram Spruyt
Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Filip Van Droogenbroeck
Vrije Universiteit Brussel

- Internet or traditional media use for information gathering, increases in conventional politics as well as in alternative forms of political participation.
- Entertainment oriented Internet use can be an accelerator for young people to be active in alternative forms of political participation.

Purpose. The rise of online communication possibilities has revived the debate surrounding the impact of media on political participation, especially with respect to young people who are considered prime users of online communication technologies. Against that background this paper examines the relationship between the use of new and old media and institutionalized and non-institutionalized forms of political participation.

Design. We rely on data of a representative sample of Flemish young people aged 14-30 (N=2488). Ordinal logistic regression models are used to model (1) institutional political participation and (2) alternative forms of political participation. We not only focus on whether young people used the Internet but also assess differences according to the purpose of Internet use.

Findings. Even after taken into account a significant number of background characteristics, different views on politics and other media use, Internet use remains positively related to both conventional and alternative forms of political participation. Internet use for pleasure appears quite strongly associated with alternative political participation, but is not related to conventional political participation. Internet use directed towards gaining information is strongly related to both conventional and alternative forms of political participation by strengthening young people's political efficacy, interest and political competences.

Keywords civic engagement, political participation, Internet use, media

Corresponding Author:
Jessy Siongers
Department of Sociology – Vrije Universiteit Brussel/ Department of Sociology – Ghent University
Pleinlaan 2, 1050 Brussels
Tel.: +32-26148151
E-Mail: Jessy.Siongers@vub.be

1 Introduction

Europe is undergoing considerable demographic, economic, cultural and socio-political change. Globalisation and transnationalization as well as the increasing use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) have a profound impact on the notion of citizenship (Harvey, 1989; Beck, 1994; Giddens, 1994; Castells, 1996, 2009; Fitoussi & Rosanvallon, 1996; Bennett, 1998; Held, McGrew, Goldblatt & Perraton, 1999; Norris, 2002). Citizenship identities have been challenged by the increasing globalisation of the world economy, ecological and demographic pressures, innovations in communication and mobility, processes of European integration and the migration of people into and across Europe (Cammaerts & Van Audenhove, 2005; Faas, 2007).

Paralleling these developments has been the growing concern in the media, amongst politicians, educators and policy makers about the loss of social cohesion. A number of authors claim that citizens no longer feel involved in the way in which society operates (e.g. Bennett, 2008; Delli Carpini, 2000; Farthing, 2010; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007; Harris, Wyn & Younes, 2010; Loader, 2007; Snell, 2010; Weinstein & Forrest, 2005). Especially young people are thought to become increasingly disengaged from politics and the democratic system. This appears to be confirmed by evidence from a number of studies. Young people turn out to vote in lower numbers than their older contemporaries, are less involved in and less trusting of political parties, trade unions or even youth organisations, have lower civic knowledge, etc. (e.g. Bennett, 2008; Delli Carpini, 2000; Elchardus & Siongers, 2015; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007; Harris, Wyn & Younes, 2010; Loader, 2007; Milner, 2010).

Opposite such a pessimism, the argument is posited that young people are not less connected to politics, but rather in a different way (e.g. Elchardus & Herbots, 2010; Elchardus & Vanhoutte, 2009a, 2009b; Harris, Wyn & Younes, 2010; Hooghe & Boonen, 2015; Thijssen, Siongers, Van Laer, Haers & Mels, 2015). In the digital age, young people are often portrayed as the vanguard of a new generation of citizens longing for a different and above all more direct relationship between citizens and politics (Bennett, 1998; Loader, 2007; Norris, 2002).

The opportunities created by online communication, flared up the debate surrounding the impact of media on political participation and this in particular with regard to young people since they are the chief users of online communication technologies. The question of whether these technologies can actually close the gap between citizens and the political process is not easy to answer. On the one hand pessimistic interpretations assume that new media, and in particular certain uses of new media, contribute to personal isolation, personal biases and reinforce disillusion and thereby finally culminate in a loss of social capital (Kraut, Patterson, Lundmark, Kiesler, Mukophadhyay & Scherlis, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Nie, 2001; Wellman, Haase, White & Hampton, 2001). However, more recent studies, show that new media allows for different and more accessible forms of political participation. In that way, so the reasoning goes, online participation may offer a stepping stone for (offline) political participation (Gil de Zúñiga, Jung & Valenzuela, 2012; Gil de Zúñiga & Valenzuela, 2011; Kann, Berry, Gant & Zager, 2007; Shah, Cho, Eveland & Kwak, 2005; Shah, Kwak & Holbert, 2001; Quintelier & Vissers, 2008; Vitak, Zube, Smock, Carr, Ellison & Lampe, 2008). Young people are here the group par excellence to examine since, as Shah, Kwak and Holbert (2001) already showed in their study on the impact of the Internet, Internet use has the strongest impact on the civic engagement of young people.

Against that background, this article studies the relationship between the use of (new) media and various forms of political participation (e.g. Harris, Wyn & Younes, 2010; De Bakker & Vreese, 2011). We contribute to the existing literature in three ways. First, as it is often argued that new media have created new opportunities for non-institutional forms of political participation, many studies use a single one-dimensional indicator for offline political participation; and either focus on participation in the more conventional forms of institutionalized politics (e.g. voting intention) or include non-institutional and institutional forms of participation in the same scale. Thus, it remains unclear whether any found difference between non-institutionalized and institutionalized participation is not specifically due to the operationalization of the latter. In this paper we clearly distinguish between institutional forms of political participation (in which we focus on voting intentions) and alternative or less institutionalized forms of participation. Between so-called digital natives, secondly, significant differences can be found with regard to the purpose for which the Internet is used. In this paper we relate the different uses to the more traditional media (radio, TV, magazines) and we compare their effects on the two distinct forms of political participation. This provides a more detailed picture of the paths leading to political participation and makes it possible to develop better communication strategies that have the potential to increase the active political participation of young people. To our knowledge, only Bakker and Vreese (2011) related different types of traditional and new media to various forms of political participation. The authors themselves acknowledge that their study is based on an online survey of a non-representative sample of young people (age 16-24). Finally, we believe that the specific context of the Belgian voting legislation can reveal relevant insights. In contrast to most other countries, voting is compulsory in Belgium. Much of the understanding of youth civic participation comes from regions where voting is voluntary and most studies that have reported a positive influence of Internet use on civic engagement and political participation took place in the United States, often during the course of presidential campaigns in which Internet is extensively used (e.g. Oser, Hooghe & Marien, 2013; Shah et al., 2005). Therefore, further research in other contexts, like the Belgian one, is needed to test the generalizability of earlier findings.

In this study, we will examine the relationship between the use of (new) media and various forms of political participation based on survey data, gathered in 2013 among 2488 adolescents and young adults (age 14-30) living in Flanders (Dutch speaking region in Belgium). Our results show that the use of new media for different purposes is differently related to conventional and alternative forms of political participation. In the conclusion, we discuss the implications of these findings.

2 Theoretical background of the study

2.1 Youth apathy or youth disillusionment with institutional politics?

A pessimistic scenario interprets the decline in engagement in traditional politics and organized membership among young people as specific manifestations of a more general withdrawal of civic life. In this process, young people are thought to lose interest in the bigger public cause leading to the weakening of democracy (Loader, 2007). This evolution has been labelled with a large number of negative connotations depicting deficiencies in young people, such as ‘disenfranchisement’ (Adsett, 2003), ‘depolitisation’ (Vrcan, 2002), ‘civic deficit or malaise’ (Delli Carpini, 2000), or ‘disenchantment or disconnection with society’ (Norris, 2004). Loader (2007) calls this view of the young the ‘disaffected citizen’ perspective. Others talk about the ‘abstention hypothesis’, stating that young people are participating to a lesser degree because of a lack of interest and apathy. Lance Bennett (2008, p.3) places this under the header of the ‘disengaged youth paradigm’, which also worries ‘about the personalization or privatization’ of political and other spheres (young people living in heavily commercialized online worlds). According to Putnam (2000) civic disengagement is the result of this trend towards the privatization of leisure, especially among the young.

A more optimistic scenario states that the lower participation of young people is not a result of apathy but of ‘engaged scepticism’ or disillusionment with conventional politics (Geniets, 2010; Harris et al., 2010; Henn, Weinstein & Forrest, 2002). In that view, young people are seen as interested in political matters[1] and supportive of the democratic process[2], but at the same time as disillusioned and critical about the political power. In everyday conversation ‘*politics has become a dirty word rather than a commonly accepted vocabulary for personal expression*’ (Bennett, 2008, p.1). According to this ‘cultural displacement’ perspective young people are not less interested in politics than adults but “traditional political activity no longer appears appropriate to address the concerns associated with contemporary youth culture” (Loader, 2007, p.1-2). Bennett (2008, p.2) describes this as the ‘engaged youth paradigm’, which holds politicians and governmental institutions themselves responsible for the “decline in the credibility or authenticity of many public institutions and discourses that define conventional political life”. Politicians, so the reasoning goes, have distanced themselves from young people by failing to adapt to changes in young people’s lives and to understand the growing importance of peer networks and online communities (Buckingham, 2007; Loader, 2007; Hull, Cecez-Kecmanovic, Kennan & Nagm, 2009; O’Toole, forthcoming). Kirshner, Strobel & Fernandez (2003,p.2) state that “terms such as ‘cynical’ or ‘alienated’ that are used to categorize broad demographic groups misrepresent the complexity of youth’s attitudes towards their communities. Young people are often cynical and hopeful, or both critical and engaged” (see Banaji, 2007).

Besides this gap between conventional politics and young people’s concerns and values, young people’s lack of meaningful opportunities to participate is often highlighted. Younger age groups, and issues that matter to them, are often ignored by traditional political institutions and organisations (this is strengthened by the ageing of society and the concomitant ‘shrinkage’ of the younger population in the electorate, which makes younger age groups less interesting for politicians). Finally, young people experience barriers to get engaged, of which the lack of information is the biggest problem, according to Delli Carpini. Young people are

> *not disengaged because they are satisfied with the current state of affairs, because they are apathetic, or because they do not care about their fellow citizens. Rather they are disengaged because they are alienated from the institutions and processes of civic life and lack the motivation, opportunity and ability to overcome this alienation*,

he concludes (Delli Carpini, 2000, p.6).

2.2 Alternative forms of participation

According to many scholars, social developments such as globalization, deinstitutionalization and detraditionalization, increased mobility and consumerism, have not so much lowered but altered the participation of young people (e.g. Dalton, 2008; Hirzalla & van Zoonen, 2008; Hooghe & Boonen, 2015; Marien, Hooghe & Quintellier, 2010; Norris, 2004; Quintellier, 2008; Thijssen et al., 2015). Young people are still interested in politics but in a different way than previous generations. The decline in engagement in traditional politics and organized membership has paved the way for less organized, alternative, and/or one-off engagements.

This kind of participation is thought to be particularly appealing to young people. The 'engaged youth paradigm' focuses on changes in identity associated with globalization and life in late modernity, which implies more self-actualization, personal expression and individuality, instead of focusing on the more traditional model of citizenship which evaluates young people on the basis of duties and obligations towards public affairs (Bennett, 2008).

The definition of politics is undergoing significant change, Aydemir (2007: 66) argues, partly also due to the increasing importance of the media;

> […] the fragmentation of shared common public cultures, mediatisation of everyday life, the centrality of consumerism and more pronounced individuality […] are factors to consider in this renewed meaning of politics and engagement.

According to these advocates of the engaged youth paradigm, in post-industrial societies younger generations have become less willing than their predecessors to channel their political energies through traditional agencies such as parties. Instead, they are more likely to express themselves through a variety of ad hoc, contextual and specific activities of choice. Norris (2002) therefore uses the metaphor of a phoenix, referring to the fact that disengagement from traditional forms of participation appears to have created new resources which have reinvented political activism. Rather than calling the contemporary youth apathetic she argues that they diversified their participation through cause-oriented activism that supplements traditional modes. Various authors follow this line of thinking and agree that while conventional forms of political participation are in decline in Western societies, non-institutionalised forms of participation, such as ethical or political consumerism, ad-hoc participation and civic sharing, are on the rise (Hirzalla & van Zoonen, 2008; Marien, Hooghe & Quintelier, 2010; Stolle, Hooghe & Michelleti, 2005). Especially younger persons would opt for participation in less hierarchical informal networks as well as more lifestyle related, single issue, cause oriented and ad hoc movements characterized by fuzzier boundaries and informal forms of support, rather than take up long-term engagements and participation in bureaucratic organizations characterized by formal rules and hierarchical structures (Bennett, 1998; Loader, 2007; Eliasoph, 1998; Norris, 2002; Quintelier, 2008). This engagement in single issue political campaigns and the 'politics of lifestyle' focused on environment, global justice, anti-poverty, sexuality, etc. are thought to better fit the way of life and values of young people (Loader, 2007; De Groof, Elchardus, Franck & Kavadias, 2010).

Recent international and cross-national studies support the idea of this shift by showing, among other things, a growth of new social movements (Norris, 2002). Further, studies indicate that participation in new social movements is positively related to protest activities like signing petitions or attending demonstrations (Norris, 2002). Evidence can also be found of a steep and steady rise of these activities, just as the purchase or boycott of certain products based on ethical or political considerations (Norris, 2002; Stolle, Hooghe & Michelleti, 2005)[3].

2.3 Opportunities and Limitations of (New) Media for Political Participation

The rise of new media technologies and applications has also revived the debate about the impact of the media on citizenship and social participation, especially among young people who are known to be early adopters (Hartmann, 2004).

In the 1990's, quite a lot of scholars considered television one of the major culprits for the decline in democratic awareness, the loss of social participation, and the mounting fear of crime, distrust and dissatisfaction among citizens (Gentzkow, 2006; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000; Romer, Jamieson & Aday, 2003). The earlier authors that blamed television for the decline of civic engagement relied heavily on Gerbner's cultivation theory (Gerbner et al., 1994) and 'time displacement' theory. Both theories focus on the time spent on watching TV. However, more recently researchers point out that it is not media use as such that is to blame. They claim that consuming specific media contents (i.e. entertainment programs) has a negative effect on the development of committed citizenship (Norris, 1996; Putnam, 2000; Prior, 2005). Robert Putnam, for example, made the following comparison:

> TV-based politics [and, by extension, radio-based politics] is to political action as watching ER (popular US hospital drama programme) is to saving someone in distress. Just as one cannot restart a heart with one's remote control, one cannot jump-start citizenship without face-to-face participation. Citizenship is not a spectator sport. (Putnam, 2000, p.41).

A decade later, the same discussion took place concerning Internet use. Some authors note that there is indeed some sort of time displacement that goes at the expense of the time devoted to social participation (Kraut et al., 1998; Nie, 2001; DiMaggio, Hargittai, Neuman & Robinson, 2001). In that respect, also the new media could contribute to a drop in social contacts and a loss of social capital. Putnam (2000) calls it the 'cyber-balkanisation' of society, with every person at his computer being a small island. Other authors claim that new media might create a time displacement, however not with respect to the time devoted to maintaining one's social contacts (Quintelier & Vissers, 2008) but rather regarding the consumption of other media (Haythornwaite, 2001). The reason is to be found in the way in which people use those new media within normal, everyday cultural practise (Haythornwaite, 2001; Katz, 2001; Wellman et al., 2001). More recent empirical studies indeed find support for the connecting role of new media (Gil de Zúñiga & Valenzuela, 2011; Shah, Kwak & Holbert, 2001).

The huge increase of internet users, certainly among young people and the increased possibilities that are offered by this kind of media, have therefore also created optimism among several authors. They argue that 'alternative' forms of democratic participation – participation in single issue and ad hoc movements, ethical consumption …– rely very strongly on online participation (Geniets, 2010). And precisely young people have become the prime users and drivers of online communication technologies.

According to several authors new media can therefore create new possibilities for participation in line with the values and interests of young people. The Internet can for instance lower the threshold for ethical consumerism by providing new and informal ways of addressing young people simultaneously as citizens and as consumers (Kann et al., 2007; Banaji & Buckingham, 2009). New media can also facilitate innovative and more accessible forms of democratic participation (Gil de Zúñiga & Valenzuela, 2011; Kann et al., 2007). The Internet created opportunities for a more interactive use. Social network sites and online communication can give access to weak ties and can initiate discussions on social and political topics with nonproximal individuals (Gil de Zúñiga & Valenzuela, 2011; Jung, Kim & Gil de Zúñiga, 2011). This also led to new forms of democratic participation which can be captured with the concept 'civic sharing' and that encompasses among others sending emails to friends and family about political and civic issues, participating in online discussion forums, and signing online petitions (Hirzalla & van Zoonen, 2008). Research of Gil de Zúñiga and Valenzuela (2001) confirmed that engaging in online conversations on public affairs is stronger related to these new types of civic envolvement than offline conversations are.

However, there are also good reasons to expect that the Internet may not be the magic potion that will make all people civic participants. Empirical findings confirm that using the

Internet and social media to seek information and news is linked to greater political participation (Gil de Zúñiga, Molyneux & Zheng, 2014; Shah et al., 2005). However, nearly all studies indicate that young people use the Internet mainly for communicating with friends. If they use it to find information, then it concerns almost exclusively entertainment and lifestyle issues (Hirzalla & van Zoonen, 2008; Boonaert & Siongers, 2010, Livingstone, Bober & Helsper, 2005). Only a small part of the young use the Internet for political or civic participation. Young people are only modestly interested in sites about political parties, electoral politics, or other civic or political websites (Hirzalla & van Zoonen, 2008). They are more interested in websites and blogs on music, movies, news, chatting, and fashion/lifestyle (Hirzalla & van Zoonen, 2008).

Also the mobilisation effect of online participation is contested. Some scholars see online participation as a stepping stone for offline social and political participation (Kann et al., 2007; Quintelier & Vissers, 2008). Kann et al. (2007), for example, suggest that an online participatory culture promotes values that support democracy, such as openness and involvement. Online participation is by some also considered a good tool for practising citizenship skills: Internet exposes young people to diverse political arguments and ideas and can as such broaden their views and knowledge, which can be applied to political problem-solving. Finally, the political mobilisation advocates state that the Internet has the capacity to engage those currently on the periphery of traditional political systems (e.g. Gil de Zúñiga & Valenzuela, 2011; Kann et al., 2007).

Others dispute the mobilisation effect of online participation. Participation in offline and online activities turn out to be strongly positively correlated, demonstrating that online and offline are complementary to each other, rather than substitutive (Hirzalla & van Zoonen, 2008). Young people who have already developed civic interest offline or who participate offline consider the Internet as a valuable tool for pursuing the already-developed interests (Livingstone et al., 2005). On the other hand young people who are difficult to engage offline, seem also the least engaged online (Geniets, 2010). Oser, Hooghe and Marien (2013) found support for the mobilization thesis as far as it concerned age and gender inequalities but not regarding socioeconomic status inequalities. On the contrary, socioeconomic inequalities were reinforced in online political participation.

In this article we investigate how the use of different media types and contents is related to institutionalized and non-institutionalized forms of political participation. This literature review indicates that the relationship between new media and political participation has already been the topic of several empirical studies. However, most of these studies don't distinguish between more conventional or institutional forms of political participation and the more alternative or non-institutional types of political participation. Moreover, most often they focus on offline and conventional political participation (e.g. Quintelier & Vissers, 2008). That research practice starts from the question whether (new) media motivates young people to engage in conventional political participation. But if the 'digital natives' process information in a different way, if they are frustrated by the lengthy bureaucratic procedures related to conventional politics and desire to ventilate their opinion without delay (Prensky, 2001; Bennett, Maton & Kervin, 2008), then it is likely that the use of (new) media mainly will increase alternative and less institutional forms of participation. For this reason, we distinguish between the two forms of political participation (alternative and institutional political participation) and we assess if they have different determinants.

Secondly, as argued above, among young people important differences can be found with regard to the purposes of Internet use. In this study we examine how the various purposes of

Internet use can be associated with the use of more traditional media (radio, TV, magazines). We also compare their mutual effects on the two forms of political participation. The distinction between new and traditional media leads to a better understanding of the ways in which media can influence political participation among young people.

When both elements are combined, this results in a research design in which the relationship is examined between two kinds of media use and two ways of political participation. To test this empirically, we will right from the start take into account the classical determinants of political participation and check the added value of the different forms of media use.

3 Data and Operationalization

3.1 Data

In order to answer our research questions we rely on data from a survey of a simple random sample (drawn from the National Register which contains records of all Belgian citizens) of the Flemish population (the Dutch speaking people of Belgium) aged 14-30 years old[4]. The data were gathered in the spring of 2013 by means of a postal questionnaire. At the end of the field work 3133 persons completed the questionnaire and returned this questionnaire (response rate: 44%). Since we make use of listwise deletion in our analyses, our results are not based on the total sample but on the answers of 2488 respondents.

A low response rate increases the probability of systematic sample biases. So, we controlled the data for the under and overrepresentation of certain groups, based on their educational background, age and gender. We found a -rather small- underrepresentation of the lowest educated and the 'older' young. This underrepresentation was higher for boys than for girls. Therefore, the data were weighted by the combination of age, gender and educational level (highest weight = 1.69; technical details available on request).

3.2 Indicators

3.2.1 Dependent Variables

Alternative political participation is measured on the basis of the involvement in six activities: signed a petition on paper, signed a petition on the Internet, supported a protest or an endorsement by liking it or sharing it on Facebook, supported a charity financially, boycotted a product (consciously not bought a product because of the company, country or way it was produced), and ethical consumption (bought a product because it has been produced in an environmentally or animal friendly way, or because it has the guarantee that is has been made in good working conditions). Respondents were asked to indicate which of these activities they had done the previous year. The data clearly show that this alternative political participation certainly is not confined to a minority group. Almost half of the young people had financially supported a social initiative in the previous year (46.1%), approximately four in ten have supported online a protest action or endorsement (41.3%), and also almost four in ten have bought products because of ethical reasons (36.7%). Boycotting products as well as signing petitions is done by a significantly smaller group of young people: 17.9% boycotted a product during the year previous to the survey, 15.9% signed a petition on paper and 19.5% did so online. All the activities done were counted, so that we obtained an ordinal scale ranging from 0 to 6. Higher scores on this scale reflect more alternative political participation.

One of the key indicators of institutional or *conventional political participation* in political research is voting behaviour. However, because a large portion of the respondents are not yet entitled to vote and has not voted yet we could not measure voting. Therefore, we focus on the voting intentions of young people. Voting intentions were measured by two items, 'Would you vote if you were not obligated to vote?', and having a valid vote intention. This last item measured if the respondent would cast a valid vote if there were elections now or would not vote, vote invalid or blank. This distinction is extremely relevant in the Belgian context since attendance is compulsory in elections. People can opt not to vote by leaving their ballot blank or by voting invalid. Based on these two items an indicator with three categories was constructed: 1) Non-participating youth: young people who would not vote if voting was not compulsory and who also have not the intention to bring out a valid vote if there would be an election (14.4%); 2) doubting young people: on the one hand, young people who would not vote if not mandatory, but who would bring out a valid vote if there were elections and on the other hand, young people who would vote if voting was not obligatory, but who would bring out an invalid vote in case of elections (27.1%); and 3) participating young people: young people who would vote and would cast a valid vote (58.5%). Higher scores on the scale therefore imply more support for conventional political participation.

3.2.2 Independent Variables

We constructed two scales that assess how respondents use the Internet. *Internet for pleasure* was measured by five items and indicated that Internet was used for 'downloading or listening to music', 'chatting with friends (e.g. Facebook, Skype)', 'watching/downloading videos, films, clips and series', 'Maintaining/creating a profile on a social network (e.g. Facebook, MySpace, Google+,...)' and 'Playing online games'. Higher scores on the scale reflect more Internet use for pleasure (eigenvalue=2,41; R^2=48%; Cronbach Alpha=,71).

Using *Internet for informational purposes* was measured by three items: 'Using search engines like Google, YouTube or Bing...', 'Searching information online (e.g. public transport timetables, travel directions, newspaper,...)' and 'Using the Internet for studies or work'. Higher scores on the scale imply more frequent Internet use for informational purposes (eigenvalue=1,91; R^2=64%; Cronbach Alpha=,68).

In this study, we explicitly take into account that the Internet is only one of the possibilities of media contact. Therefore we also have to take into account how young people use and perceive the more traditional media. To measure *media preference*, the respondents were asked to evaluate 5 TV channels and 4 radio-stations on a five-point scale, allowing the expression of both likes and dislikes. In addition, the respondents had to indicate out of a list of seven types of magazines which one they liked the most (e.g. men's magazines, women's magazines, TV magazines, sports magazines). By means of a non-linear principal component analysis (CATPCA) two scales were constructed: the first one expresses the likes and dislikes for the more information geared TV channels. The second scale expresses the likes and dislikes for the more information geared radio channels. Both scales were included in a CATPCA together with magazine preference to construct the media preference scale (eigenvalue=1,81; R^2=60,33%; Cronbach Alpha=,67). Higher scores indicate a preference for more information geared media.

We will also include in the analyses three more general attitudes towards the political process. It concerns attitudes that are known to be strongly related to political participation and mediate the effects of online communication on political participation (Jung, Kim & Gil de Zúñiga, 2011).

Political efficacy is measured by four items 'Voting has no use. Parties do whatever they want', 'As soon as politicians are elected, most politicians don't care about people like me anymore', 'Political parties are only interested in my vote and not in my opinion', 'My vote doesn't matter because so many people vote' (eigenvalue=2,48; R^2=62%; Cronbach Alpha=,79).

Political Interest was measured on the basis of how interested the respondents were in politics, how much they read about politics and if they switched the TV channel if there is a political discussion on television (reversed coded) (eigenvalue=2,17; R^2=72%; Cronbach Alpha=,81). Higher scores indicate more political interest.

The scale on political competences measures if respondents considered themselves politically competent. As such it reflects a sense of internal political efficacy. Respondents were asked if they 'know more about politics than most of their peers', 'understand most political issues' and 'normally have an opinion when there is a discussion about political issues' (eigenvalue=2,10; R^2=68%; Cronbach Alpha=,79). Higher scores indicate more political competence.

We used multivariate ordinal logistic regressions to assess the impact on alternative and institutional political participation. In all models we control for age, gender, educational level of the parents (at least one parent has a higher educational degree vs. none of the parents has a degree of higher education), educational track (general, technical or vocational), having voted before, and how well one's family can manage with the monthly family income.

4 Results

In order to answer our research question, six analyses were conducted for both conventional and alternative political participation. Tables 1 and 2 give the odds ratios for these analyses. Model 1 of tables 1 and 2 shows that both forms of political participation are strongly related to young people's educational background. Young people with higher educated parents participate more in both alternative forms as well as conventional forms of political participation. The same holds for their own educational career. Adolescents who are enrolled in general education or have finished their secondary education in a general track participate more than their peers who are enrolled in or have finished their secondary education in the technical or vocational track. Striking is that the educational level of the parents is much more strongly related to conventional political participation than to alternative political participation. Also income is significantly related to conventional but not to alternative political participation[5]. None of the participation forms are related to gender. There are however some differences concerning the effects of age and life stage. While alternative political participation is not related to age, the view one holds regarding conventional political participation is. When young people grow up, they become more convinced of the importance of institutional politics. Also, adolescents and young adults who already had the opportunity to vote, hold a more positive attitude towards conventional political participation. Alternative political participation shows only a moderate link with voting experience. Once controlled for media use, this relationship is no longer significant.

In models 2 and 3 we enter the indicators for media use. As expected, adolescents and young adults who frequently use the Internet or traditional media for information gathering, are more willing to partake in conventional politics as well as in alternative forms of political participation. However, while the use of Internet for entertainment and pleasure is not related to conventional political participation it is positively related to alternative political participation. Moreover, neither the addition of traditional media preferences nor the addition of other relevant features mediates the positive impact that this kind of media use has on alternative political participation. This suggests that even entertainment oriented use of the Internet can be an accelerator for young people to be active in this newer and less institutionalized forms of political participation.

Finally, the mediating factors political efficacy, interest and competences are entered to the model (models 4, 5 and 6). In these three last models we test if (new) media use influences political participation indirectly by strengthening young people's political efficacy, interest and competences. Since indicators of political interest, political efficacy and political competences are highly correlated, we introduce them simultaneously in the analyses[6]. Although the three indicators are strongly related, we find that with regard to institutional political participation all three indicators have an independent effect. Young people who have faith in the government and are confident in their impact on political affairs, hold a more positive attitude towards conventional political participation. This positive attitude even grows when the adolescent is interested in politics or when he or she feels politically competent. Taking into account these three factors, the effect parameters of both new as traditional media become twice as small. This may indicate that the more information oriented use of Internet and of traditional media influences institutional political participation indirectly by strengthening young people's political efficacy, interest and competences.

Concerning alternative political participation, the three factors are also significantly related to the dependent variable when they are entered separately. However when all three indicators are taken into account, only political competence remains significantly related to alternative political participation. Furthermore, political efficacy, interest and competence explain only a small part of the effect of media use, indicating that we can't consider them important mediating factors in the case of alternative political participation.

Table 1. Ordinal logistic regression analysis on institutional political participation among Flemish youth (14-30; N: 2448)

Independent variables	Model (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	β[a]	β	β	β	β	β
Age	1,065***	1,063***	1,031*	1,028	1,020	1,018
Gender: male (ref: female)	1,338***	1,395***	1,094	1,228*	1,076	0,953
Educational level parents: at least 1 parent is higher educated	1,638***	1,585***	1,349**	1,238*	1,276*	1,281*
Monthly income	1,181***	1,161***	1,128**	1,068	1,094*	1,079
Educational track (Ref. general education)						
- Technical education	0,666***	0,701***	0,880	1,012	1,106	1,161
- Vocational education	0,369***	0,469***	0,648***	0,814	0,837	0,852
Has already voted	1,914***	1,710***	1,627***	1,676***	1,654***	1,690***
Internet Pleasure		0,935	0,960	0,962	0,986	0,989
Internet Information		1,421***	1,305***	1,267***	1,178**	1,156*
Media preference			1,851***	1,585***	1,317***	1,284***
Political Efficacy				2,200***	1,955***	1,974***
Political Interest					1,930***	1,341***
Political Competence						1,703***
cut1	0,691	0,578	-0,404	-0,731	-0,978	-1,145
cut2	2,298	2,208	1,294	1,108	0,951	0,828
N	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448
BIC	4355,5	4325,7	4187,9	3950,7	3811,3	3760,3
ll	-2142,6	-2120,0	-2047,1	-1924,7	-1851,0	-1821,6

[a] Exponentiated coefficients

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 2. Ordinal logistic regression analysis on alternative political participation among Flemish youth (14-30; N: 2448)

Independent variables	Model (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	β[a]	β	β	β	β	β
Age	1,013	1,036**	1,013	1,011	1,008	1,009
Gender: male (ref: female)	0,916	0,866	0,683***	0,694***	0,656***	0,617***
Educational level parents: at least 1 parent is higher educated	1,421***	1,366***	1,190*	1,158	1,168	1,164
Monthly income	1,000	0,984	0,956	0,945	0,952	0,945
Educational track (Ref. general education)						
- Technical education	0,679***	0,729***	0,893	0,918	0,948	0,967
- Vocational education	0,430***	0,539***	0,707**	0,739**	0,751*	0,758*
Has already voted	1,204	1,022	0,924	0,918	0,896	0,899
Internet Pleasure		1,210***	1,261***	1,267***	1,277***	1,284***
Internet Information		1,347***	1,227***	1,212***	1,176**	1,165**
Media preference			1,675***	1,614***	1,502***	1,489***
Political Efficacy				1,158***	1,097*	1,092*
Political Interest					1,253***	1,041
Political Competence						1,298***
cut1	-1,155	-0,811	-1,612	-1,686	-1,760	-1,810
cut2	0,112	0,489	-0,272	-0,342	-0,409	-0,452
cut3	1,139	1,538	0,824	0,758	0,699	0,663
cut4	2,052	2,464	1,795	1,732	1,680	1,648
cut5	3,146	3,568	2,934	2,874	2,827	2,800
cut6	4,512	4,941	4,327	4,268	4,223	4,198
N	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448
BIC	8410,4	8335,0	8192,3	8187,8	8169,9	8156,6
ll	-4154,5	-4109,0	-4033,7	-4027,6	-4014,7	-4004,2

[a] Exponentiated coefficients

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

5 Conclusion and Discussion

Against the background of a growing concern about the political involvement of citizens in general and of youth in particular, we investigated the relationship between the use of different types of (new) media on the one hand and conventional and alternative forms of political participation on the other. Several authors stress that the introduction of the Internet and especially the speed of its spread among the population has caused a fundamental shift in the way people interact with information and knowledge. Some therefore speak of 'Netizens' instead of 'Citizens'. According to Milner (2010), the initiation of the Internet meant a simultaneous transformation of both the nature and the content of communication. The Internet indeed lead to an astronomic increase of the amount of available information - to the extent that no one can even retain an overview - offered by an infinite number of producers (many of whom are not professional) that can be consulted at any place at any time. Such an evolution has several consequences which in view of civic engagement have different and possibly even contradictory effects. Potentially the Internet reduced, firstly, the threshold for political participation and to acquire information. However, precisely the fact that people could never obtain information so easily, also increases the likelihood that people look for information that confirms their beliefs and avoid those contradicting it. This characteristic of the Internet potentially provides an inequality enhancing capacity. What does our research teach in that context?

Consistent with previous research (e.g. Bakker & de Vreese, 2011) we found that the use of Internet - even after taken into account a significant number of background characteristics, different views on politics and other media use - is positively related to both types of political participation. In addition, however, each use does not lead to the same result. Internet usage for pleasure appears quite strongly associated with alternative political participation, but is not related to conventional political participation (in this article, the voting intention). On the other hand, Internet for the purpose of gaining information is quite strongly related to both types of political participation, a finding that strengthens the idea that information and knowledge are often underestimated factors in the prediction of political participation (Milner, 2010). Such a pattern is part of a more general pattern which suggests that both types of political participation have different determinants. Alternative political participation seems, at first, much less embedded in the classical conceptions of and attitudes towards politics. This suggests the presence of a remarkable alternative path to politics. The latter also because, secondly, the Internet literally brings such alternative forms of political participation to people’s home. The big challenge at that level, however, are the differences in effect between the two paths. A difference in the way people are involved in politics is not problematic in itself, but becomes problematic, as Quintelier (2014) rightly points out, if those forms of engagement are different in the influence they have on the political process itself. In this sense, the discussion about the impact of the introduction of the Internet will not be considered separately from the more general discussion about whether our current organization of political decision-making is still sufficiently adapted to a changing social context.

By taking into account both the consumption of Internet and the wider consumption of media, our study yields two relevant insights. Firstly, the stepwise analyses show that a significant part of the initial relationship between Internet use and political participation can be explained by the more general media preferences. The latter is more applicable in the case of alternative political participation, but it certainly applies to the more conventional forms of political participation as well. There has, secondly, to be added that the relationship between the more general media preferences and both forms of political participation are considerably stronger than the relationship with the Internet, but in terms of direction they are similar. If both findings are combined, the question arises to what extent we are dealing with 'independent' relationships or unravel artificial effects. The study of the role the media have in general, and their impact on political involvement in particular, is still permeated by a relatively simple effect logic in which exposure to a medium also has clearly identifiable influences on certain, often very specific, outcomes. Precisely the previously mentioned characteristics of the Internet, all of which greatly increase the risk of self-selection, suggest that young people may never have had so many opportunities to develop their own lifestyles in which political involvement is more or less present. We know that media use plays a very crucial role in defining such styles (Elchardus, Herbots & Spruyt, 2013; Elchardus & Siongers, 2007). The relationships found between media use and political participation in this contribution should therefore also be partly attributed to the fact that already socially engaged young people consult other media than young people that are not so strong socially engaged. Today advocates for a stronger political commitment in young people often too easily take for granted that the Internet is the panacea to engage young people in politics and society.

Yet considering the additive effect of media on top of that of political attitudes, we can conclude that the digital highway can bring youth closer to the political process, provided that these young people know the correct information channels and are willing to use them. The latter can be only achieved if the political field pays more attention to the concerns and aspirations of young people.

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Endnotes

[1] Different public consultations have revealed that young people want to become more involved in participatory processes, but feel that they are given neither the resources nor the information and training that would enable them to play a more active role (White Paper Youth (COM, 2001-681: 24).
[2] In the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study one notices that 78% of European 13- to 14-year-olds think voting is an important trait of a good citizen, 75% considers respecting government representatives important and 71,5% following political issues in the media (De Groof et al., 2010). However, there are large differences between European countries.
[3] Although there is evidence for the higher participation of young people in social movement, alternative, one-off … activities, numerous authors have also pointed to the fact that participation in civic life does not follow zero-sum rules, in that one form of participation goes at the expense of the other. On the contrary, participation appears to be a cumulative process in which people who are active in traditional politics or associations tend to be more active in non-organized or one-off activities as well, and vice versa (Barnes & Kaase, 1979; Elchardus & Herbots, 2010).
[4] The collection of this data was funded by the Flemish Government (ministries of Scientific Research and Youth).
[5] After controlling for media preference in model 3, we find a significant but small negative effect of income. In other words, when the media preferences of young people are taken into account, income appears to have a significant but not substantial influence on the alternative political participation.
[6] In general, young politically interested people consider themselves more competent, have more faith in government and in the impact of their actions upon politicians and their actions than not interested young people have. Pearson correlations: political competences and political interest: 0,754; political competences and political efficacy: 0,324; political efficacy and political interest: 0,393.

Dr. Jessy Siongers works at Ghent University and Vrije Universiteit Brussel as the coordinator and postdoctoral researcher at the Knowledge Centre on Cultural and Media Participation and supervisor of the Youth Research Platform. She co-edited the book *Political Engagement of the Young in Europe. Youth in the crucible*, published by Routhledge, 2015.

Dr. Gil Keppens is a senior researcher at Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Research group TOR. His main research interests include youth research, sociology of education and cultural sociology. He is actively engaged in truancy research and is currently involved in the Policy Center for Educational Research. He wrote a PhD. on truancy. His recent work has been published in among others Educational Studies, Research papers on education and Young.

Bram Spruyt is an associate professor of sociology at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel and member of the research group TOR. His research interests include the study of intergroup relations, cultural sociology and public opinion research. His recent work on ethnic prejudice has been published in Political Psychology, Political Research Quarterly, Acta Politica and Social Science Quarterly.

Filip Van Droogenbroeck is an assistant professor of sociology at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. His main research interests include public opinion research, youth research and sociology of education.

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Diversity and credibility in young people's news feeds: A foundation for teaching and learning citizenship in a digital era

Thomas Nygren
Uppsala University

Fredrik Brounéus
VA (Public & Science)

Göran Svensson
Uppsala University

- Citizen science approach to map young people's digital news feeds.
- Students predominately read hard news.
- Digital news comes primarily from established news media sites deemed credible by students.
- On social media, students mostly share news they find credible.
- Students' authentic news feeds as potentials and challenges in education and democracy.

Purpose: The credibility of digital news is presently a topic of debate, and curricula underline the importance of media literacy. However, the content and credibility of young people's news feeds have not been investigated in detail in any large-scale studies. Here we explore the nature of news featured in Swedish upper secondary school students' news feeds, how news is shared, and how credible the news is according to the students.
Approach: Using citizen science and a mixed methods approach we review 2617 news from authentic news feeds.
Findings: The students' news feeds primarily contain hard news from established news media. News is predominately found on news domains, not through social media. Soft news is less common and is perceived as less credible. Boys find more sports while girls identify more entertainment and lifestyle news. The news feeds also contain some highly biased political information.
Research limitations: The study was carried out in Sweden, and further international research on authentic news feeds is needed to view results in relation to society and educational practices.
Research and practical implications: In education, students' news feeds can be used to scrutinize credibility and help students navigate towards credible news domains to support democratic engagement.

Keywords: digital news literacy; credibility; democracy; student; citizen science

Corresponding Author:
Thomas Nygren
Department of Education, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden
Box 2136, 750 02 Uppsala, Sweden
E-mail: thomas.nygren@edu.uu.se
phone: +46 73 6468649

1 Introduction

The evolution of digital media has had a considerable impact on how news is produced, shared and consumed. This is especially true for young people, who to a large extent find and share news online. Today, online news media is pivotal to stimulate conversations and active citizenry (Ekström, Olsson & Shehata, 2014; Lee, Shah & McLeod, 2013). However, new media can in many ways be described as a double edged sword; it may support democratic agency but may also pose a threat through the spread of misinformation in disconnected digital communities (Howell, 2013; Pajnik & Downing, 2008); it may support flow of information and connect people across cultural and ideological borders, but foster mistrust through speculations, rumors, and lies (Bessi et al. 2015; Soroush, Roy & Aral, 2018). Many organizations and individuals are using new media to discuss and support human rights, environmental issues and other societal matters in a balanced manner. At the same time, other actors take advantage of these channels to spread fear and prejudices through biased and faked news. On a larger scale such actors may be regimes attempting to destabilize foreign societies, political movements smearing opponents, or religious extremists recruiting members (Bjola & Pamment, 2016; Farwell, 2014; Howell, 2013; Woolley & Howard, 2017). Online forums can provide an undisturbed setting for opponents of a democratic, multicultural and egalitarian society, promoting further radicalization (Wojcieszak, 2010). News on social media may support democratic efforts in the Middle East but also fuel conflicts (Howell, 2013). Scientific findings can be shared globally in an instant, but the same goes for lies and rumors made up to generate clicks for profit (Del Vicario et al. 2016; Mosesson, 2017). In sum, citizens need the ability to identify potentials and pitfalls in new media to safely navigate the flood of information.

Today national and international guidelines emphasize the importance of education preparing students to navigate information in critical and constructive ways (EU, 2015; UNESCO, 2017; Skolverket, 2017). But to design constructive teaching and learning practices we firstly need to map out the digital landscape of news that the adolescents are facing. To understand the magnitude of the challenge, the news feeds of adolescents need to be studied in detail and at a large scale. Only then will we have a solid base upon which to build teaching initiatives and materials to guide young citizens.

The purpose of this study is to investigate what, how, and where, more and less credible information is spread among young people. We will address the following questions:

(1) What news flow in young peoples' news feeds?
(2) How is it shared?
(3) How credible is the information according to young people?
(4) How can such an evaluation of news be used in education to support democratic engagement in a digital era?

Our findings are based on the analyses of actual news feeds of 2644 upper secondary school students, age 16-19. We discuss how the results can relate to education and democratic challenges in a world saturated by digital media. Acknowledging the importance of media literacy, we focus this study on the question of access to and evaluation of information (Livingstone, 2004) to better understand what young people today face in their news feeds. This means that we will not address other aspects of what has been labeled digital competence, such as skills needed to analyze and create digital information (Livingstone, 2004; Hatlevik, Guðmundsdóttir & Loi, 2015; Skolverket, 2017).

1.1 News and citizenry in a digital world

Research and reports on news in digital media suggest that traditional news aggregators such as newspapers (in particular evening papers) still have a strong position in the Swedish media landscape (Statens Medieråd, 2015; Wadbring & Ödmark, 2014). But differences between age groups are large, young people mainly use digital media to access news (Statens Medieråd 2018) and they also use social media to access news more than other groups (Statens Medieråd, 2015; Davidsson & Thoresson, 2017). News may not be the most common type of information in Swedish youths digital communications, but between 70-80% report that they access news regularly (Statens Medieråd 2018). Some previous small scale research also indicates that young Swedes may not be aware of how much news they actually consume – and may fail to self-report their news habits. When participants in a previous study reported to not have a news reading strategy more than half of them had apps and push notifications from news sites personally installed on their phones (Jervelycke Belfrage, 2016). The importance of reading and sharing news has been noted as pivotal for civic awareness and democratic engagement, especially among young since this may be a starting point for active citizenry (Boulianne, 2016; Kruikemeier & Shehata, 2017; Shehata, Ekström & Olsson, 2015). What happens online is connected to citizenship and political engagement in various ways (Kim, Russo & Amnå, 2016; Kruikemeier & Shehata, 2017).

The young generation has been described as “the networked young citizen” (Loader, Vromer & Xenos, 2014) with potential orientations towards engagement in a participatory culture but also a risk of turning their backs on mainstream politics and citizenry based upon duty. For “networked young citizens” in Sweden news consumption has been noted as central for their public engagement – and vice versa (Ekström, Olsson & Shehata, 2014; Kruikemeier & Shehata, 2017). And mobilization of political interest rather than media malaise seems to be the effect on young people reading news in Sweden (Kruikemeier & Shehata, 2017). Thus, engagement with news plays a pivotal part of democracy, not least among a generation of future active citizens and decision makers.

1.2 Digital news, echo-chambers and filter bubbles

Usually the most shared news is very simplistic and striking (Wadbring & Ödmark, 2014). In online environments news that is close in time and space seems to be shared more than news from other countries and cultures (Wadbring & Ödmark, 2014). International research has shown that new media and modern journalism in different ways can facilitate the spread of exaggerations and lies. This implies new requirements for both readers and society (Silverman, 2015; Wineburg & McGrew, 2019). Today mainstream and non-mainstream news are mixed and shared in social media, making it difficult to assess credibility (Fletcher & Park, 2017). Finding nuanced information may be further complicated by hidden algorithms and seductive presentations of information in social media and search engines (Gillespie, Boczkowski & Foot, 2014). Technology is never neutral in that it always promotes some behaviors and suppresses other (Verbeek, 2005). Social media may, for instance, support social connections between friends of similar backgrounds and opinions, but suppress more diverse communications, creating so called “echo chambers” (Sunstein, 2007). Search engines, social media and news aggregators may also support “filter bubbles” as algorithms are coded to personalize and make it “easy” for us to find what we are looking for based upon our previous online presence and behavior (Pariser, 2011).

Problems with echo-chambers have been confirmed in empirical research on freely available data from US Facebook users (Bessi et al. 2015; Del Vicario et al. 2016; Schmidt et al., 2017). The results show how misinformation and scientific information is spread in segregated networks where “users mostly tend to select and share content according to a specific narrative and to ignore the rest” (Del Vicario et al. 2016, p. 557). Teenagers, according to Danah Boyd (2014), seem to act in similar ways online.

Research funded by Facebook has also confirmed the problem with echo-chambers but this research, with Facebook authors, also found cross-cutting communication between users of different ideologies (Bakshy, Messing & Adamic, 2015). A study of Bing search engine users, with a Microsoft co-author, found empirical support for the existence of filter bubbles and echo-chambers, but also how opposing views may reach users in chambers and bubbles (Flaxman, Goel & Rao, 2016). They also suggest that news shared in social media can be more ideologically colored than news on news sites. It needs mentioning that the usefulness of industry-supported research on a questionable sample of users is of course limited (Hargittai, 2015; Sandvig, 2015).

Other research has suggested that news online may not be as problematic as advocates of “echo-chambers” and “filter bubbles” set forth. People’s daily neighborhood conversations and offline news reading may be more ideologically segregated than online news habits (Gentzkow & Shapiro 2011). Some research, funded by Facebook, also suggests that users share true rumors and counter misinformation on Facebook (Friggeri et al. 2014). It has also been noted how social media can help individuals sort out relevant information and to navigate an abundance of news (Pentina, & Tarafdar, 2014). A contemporary paradox is that the abundance of news also makes it hard to find accurate and credible information.

Findings also indicate news habits much in line with offline news consumption with a lot of news being primarily descriptive (Flaxman, Goel & Rao, 2016; Gentzkow & Shapiro 2011). News was not a major feature on Facebook among the Bing users studied by Flaxman, Goel & Rao (2016); only one in 300 clicks on Facebook took the user to a news site. Instead individuals would primarily go directly to the news site of their choice (Flaxman, Goel & Rao, 2016). Established news media with similar and primarily descriptive news coverage has been seen to hold a strong position even in a world of echo-chambers (Budak, Goel & Rao, 2016). But young Swedes have been described as not very interested in quality news (Bennett, 2015; Sternvik, 2010).

1.3 News and education in a digital divide

Researchers and companies like Facebook, Twitter and Google have started new initiatives to prevent the spread of disinformation (Ciampaglia et al. 2015; Dong et al., 2015; Gupta et al., 2014). And software designed to counter filter bubbles are designed to provide democratic support (Bozdag & van den Hoven, 2015). But automated fact checking cannot today hinder the spread of biased and false information (Babakar & Moy, 2016, p. 3; Simonite, 2017). It takes active and informed citizens to safeguard balanced democratic conversations.

Studies of young people’s online activities highlight the influence of socio-economic background on the use of digital media. Digital mastery and financially productive ways of using digital media seem to mirror societal inequalities related to for example gender and class (Boyd, 2014; Correa, 2010; Gui & Argentin, 2011; Hatlevik & Christophersen, 2013; Helsper, 2012; Hargittai, 2010; Scheerder, van Deursen & van Dijk, 2017). In the Netherlands, for instance, low education levels can be linked to time spent on online entertainment and low informational skills (van Deursen and van Dijk 2014). A similar divide has been noted in

Norway (Hatlevik & Christophersen, 2013; Hatlevik, Guðmundsdóttir & Loi, 2015). What Hargittai (2001) called “the second digital divide” between people with good and poor online skills may widen the “opportunity gap” (Putnam, 2015) between children with different socioeconomic status. In education it is therefore important to map out constructive ways for all to navigate a digital news world.

From an educational perspective it is central to study what content and contexts students need to understand and navigate to stay informed. From a pragmatic perspective we must connect teaching and learning to students’ everyday lives and interests (Biesta & Lawy, 2006; Dewey, 2004; Englund, 2005). John Dewey (2004, p. 4) stated that humans “live in a community in virtue of the things which they have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common.” In line with this statement, teaching and learning in a democracy must support an understanding of our common community and support constructive dialogue. In classrooms, news may be used to promote knowledge, skills and attitudes in line with international and national guidelines. For instance, news may be used to stimulate knowledge on political, economic and social issues, to raise moral issues and discuss contemporary politics (Olsson, 2016).

Yet, a more detailed and empirically based understanding of the new media situation of adolescents is needed to design teaching and learning for current and future citizenry. For education it is also central to understand the world of students to meet their needs. Knowledge about what kind of information and perspectives students hold enables teachers to link learning to preconceptions in constructive ways.

Lee, Shah and McLeod (2013) emphasize the importance of encountering contrasting perspectives to develop opinions and an active citizenry. They find that their longitudinal study “confirms the contributions of deliberative activities in schools, democratic peer norms, news consumption, and citizen communication to the development of active citizens” (p. 686). From this perspective it is evident how news may stimulate conversations and support nuanced judgements, in school and society. Knowing how to access useful news information makes a fundamental part of active citizenry, empowering both individuals and society (Carlsson, 2014; Marchionini, 1999; Rheingold, 2012; Sundin & Carlsson, 2016).

Thus, it is important to improve our understanding of where students find credible news and also map out what media and sites that pose the greatest challenges. Starting in their digital news feeds, as we do in this study, can identify what, where and how useful and biased information is accessed and shared.

2 Methodological considerations

2.1 Citizen science in data collection

To explore what news flow in young peoples’ news feeds, how it is shared and how credible it is, we needed to collect large amounts of quantitative and qualitative data on both content and *perceptions* of the content. A mixed methods approach provided us with a pluralism of data, processing and interpretations (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Citizen science was a natural choice of method for the data collection phase; to receive authentic data on young peoples’ newsfeeds, we needed to actively involve young people in the process. Moreover, by participating, teachers and students would have the opportunity to practice and learn research-based methods for reviewing the credibility of online news. When such methods have been used in previous research on ideologically biased news, results show that students and paid services (Amazon Mechanical Turk) may provide useful data and categorization for further analyses (Baum & Groeling, 2008; Budak, Goel & Rao, 2016; Ho & Quinn, 2008).

The current project can be categorized as a *curriculum-based* citizen science project, which includes an active involvement of teachers, further promoting learning outcomes of participation (Bonney et al., 2015). Having students engage with credibility issues in their own digital media environments has been recommended for teaching and learning by numerous scholars (Benett, 2008; Flanagin & Metzger, 2008; Jenkins, 2009; Metzger & Flanagin, 2008). As in all citizen science projects, a number of steps needed to be taken to safeguard the quality of the reported data: we developed data collection protocols and forms in close collaboration with interaction design experts in an iterative process involving end users (teachers and students); throughout the project teachers and students had access to instant technical and scientific support via Facebook, telephone and email. Guided by a specially developed digital tool, 2,748 students aged 15 to 19 helped collect and categorize data from their own, authentic news feeds.

2.2 Piloting manual, tool and protocol

Today humans with an internet connection are far better at handling paraphrases, recognizing new false claims, and checking a wider set of claims (Babakar & Moy, 2016; Simonite, 2017). But doing this in a scientific way may be a challenge (Metzger & Flanagin, 2015). To support students in their categorization and review of information we developed a digital tool and a teacher's manual. Both manual and tool were developed in close collaboration between researchers, teachers and interaction design experts, and were based on current findings about how fact checkers navigate the internet to evaluate information (Wineburg & McGrew, 2019). The manual supported the teachers in scaffolding students, and scaffolds were also built into the digital tool, in line with research highlighting the importance of soft and hard scaffolding, not least when conducting research with a large crowd (Brush & Saye, 2002; Sharma & Hannafin, 2007; Pea, 2004; Wolfenstein, 2016).

The tool guided the users through the evaluation process, encouraging them to read laterally and focus on three factors found to support digital literacy skills: (1) awareness of source bias, (2) assessment of the use of evidence, and (3) corroborating information by checking alternate sources (McGrew et al., 2018; Wineburg & McGrew, 2019). "Reading laterally" means using the internet to investigate the credibility of the domain and corroborating the news with other online sources. A first design of the research protocol and the tool was piloted in 5 classrooms by 162 students and 10 teachers. The design included a PowerPoint presentation for the teacher to introduce the research and the news categorization process to the students. After the introduction, students selected news from their own news feeds to evaluate in groups of three, using the tool.

During the pilot we made classroom observations, recorded students' use of the tool by capturing their on-screen navigation and collected user feedback from teachers and students in online questionnaires before and after the pilot. The questionnaires and the news data reported to the database were used to update the protocol, manual and the design of the tool. For instance, we needed to further define what we meant by "news" and "source" in a digital news feed. We also found that the students' review process took longer than expected. Initial technical problems included some difficulties when submitting news containing special characters, and teachers mixing up links to a trial vs the live version of the tool. The collected data from the pilot also informed new ways to design visualizations and user feedback.

2.3 The main study

The data collection process for the main study consisted of the following six steps: (1) teacher uses a provided PowerPoint presentation to introduce the study and how to collect data in a scientific way; (2) all students individually fill out an online questionnaire; (3) all students retrieve the last item in their personal newsfeeds (instructions told students to find "news in your regular newsfeed in the phone e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat, Instagram, blogs, news sites"); (4) students work in groups of three, using the tool to investigate and submit information on the news; (5) teacher guides the class through the follow-up discussion using statistics from the study; (6) all students fill out an individual online evaluation questionnaire.

In total, 2748 upper secondary students, age 15 to 19, participated in the project. 104 of the 2748 students opted to not allow their data to be used in research. Hence, the results in this paper are based on 2644 students' reviews of news in their own news feeds. The students attend schools all over Sweden. 1231 were year 10 students, 896 year 11 and 517 year 12. The students were enrolled at 19 different programs, but almost 80% studied the national programs of Social studies (30%), Science (19%), Business (19%) or Arts (12%). 57% were female, 39% male and 3% non-binary gender. Students were guaranteed anonymity in all stages of the research process (responses to questionnaires and news submitted cannot be traced back to individuals). All participation was voluntary in line with ethical guidelines (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011). Students could also participate and not allow their data to be used for research.

In all, 2703 reviews were submitted by the students. All reviews were manually processed by researchers to safeguard reliability in the technical functionality of the tool and validity in the evaluations. 87 items were identified as non-valid. About 40 % of the non-valid items were incomplete and 60 % were duplicate entries. Thus, the results are based on the analyses of 2617 reviews.

In order to assess the inter-rater reliability (IRR) between the students' ratings and adult individuals with extensive professional experience of digital source criticism, we randomly sampled 103 news of which two upper secondary school teachers and three researchers, authors of this papers, with backgrounds in journalism and education each assessed 19-21 news items (see Table 1). These ratings were then compared with the students' evaluations of the respective news, resulting in 25 independent IRR assessments (see Table 1). We report Cohens kappa κ) for News type, which is categorical, and for the remaining variables, which are on an ordinal scale, we report ICC (intra class correlations). The ICC was computed using a two-way consistency ICC to assess the degree that raters provided consistency in their ratings of credibility of author, proof, comparison, and general credibility.

The small number of significant ICCs is mainly explained by the students' higher credibility ratings. Comparing student news categorisations with those by researchers and teachers we find that the classification of *type of news* was the same or very similar in 88% of the reviews. Researchers and teachers deemed *the source* to be less credible than students in 38% of the reviews. The same held true for the *evidence* in 48 % of the reviews, and for *comparisons* in 25% of the reviews.

Only 8% of the students' credibility ratings of the *source* were lower than those of researchers and teachers, as were 12% regarding *evidence* and 21% for *comparisons*. The overall credibility rankings of the *source*, *evidence* and *comparison* were the same in 49% of the reviews.

Table 1: Inter-rater reliability between students' ratings and five adult individuals with extensive professional experience of digital source criticism.

	Variable				
Rater	News type (κ)	Credibility source	Credibility evidence	Credibility comparison	Credibility general
Researcher /Journalist	.721 ***	.435 *	.155 *ns*	.267 *ns*	.243 *ns*
Researcher /Journalist	.659 ***	.346 †	.321 *	.101 *ns*	.507 **
Teacher	.557 ***	.178 *ns*	.186 *ns*	.218 *ns*	.179 *ns*
Teacher	.567 ***	.440 *	.236 *ns*	.421 *	.397 *
Researcher /Teacher	.651 ***	.608 ***	- .0273 *ns*	.15 *ns*	.257 *ns*

† $p < .01$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ *ns = not significant*

Note: F-values and confidence intervals for the ICCs values are available in Appendix A, Table A1. We used irr R package for all IRR analyses (Gamer, Lemon, & Fellows Puspendra Singh, 2012)

In sum, the students' reviews can be regarded as more reliable regarding the *content* of the news feeds (i.e. featured news types) than the *deemed credibility* of the news, where the inter-rater reliability tests and overall comparisons suggest that students' may be less critical than seasoned fact-checkers. However, the present findings shed light on students' perceptions of credibility in a school setting when supported by a digital tool for source criticism.

3 Results

3.1 News consumption

According to the pre-study questionnaire, the students commonly find their news in their cell phones (91%), on TV (59%) or on the computer (50%). The reading of print newspapers was less common (24 %) as was listening to the radio (13%), as noted in previous reports on young Swedes' news habits (Statens Medieråd, 2017, 2018). On the internet the students find news in social media (70%), online tabloids (48%) and via public service TV (34%) and commercial TV (30%). Online, 24% read a national morning newspaper, 19% a local morning newspaper and 14% use international news sites. Half of the students claimed to find news shared in their feeds on a daily basis, 18% weekly, 12 % monthly and 9% every hour. On a scale from 1 to 10 the overall credibility of news was seen as a 5. News perceived as not credible was encountered in their feeds a few times per week by 48% of the students, 31% found such news on a daily basis, 18% rarely and 2% never.

3.2 What news flow in young peoples' news feeds?

When asked to use what they most often use to find news (what is here referred to as *news feeds*) most students went directly to a news site. With a prompt telling them to find the last news in the phone from "e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat, Instagram, blogs, news sites" about 60 % of the reported news was found on news sites. A majority of the domains were established tabloids, public service and national media sites. Most of the news were classified as reports on *politics, economics and social issues* (Table 2). Almost as common were *accidents and crime*. These two categories, often referred to as "hard news", are dominant in the students' news feeds: 66% of the 2617 news items are hard news (see Table 2). Soft news (*sports*, *entertainment* and *lifestyle*) are much less common (28%).

Table 2: Categories of news in newsfeeds

Genre	N	%
Politics/Economics/Social issues	881	34
Crime/Accidents	832	32
Art/Entertainment	376	14
Sport	184	7
Lifestyle/Food/Health/Medicine	187	7
Other	157	6
Total	2617	100

Separating hard from soft news may of course be problematic, due to blurred lines between categories. However, a closer look at a sample of items coded as *politics, economy and social issues* revealed only news with significant social and political content, for instance: the referendum for independence in the Kurdish part of Iraq; an immigrant clan leader in Gothenburg helping the police reduce violence; a politician from the Swedish right wing party (Swedish Democrats) taking a time out after accusations of sexually assaulting a colleague; Trump at war with Facebook; and a local court overruling a police decision to allow a Nazi demonstration in Gothenburg. A closer investigation of news classified as *crime and accidents* displayed, for instance, the same news on the Swedish Democrat politician, this being news on both *politics* and of *crime*. In both cases the report was coded as hard news. Other examples of *accidents and crime* items were news regarding suspects in a lethal shooting in Las Vegas, and a mosque burning in Örebro.

Looking at soft news, news on *arts and entertainment* included, for instance, stories on: Kylie Jenner becoming pregnant, a new children's book and a singer enraged by questions in an interview on national TV. News on *sports* covered a Norwegian threat to boycott the Olympics in cross country skiing, a soccer star being injured in a car crash, and the selection of the national soccer team. News on *lifestyle, food, health or medicine* included: how showering may damage your hair, a father crying because his son is depressed and how lack of sleep may shorten your life.

3.3 Gendered news feeds?

Working in groups of three during the data collection, the students reported whether theirs was a group of boys, girls or a mixed group. This enabled us to explore gender-based differences in the news feeds. Hard news (politics/economics/social issues and accidents/crime) was dominant in the news feeds of boys and girls in all age groups (Table 3). Some minor differences can be observed regarding hard news, where especially all-boys groups in ages 15-16 (Yr 10) and 16-17 (Yr 11) found more news on accidents and crime than all-girls groups did. In all age groups, girls had more news on entertainment and lifestyle in their feeds than boys. In contrast, boys had more news on sports.

Table 3: Type of news in different groups based on age and gender

		Type of news (%)				
		Politics	**Accidents**	**Entertainment**	**Sport**	**Lifestyle**
YR10	**Boys**	34,8	36,9	8,1	10,6	2,5
	Girls	30,4	27,8	25,3	3,1	8,5
	Mixed	34,9	34,1	12,0	7,4	6,3
	Total	33,7	32,8	15,0	6,7	6,3
YR11	**Boys**	30,4	34,8	7,5	14,9	5,6
	Girls	33,2	31,2	15,8	4,4	9,7
	Mixed	34,7	33,9	12,2	5,7	7,0
	Total	33,4	33,1	12,5	7,0	7,7
YR12	**Boys**	31,3	29,2	11,5	19,8	3,1
	Girls	29,0	24,5	22,0	2,5	12,0
	Mixed	41,2	27,5	11,5	7,7	7,1
	Total	34,1	26,6	15,9	7,9	8,4

The major result from the gender analysis show that digital soft news is distributed in different ways between sexes, with girls showing a considerable interest in entertainment news and almost neglecting sports and boys giving entertainment some consideration but focusing more interest on sport. But overall, girls and boys in all age groups primarily encounter hard news (politics/economy/social issues and crime/accidents) in their newsfeeds.

3.4 Type of news accessed via social media?

As mentioned earlier, most students went directly to a news site to retrieve the latest news (Table 4). News in social media was thus only a part of the students' news feeds. Hard news made up the majority of items from news sites (76%). It was also a major part of news shared on Facebook, the most popular social media for sharing and reading news (50%, see Table 4).

Table 4: Type of news in social media and on other sites

News feed	N	%	Pol./Ec./Soc.	Cr./Ac.	Arts/Ent.	Sports	L./F./H./M.	Credibility
Not social media	1523	58%	38%	38%	9%	5%	4%	7.1
Facebook	760	29%	25%	25%	20%	9%	13%	6.5
Instagram	144	6%	19%	20%	31%	18%	8%	6.3
Twitter	118	5%	54%	19%	13%	6%	6%	7.3
Snapchat	67	3%	15%	24%	36%	6%	8%	6.0

Note: Abbreviations: Politics/Economics/Social issues (Pol./ec./soc), Crime/Accidents (Cr./Ac.), Arts/Entertainment (Arts/Ent.), Lifestyle/Food/Health/Medicine (L./F./H/M). Uncategorized news and five news found in Tumblr are excluded. All percentages have been rounded to full percentages.

On Twitter, hard news was also the dominant category. Especially news on politics, economics and social issues were prominent in Twitter feeds. Soft news was more frequently found on Instagram and Snapchat, where stories on entertainment, sports and lifestyle, made up 57% and 50%, respectively, as compared to 43% on Facebook (Table 4).

3.5 Credible news?

For every news item, the students used the tool to evaluate the three components *source*, *evidence* and *corroborating the information in another independent source*. Each component was classified as *credible*, *neutral* or *not credible*. In total, students found 10% of reported items to be *not credible* with regards to at least one of the three components (see Table 5). 67% had at least one component classified as credible while 23% received a neutral score. When grading the news on an overall credibility scale from 1-10, students gave their news an average grade of 6.8.

In Table 5 we find that hard news was deemed to consist of, for the most part, credible components. Looking at the individual components, about 70% of hard news received a *credible* (C) score for each component. The corresponding figure for the *not credible* (NC) score for hard news is around 7 percent. However, slightly less than half of the hard news (48% and 49%, respectively) received a C score for *all* components. Conversely, a small minority of hard news received a NC score for *all* components (11% and 3%, respectively).

A closer look into this proportion of not credible politics news reveal items on immigration and right-wing conspiracies from sites such as Infowars, Nya Tider and anonymous internet forums like Flashback. The remainder of the politics news receiving NC scores for all components consisted of reports and op ed pieces from the news site Nyheter 24 (“News 24”), satire items or hoaxes from sites like World News Daily, Rochdale Herald and 9gag reposted as news on social media, news on climate change from popular science magazine Illustrerad Vetenskap [Science Illustrated] and reports about the end of the world from the viral site lajkat.se.

Table 5: Type of news and credibility

			Avg. credibility	**Source (%)**			**Evidence (%)**			**Corroboration (%)**			**All NC (%)**	**All C (%)**
Genre	**N**	**%**	**(1-10)**	**NC**	**N**	**C**	**NC**	**N**	**C**	**NC**	**N**	**C**		
Politics/ Economics/ Social issues	881	34	6.9	8	23	70	8	22	70	7	22	70	11	48
Crime/ Accidents	832	32	7.0	9	17	74	6	23	71	8	22	70	3	49
Art/Enter-tainment	376	14	6.4	17	27	56	18	22	60	17	27	56	8	37
Sport	184	7	8.0	3	17	80	7	20	73	4	17	78	2	60
Lifestyle/ Food/Health Medicine	187	7	5.7	19	30	51	19	30	51	18	31	51	6	5
Other	157	6	6.7	14	22	64	13	17	70	11	25	64	4	45
Total	2617	100	6.8	10	22	68	10	23	67	10	23	67	4	44

Note: Type of news classified as not credible (NC), neutral (N) or credible (C). Two rightmost columns show percentage of news with all three components classified as credible or not credible.

A number of not credible news reports on *crime and accidents* came from Nyheter 24. In the students’ comments, the popular site was identified as a clickbait site posting misleading headlines, publishing poorly written news items, lacking in evidence, by unskilled reporters. Negative comments also mentioned ads looking like hard news, so called *native advertising*. The students found a similar site, Newsner, to base its news on established international news sites but making the facts come out wrong. Immigrants and crime was described on Fria Tider and in reposts on Twitter from a German right wing Party (AfD). Reports on killer clowns were published on sites like lajvo.se and Nyheter 24. Some items from the established national tabloids Aftonbladet and Expressen were also among the not credible news. It is noteworthy how news classified as NC with regards to one component (source, evidence or corroboration), could still receive C's for other components. For instance, of the 20 % of reports on accidents and crime that were classified as NC in the corroboration component, 16 % had a C rating for evidence. This phenomenon is also evident from Table 5, where the two rightmost columns display percentage of news with all three components classified as C and NC, respectively. Regarding soft news, sports news was deemed to be more credible than the two categories arts/entertainment and lifestyle/food/health/medicine. Only 3% of the news on sports were found to be coming from not credible sources as compared to 17 % and 19 %, respectively, for entertainment and lifestyle (see Table 5). Sports news had the highest percentage of items with all C components (60%), and the lowest percentage of all NC components (2%) among all news categories. Furthermore, sports news scored an average of 8.0 on the credibility scale from 1-10 while entertainment scored 6.4 and lifestyle 5.7. The sports news seen as lacking in evidence or corroboration were mostly related to speculations regarding player transfers.

Entertainment news identified as not credible included speculations on the assumed pregnancy of reality TV star Kylie Jenner. Circa 16 % of the news categorized as entertainment covered this particular story, reported by CNN and celebrity news sites like toofab.com and hant.se. Focus on celebrity relationships and emotions was a common denominator for NC entertainment news.

News on lifestyle, food, health and medicine is a mix of hard news reporting on scientific discoveries and soft news about for instance travel and leisure. News in this category had the lowest average credibility (5.7) and was given below average credibility scores on all three components. As can be seen in Table 5, lifestyle has an exceptionally low percentage of news graded C for all components; and the only category to have a higher percentage of news graded NC than C for all components (6% vs 5%).

Examining the domains of all the 2617 news reviews, we see that the top five domains are Aftonbladet (national tabloid; credibility rating 7.9 out of 10), Expressen (national tabloid; 7.7), Nyheter24 (viral news website; 5.7), Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet (national morning papers; 8.3) and public service TV and radio (8.7). News on *politics, economy and society* mainly came from established mass media. 52 % of news in this category came from sources classified as credible. Here public service TV and Dagens Nyheter have a strong position along with Aftonbladet and Expressen. News covering *crime and accidents* were also primarily found in the domains of established media. The tabloids were slightly more prominent in this category, as was Nyheter24.

Credible sports news generally came from above-mentioned tabloids, but also from new media outlets based in media and journalism – Fotbollskanalen ("The Football Channel") and Hippson (a horse magazine). The students classified Hippson as a credible source in eight out of ten of its news, and Fotbollskanalen was noted as a credible source in all its reported news (n=10). Boys-only groups classified 75% (n=67) of sports news to come from credible sources; the corresponding figure for girls-only groups was 85% (n=58) and for mixed groups 84% (n=96).

In contrast, news on *lifestyle, food, health and medicine* primarily came from Nyheter24 – a source classified as not credible in 38% of the reviews. A mix of soft and hard news was published by tabloids and public service TV, but also by expressnytt.se – a viral news site. The site was deemed as a not credible source in 50% of the reviews.

Arts and entertainment news primarily came from the tabloids and Nyheter24. Such news also came from the entertainment website hänt.se (a gossip magazine), deemed to be a not credible source in circa 40% of the reviews. Girl groups classified far more news on entertainment (n=182) and lifestyle (n=83) from their feeds than boys (n=40 and n=18, respectively).

4 Concluding discussion

Access to credible news has been highlighted as a fundamental condition for democracy, and informed citizens are pivotal for a constructive societal debate and decision-making. Seeing young people's news engagement as a cornerstone for current and future societal engagement, we explore the mortar of that cornerstone – their news feeds.

Through our collaboration with students we have found that news on *politics, economics, and societal issues* is common in their news feeds, as are reports on *crime and accidents*. In other words, so called *hard news*, make up the lion's share of their feeds. *Soft news* (sports, arts and entertainment, lifestyle, health and food) is less common. Comparing boys-only and girls-only groups, we see that both genders primarily encounter hard news in their news feeds. The main difference between genders can be found within the arena of soft news. Boys find more news on sports while girls find more news on arts and entertainment, lifestyle, health, food and medicine. This indicates a gender-based distinction in how Swedish upper secondary school students engage with news.

The samples that we analyzed more in detail showed that hard news items were sometimes classified in different hard categories by different groups (e.g. a politician accused of sexual assault, classified as politics/crime). In this aspect, the lifestyle category is more complicated as it mixes hard news (e.g. of research) with soft news (e.g. on leisure and individual narratives). To address this complexity we need to further develop the assessment protocol of news *content* and news *form* in the digital tool, dividing them into two different variables to be classified by the user.

Looking at sources, the nature of the news feeds varies between different social media channels and news found outside social media. There seems to be a correlation between types of news and the credibility of the sources. For instance, the students' low overall credibility ratings of lifestyle and entertainment news is partly a result of low *source* credibility reviews for certain social media channels. Instagram and Snapchat hosted a considerable share of such soft news and are deemed to be less credible sources than Twitter and Facebook, who carry more hard news (see Table 5). It is also evident that news found *outside* social media feeds are somewhat more credible than news shared via social media. There seems to be a link between source and content that has an effect on how credibility is perceived.

4.1 Sources and credibility

The fact that a minority of news reported in the present study stem from social media feeds, could indicate that young people's news to a large extent is *found* rather than *shared*. The circa 42% of news shared via social media, predominately come from Facebook. The results also show that different social media is used to share somewhat different types of news. Instagram and Snapchat is used for entertainment and sports while Twitter is for reading and sharing news on politics. Facebook holds more soft news compared to common news sites. Thus, social media, in general, seem to be used for sharing soft news rather than hard news.

News reported by young people in this study was to a large extent classified as quite credible. Only one out of ten news items was identified by students as not credible when scrutinizing the three components *source*, *evidence* and *corroboration with an independent source*. And the 2617 news received an average credibility score of 6.8 (scale 1-10, Table 5). As we note in the inter-subjective reading, students tend to be more trusting towards news reports than researchers and teachers. Thus the actual credibility of the news feeds may be slightly lower than what the reports suggest. However, it is clear that what students read and share in the present study has often been vetted by journalists. As most news comes from established media sites, the results are in line with previous research, even if we need to bear in mind the limitations of this study regarding students as research assistants (Budak, Goel & Rao, 2016).

When comparing these findings with results from our pre-study questionnaire, we see that the two convey slightly different pictures. In the questionnaire, 70 % of students reported finding news via social media, 48 % in online tabloids and 34 % via public service websites. The overall credibility of the news was a 5 (on a scale from 1-10), and not credible news were encountered daily by 31%, a few times per week by 48% and rarely by 18%.

A possible reason for this discrepancy could be that students are not always aware of their news habits when they self-report (Jervelycke Belfrage, 2016). The group setting could also have an influence, as students may have been inclined to pick or exclude certain kinds of news from their feeds for their group discussion. Thus, it cannot be excluded that the actual newsfeeds of the participating students may differ from our results, in reality holding a higher percentage of news shared via social media, and of slightly lower credibility. A different study design is needed to capture this question, for example including more items from each student's newsfeed, in a consecutive list. And it is evident that students' knowledge and media habits need to be addressed in empirical studies not just by self-reports.

The credibility concept could also be addressed with more attention to detail and complexity. We tap into dimensions of credibility focusing on the source, the media text (its content and form) and the context of the media text. Studies of credibility have focused on sources, content and the media used, and adopt more objective or subjective perspectives to the assessment of credibility (Metzger and Flanagan, 2008). Of importance is also if credibility is approached on a general level or on a more detailed level and with specific aspects of credibility in focus. As we have seen here, credibility in news can be attributed to a media type (TV, radio, web), a specific media organization (SVT, SR, Dagens Nyheter or Nyheter24) or a specific news item selected for evaluation.

Studies of young people's perception of credibility of web news media also pave the way for studies on how this affects their trust in the news and in media. Both credibility and trust need to be clarified to deliver new knowledge on how the politics, the mediated communication and pedagogics of digital media credibility operate and should be addressed.

4.2 A democratic challenge

Our finding that students in upper secondary schools read news on politics, economy and societal issues from established media sites may be seen as a contrast to often discussed polarizing online information consumption (Bessi et al. 2015; Del Vicario et al. 2016; Sunstein, 2007). Rather than sharing biased news from extremist sites, this study records young people following societal issues through established news media. The impact of filter bubbles (Pariser, 2011) on adolescents may be important, but our results indicate that they tend to go directly to news sites, thus sidestepping more narrowly selected and biased news in social media feeds (Flaxman, Goel & Rao, 2016). In their digital worlds, the students will primarily encounter news reviewed by professional journalists.

Our findings imply that young Swedes primarily navigate online tabloids with free access. This may be interpreted that they are not very interested in quality news, in line with previous research (Bennett, 2015; Sternvik, 2010). On the other hand, it may also be a reflection of an interest in news from established media sites with reasonable quality and credibility, without paywalls. Newspapers deemed to be more credible in this study have paywalls, making them only accessible to students with a subscriber's account. This is a democratic challenge, considering the importance of all citizens having equal access to quality news. Currently there is a digital media divide between young people with and without access to a large portion of the most credible news, which may very well add to other digital divides due to social situation (Hargittai, 2010; van Deursen and van Dijk 2014). Furthermore, as news may play a central role in political engagement, it is problematic that access to news is a matter of socio-economic status (Kruikemeier & Shehata, 2017). Countering this digital news divide is online public service news, being highly credible and accessible to many young. However, the lack of free and equal access to the most credible newspapers still remains a problem.

Though most credible hard news in the present study came from credible sources, the students also submitted a number of politically biased news on migration issues and crime. Sources for this news were online extreme right-wing journals and internet forums, but also social media. These news items present a racist view on society, describe foreign religions as cultural threats, and tell stories of conspiracies behind war on terrorism. The number of reported items with this kind of content is very limited, but we need to bear in mind that the study design, with collaborative investigations in classrooms, may not capture feeds young people wish to keep secret from their classmates.

Furthermore, while students in this study classify news with politically biased content as not credible, they may not have the skills and experience to do this without the scientific and technical scaffolds provided in this setup. In light of theories of media literacy (Livingstone, 2004) we primarily investigate the *access* to and *content* of digital news media, and not the *ability* to evaluate credibility, but through the students' assessment of the credibility we also address their *evaluation* of the media.

In the context of democratic challenges, our finding that biased news primarily seems to be found among soft news may be seen as reassuring. But biased soft news can be problematic for many other reasons, such as manipulating self-esteem and economic priorities. The perceived low credibility of news on health and medicine may impact decisions related to personal health. Also, news on climate change was noted as not credible, highlighting the importance of promoting a scientific worldview.

In sum, and in contrast to previous research, this study suggests that young people read and share predominately news that may be considered credible. Hard news comes from established media while soft news is retrieved from less credible sites. This might indicate that young people select hard news more carefully than information for amusement, but it might also be interpreted that they make use of prior perceptions of credibility in making the selection. Further research is needed to verify the results and to investigate young people's ability to evaluate the credibility of digital news and how that evaluation might impact their selection of news. Case studies on certain high-profile media coverage events – such as general elections – could also provide valuable insight into how young people are exposed to, and interact with, hard news of varying credibility.

4.3 Implications for teaching and learning

The result that students find and read news from established media outside of their social media feeds can be regarded as a constructive habit that education should encourage. This may counter segregated networks described in previous research (Del Vicario et al 2016; Schmidt et al., 2017; Boyd, 2014). If we wish to support communication across socio-economic and socio-cultural borders then balanced news may be a way to support democratic communication. Not least since we, in line with previous research (Budak, Goel & Rao, 2016), find that news in established media is usually not very biased. Discussing news from students' own news feeds may benefit teaching practices and provide a productive way to connect formal education to roles as democratic agents outside the classroom (Biesta & Lawy, 2006; Olsson, 2016). Constructive teaching practices may benefit from an updated connect to students news feeds (Olsson, 2016). Thus, from a pragmatic point of view we find a lot of credible news in the feeds which certainly may be constructive to connect to in education.

It is possible that education may stimulate "the networked young citizen" to play an active role in society even if he/she is skeptical to conventional politics (Loader, Vromer & Xenos, 2014). Scaffolding students to access credible news may be a way to push their democratic conversation towards a more informed starting point (Ekström, Olsson & Shehata, 2014; Lee, Shah & McLeod, 2013). This is a central task for education, not least since it has been noted how a socio-economic divide may be fueled by different news habits. The ability to find credible information in an age of information overload is vital, and to bridge this part of the second digital divide (Hargittai, 2010; van Deursen & van Dijk 2014) school needs to make sure that all students know where and how they can access credible news.

At a concrete level, teachers can help students map out useful apps and sites with credible news available online. This is of course not an easy task. A tentative starting point can be that tabloids seem to be the main source of hard news, for young Swedes. In school this needs to be addressed, in critical and constructive ways. Education can stimulate democratic discussions starting in credible information. But students also need to pay attention to biases. Teachers may ask students to critically evaluate their own news feeds – as in this study – based on the three components *source*, *evidence* and *corroborate information*, and reading laterally like professional fact-checkers do (Wineburg & McGrew, 2019). The impact of this method of teaching and learning needs to be further investigated, but based upon our current knowledge it seems constructive. In future research it is central to better understand students' challenges when navigating online news and how education may support constructive habits of mind (Litt, 2013; McGrew et al, 2018).

In teaching it is important to address the biases of different types of news. Thus, commercially biased information also needs to be considered critically in education. Also in this case it is central to consider the credibility of information in informed ways and also discuss ethical problems with manipulation to make people feel bad about themselves to make them more willing consumers. Bearing in mind gender differences identified in this study, it may be important to highlight the credibility of entertainment and lifestyle news for girls. Our findings indicate that it may be useful to be a bit more skeptical to news shared via social media than found on sites; even if we trust our friends.

In teaching and learning it may certainly be a challenge to navigate false or unscientific claims, but previous research indicates that a constructive way to counter false information is to focus on the facts (Jolley & Douglas, 2014; van der Linden et al., 2017). Presently, this is of high relevance, as certain actors accuse established media for systematically producing fake information. Our study suggests that Swedish 16-19 year-olds have a lot in common in their reading and sharing of news, but also with regards to their view of this news' credibility. Supporting habits to access credible news and to evaluate their credibility seems like a constructive way for education to take on the democratic challenges of new media – and many students seem to do this already.

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Thomas Nygren
Thomas Nygren is Associate Professor at the department of Education, Uppsala University
Department of Education, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden
Box 2136, 750 02 Uppsala, Sweden
e-mail: thomas.nygren@edu.uu.se
phone: +46 73 6468649
Orcid: 0000-0003-1884-3252

Fredrik Brounéus
Fredrik Brounéus is a researcher and press officer at the non-profit organization VA (Public & Science) in Stockholm, Sweden.
VA (Public & Science), Stockholm, Sweden
Box 5073, 102 42 Stockholm, Sweden
e-mail: fredrik@v-a.se
phone: +46 72 556 34 48
Orcid: 0000-0003-1643-6143

Göran Svensson
Göran Svensson is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Informatics and Media, Uppsala University.
Department of Informatics and Media, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden
Box 513, 751 20 Uppsala, Sweden
e-mail: goran.svensson@im.uu.se
phone: +46 18 4711514
Orcid: 0000-0001-7362-1092

Article

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Mapping the field of development education in Portugal: narratives and challenges in a de/post/colonial context

Dalila P. Coelho
University of Porto

João Caramelo
University of Porto

Isabel Menezes
University of Porto

- Development education (DE) as a promising and controversial field of growing interest, mostly enacted by development NGOs.
- Portugal as a case of interest due to the country's (unexamined) colonial past; an open critique is currently emerging.
- Innovative mapping and discussion of core narratives and challenges across DE from a postcolonial stance.
- Postcolonial perspectives as valuable orientation for actors, organizations and research in DE.

Purpose: To map and discuss core narratives and challenges crossing the field of DE in Portugal, from a postcolonial stance.

Design/methodology/approach: The analysis is based on a qualitative approach, comprising two studies: interviews with experts and online analysis of development NGOs active in the field of DE.

Findings: DE is discussed as a set of theories and practices under reconfiguration in terms of scope, aims, actors and educational approaches. There is the need for reconnecting with and addressing the legacies of DE, particularly, given its formal and informal emergence; this is an inevitably conflictual process involving a balance between tradition and change. Higher education is considered a relevant actor in strengthening the field.

Research implications: A postcolonial stance is suggested as valuable orientation for actors, organizations and research in the field of DE, considering its transitional status and an inherently conflictive nature.

Keywords: development education/global education/global citizenship education, development NGOs, higher education, postcolonial perspective, Portugal

Corresponding Author:
Isabel Menezes
Faculdade de Psicologia e de Ciências da Educação da Universidade do Porto Rua Alfredo Allen
4200-135 Porto – Portugal
E-Mail: imenezes@fpce.up.pt
phone: +351 226 079 775; fax: +351 22 6979725

1 Introduction: development education as a contested field

Development education (DE) was one of the first designations that emerged in the western world to name educational practices devoted to raising awareness and establishing a commitment to participation at a global level[1]. These practices have also been labelled under the terms of "global education" and, more recently, "global citizenship education", suggesting an ongoing widening process of focus, actors and goals. Non-governmental organizations, notably those operating in the field of international development (NGDOs), have often been, and still remain, the main promotor of DE (Bourn, 2015), though nowadays the area is of growing interest in the international agenda. This is well evidenced by the investment in guidelines for the field (UNESCO, 2015), and the inclusion of global citizenship as a concern in the global development agenda 2015-2030, particularly, its goal 4 and outcome target 4.7 Education for sustainable development and global citizenship.

In Europe, the political consensus around the importance of DE has increased significantly during the last 15 years, with an investment in the production of national guidelines and the articulation with other public policies in related fields, and "has moved from being the preserve of a tiny number of (…) civil society activists, to engaging commitment of a still small, but growing number, of policymakers" (Wegimont & Hartmeyer, 2016: 243–244). The debates about DE mostly took shape in the decades of 1970-1980, the period of transition from the "project of development" to the "project of globalization", as referred to by McMichael (2017), and regained attention around the year 2000 (Bourn, 2008). In fact, not only several fields intertwine what is nowadays understood as "Development Education", but also a transition from the scope of development to the scope of citizenship education seems to be in place (Mannion *et al.,* 2011; Wegimont, 2016). However, the lack of a theoretical investment and the conceptual challenges connected to development education (e.g., terminological profusion, fragile transdisciplinary connections) have been extensively recognized as main obstacles in the field (Andreotti, 2006b; Bourn, 2008, 2015; Wegimont, 2016).

As such, there are significant challenges, namely at the conceptual and political levels "that might enlarge and engage Global Education in Europe; or that may hamper the continued development of this field, unless they are addressed" (Wegimont & Hartmeyer, 2016: 245). Although there is some agreement among NGOs on the overall goal of their work in DE, many of these debates remain unaddressed, embodying substantive tensions. Research has been indicated as a crucial investment in tackling these challenges and making the field move forward (Myers, 2016). Wegimont and Hartmeyer (2016: 246) consider there is a "need to build on existing and emerging research, and to go beyond, to a strong empirical base, more critical philosophical foundations, and to develop a culture of research". This demands a more substantial engagement with the debates taking place in other areas of knowledge, such as foreign policy, international relations, educational theory, identity and even citizenship education (Andreotti, 2006b; Davies, Evans & Reid, 2011; Myers, 2016). The debates around DE range from a (still) fragile presence in the academic scene, to a blurred relation between NGOs' and states' agendas concerning development intervention and dominant political forces (Bourn, 2008, 2015). The diversity and complexity of globalization challenges that influence education and development have also been widely acknowledged (Spring, 2008; Robertson *et al.*, 2007; Verger, Novelli & Altinyelken, 2012). The fact that DE in NGOs is rooted in the development or "aid industry" has also been pointed out as problematic by several authors

(Krause, 2016; Sogge, 2017). Inter alia, this is because NGDOs frequently play a double role in global development: both as part of the solution and of the problem, advocating for development, but sometimes reinforcing prejudices or damaging practices through their action as well (Fowler, 2000b; Lewis & Kanji, 2009).

However, it is still unclear how an education informed by globalization and development perspectives should be shaped. Development education literature is often grounded in the experience of contexts like the UK, Germany or the Nordic countries, but despite a less solid tradition, other European countries, such as Portugal, are gaining attention in the field. Portugal is a particularly interesting case. On the one hand, the field is supported by dedicated policies at the governmental level and the work of several active NGOs (GENE, 2014; Wegimont, 2016; Pereira, 2016). The involvement of higher education institutions (HEI), in both research and practice, is fragile, despite recent progress. On the other hand, Portugal's colonial past and relatively young democracy, instituted in 1974 by a revolution that simultaneously marked the end of the last colonial empire, potentially generates close and complex connections with DE. In fact, the emergence of DE in Portugal is grounded in the work of NGOs supporting pre-independence liberation movements and denouncing human rights violations in the former colonies (CIDAC, 2006; Coelho, 2013). However, colonization (and decolonization) is far from being openly discussed in the Portuguese society or even in the education field. Only recently has an open questioning of the historical past started, with the narrative of "discoveries" and Portugal as a "good colonizer" (the so-called "lusotropicalism") (Rosas, 2018) being deconstructed and opposed, in light of the colonial oppression and its echoes in the present time. In this sense, a detailed account of the Portuguese situation is also interesting, because, as demonstrated by Inocência Mata (2006), tensions between a lack of what we might call a critical consciousness of the colonial past coexist with growing claims for the need of postcolonial visions (Santos, 2002) and for a critique of the persistent "coloniality of power" in daily life (Quijano, 2000).

The current work presents and discusses the results of two qualitative studies on the reality of DE in Portugal, which seek to explore existent discourses on how the field is currently organized and what the main challenges are for the future. This is mostly done regarding DE in the nongovernmental sector, the most active promoter, but the discussion also considers the role of higher education. We start by framing the Portuguese situation, followed by a discussion of how a postcolonial perspective can foster a challenging and valuable approach to DE.

2 Development education in Portugal: some milestones

In Portugal, DE emerged through the action of informally organized civil society. This occurred before the Portuguese revolution of 1974 that ended the dictatorship and the colonial era (GENE, 2014; Santos & Cardoso, 2014; Coelho, 2013). By then, students and groups of progressive Catholics promoted activities "to inform the national public opinion about realities in the territories under Portuguese colonial domination (…) to raise critical awareness and the will for acting for justice and peace" (CIDAC, 2006: 2). Although mostly clandestine, many of these initiatives were already promoted by NGOs and concentrated on supporting decolonization processes and independence movements in the former Portuguese colonies. They also focused on providing training and information regarding those contexts, as well as the human rights violations happening there, to the general public and to development cooperation staff. The end of the dictatorship and the liberation of the former colonies generated a significant expansion of DE (Coelho, 2013).

The last 40 years witnessed important signs of progress, both at nongovernmental and governmental levels (Coelho, 2013). The creation of the Portuguese NGDOs Platform (PPNGDOs), in 1985, was crucial, just prior to Portugal's entrance in the European Economic Community, in 1986. It included a group dedicated to DE, which aimed to equip and mobilize national actors and connect them to key European DE representatives (Santos & Cardoso, 2014). Besides connecting Portuguese DE actors to their European peers, this platform allowed the access to funding and the possibility to benefit from specific training (CIDAC, 2006). At the governmental level, DE has been legally designated as the core field of action for NGDOs since 1998, alongside development cooperation and humanitarian and emergency assistance, under the regulation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through the current Camões Institute of Cooperation and Language. In 2005, DE experienced a double investment at the political and financial levels (GENE, 2014). Concerning policy, for the first time, DE was declared a strategic priority for Portuguese Cooperation (IPAD, 2006). Mostly scoped to the national context, it was understood as a tool for tackling global challenges, and for assisting overseas intervention as well:

> [DE] is a permanent educational process which favours social, cultural, political and economic interrelationships between the North and the South, and which promotes those values and attitudes of solidarity and justice that must characterise a responsible global citizenship. It is, in itself, an active learning process that aims to raise awareness and mobilise the civil society for the priorities of a sustainable human development. It is also a fundamental instrument for creating a basis of public understanding and support for development cooperation issues. Although (…) not limited to formal education, it is important that (…) it is progressively incorporated into school curricula, so that formal education both reflects and contributes to the education of citizens who are attentive and demanding and who participate in global life and solidarity. (…) At the same time [DE]-related topics are not confined to matters of an international character. Rather, they promote solutions and responses to issues that are cross-cutting to our society, such as respect for multiculturalism, the questions of immigration and social inclusion, the fight against poverty, education for health and environmental awareness campaigns, the issues of corporate social responsibility, sustainable consumer behaviour and fair trade, and the media's social responsibility (*idem*, 45–46).

This extended definition evidences a very broad reach for DE. It enrols civil society and formal education, as well as various themes and goals. Although not reducing DE to formal education, school and youth appear as priorities. Such vision remains in the current political orientations for the sector between 2014-2020 (Governo de Portugal, 2014).

Concerning financing, in 2005, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs created the first dedicated granting mechanism specifically targeting NGDOs, to fund DE activities on a yearly basis (GENE, 2014). This remains the main funding instrument for the sector, despite budgetary cuts during the last years. Following the official investment in DE and the Portuguese participation in the Global Education Network Europe (GENE), in 2009, Portugal approved the National Strategy for Development Education (IPAD, 2009), framed between 2010 and 2016, which is an important milestone in the dissemination and evolution of DE (Pereira, 2016). It also marked the participation of the Ministry of Education as a formal actor in the field. This was included under the umbrella-term “citizenship education” along with 14 other thematic areas (GENE, 2014). Governmental and nongovernmental actors conceived the Strategy, subscribed by 14 public institutions and civil society organizations, in a process considered innovative and participatory (GENE, 2014). The Strategy’s main goal was “promoting global citizenship through learning processes and by raising awareness of development related issues among Portuguese society, in a context of growing interdependence, and focusing on activities leading to social change” (IPAD, 2009: 28). After a period of external evaluation, the second cycle of this public policy for 2018-2022 was approved in July of 2018, updating the former cycle and articulating national priorities with the 2030 Agenda.

More recently, important steps have paved the way for a greater integration of DE in the school system, with the creation of guidelines targeting K-12 education (Torres *et al.*, 2016) and a new curricular subject named “Citizenship and Development” that includes DE-related issues (GTEC, 2017). These steps can be understood in light of what Wegimont (2016: 229, italics in the original) considers to be a true paradigm shift in the field over the last 15 years: “*the move to integrate Global Education into national curricula and the reform of curricula*”, and an effort towards “policy coherence” (Wegimont & Hartmeyer, 2016).

Despite its symbolic importance, the National Strategy 2010-2016 only addressed a small number of actors, even for the NGO universe. The most recent data estimated the existence of 17.012 NGOs, 220 of which claim to work on development education and cooperation, 174 being NGDOs (Franco, 2015). Currently, the Portuguese NGDOs Platform integrates 61 of these actors, 38% of which claim to work on DE[2]. To date, and since the establishment of the DE-funding scheme, 182 projects were granted, mostly on awareness raising and formal education, to 23 organizations, an investment of about 7.2 million euros[3]. Notwithstanding the considerable number of projects implemented by NGDOs, co-financed with public funding, there is little empirical evidence about their nature or impact. This might be explained, among other aspects, by the reduced engagement of HEI with DE, in relation to both training and research (GENE, 2014; IPAD, 2009). As Costa (2012: 23) notes, DE is

> an expression that has been of growing use, in the scope of actions in international cooperation fighting poverty, by civil society actors (national and international NGOs) and by decision influencers and policy-makers […], however without a scientific reflection and a systematic critique in the national academic setting about what underlies the concept and practices [of DE].

However, there are very positive signs of change. On the one hand, several projects sponsored by the DE-funding scheme, though promoted by NGOs, include HEI in their partnerships. On the other hand, multi-stakeholder networks were created, in recent years, to foster a coordinated action and thinking in DE, which include higher education representatives as partners and target groups (e.g., the project Sinergias and two networks RED-NETT and Rede ECG). Generally, these institutions are active in the fields of education and teacher training, citizenship and global development.

3 Moving DE forward: absences, emergences, translations

In light of global challenges – migration, climate change, the need for alternative modes of producing and consuming, the rise of populism or the erosion of the democratic space (Santos, 2017), to name a few – DE has become more important than ever in the education agenda, particularly if we take into account the counter-hegemonic possibilities raised by postcolonial scholars in the field of DE (Andreotti, 2006a,b, 2011, 2016; Pashby, 2013), education (Tikly, 2004) and social sciences (Santos, 2002). Santos argues that there are three fundamental obstacles inherited from western modernity and extensively present in all fields of life: colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy. This legacy, he argues, is present in a number of silent (or silenced) issues ("absences") that need to be acknowledged, resonated differently and thus pave the way for alternative modes of life ("emergences"), an endeavour which requires an alternative epistemological mind-set, the so-called "epistemologies of the South" (Santos & Meneses 2009), with the support of "translation" processes.

The recognition of "absences" is a fundamental first step, as these "non-existences are produced whenever a given entity is disqualified and made invisible, unintelligible or disposable in an irreversible way" (Santos, 2002: 246). These are generated by "monolithic" understandings of the world regarding what is valid in relation to knowledge (with a prevalence of scientific knowledge), time (dominated by a linear perspective), social classification (the emphasis on white, male, heterosexual), scale (with the global as more relevant than, for instance, the local) and productivity (with an emphasis on capitalism). An inclusive perspective should make present and visible what has been made absent and invisible, replacing a monolithic with an ecological perspective. By "emergences", Santos means researching alternatives, imagining what can be done differently, and which "conflicts and dialogues" (2002: 256) can occur: for instance, what if all types of knowledge are valued, what if we seek forms of development, work and production beyond capitalism, what if we value diversity, what if we optimize possibilities for transnational flows of communication and information that have counter-hegemonic purposes, and what if we foster both liberal representative and participatory forms of democracy? The mind-set necessary for both recognizing "absences" and imagining "emergences" is framed by an "epistemology of the South". As Santos & Meneses (2009: 12) synthesize

> The South is here metaphorically conceived as a field of epistemic challenges that seek to repair the damages and impacts historically caused by capitalism and its colonial relation with the world. This conception of the South partially overlaps with the geographic South, the group of countries and world regions that were submitted to European colonialism.

By reframing colonialism as an "epistemological dominance" (ibid.:13) which, among other types of violence, made ways of knowing invisible, Santos & Meneses (2009) argue the need for a "horizontal dialogue" involving a "translation" work. This effort

> can either happen between hegemonic and non-hegemonic knowledges as it can happen between different non-hegemonic knowledges. (…) [and] between social practices and its agents. Of course, all social practices involve knowledges, and, in that sense, they are also knowledge practices. When focused on practices, however, the work of translation aims to create reciprocal intelligibility between forms of organization and action goals. (…) The work of translation aims to make clear what unites and separates different [social] movements and

> different practices in order to determine the possibilities and limits of bridging or aggregating them (Santos, 2002: 265–266).

In our view, DE may profit from this analytical lens, recognizing its own "absences" and being oriented towards creating alternative "emergences". However, is the paradigmatic vision of the epistemologies of the South being currently mobilized to understand and problematize the field of DE in Portugal? In what ways are actors and organizations discussing the absences, emergences and translations that DE is or should be exploring, given its many contested dimensions, particularly in a country where the colonial past seems to go unrevised and undiscussed?

4 Methodology

The first study took place between February and May of 2015, and was based on semi-structured interviews with experts in development education. Three experts, one man and two women, with ages ranging from 36 to 65 years, were invited to participate considering their role as "gatekeepers" in the field (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018: 231): all are well recognized in the community of DE actors, having played a significant role in the establishment and evolution of the field in Portugal and in the international arena. One interviewee was the co-founder of an NGDO working in DE since 1974. The other two had "hybrid" profiles. They have solid experience in the nongovernmental sector, in DE and in international cooperation, are currently members of NGDOs and have been working in academia in recent years, with an important role the institutionalization of DE. All were engaged in the production or implementation of the National Strategy for DE 2010–2016. According to the interviewees' preferences, the interviews were conducted in person or remotely, via Skype™. The script comprised five general questions: (1) personal enrolment in DE; (2) views on the path of DE in Portugal; (3) views on projects and practices; (4) and on main challenges and recommendations, in general, and (5) specifically concerning a research agenda. The content was audio-recorded, fully transcribed and returned to the participants for validation and informed consent. Final validated content was submitted to thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis combined pre-defined themes, informed by literature, and emergent data-driven themes organized in several "layers of analysis" (Creswell, 2012: 252).

In the second study, conducted between February and July of 2016, we selected official websites from NGDOs active in the field, as a relevant instrument for public communication and dissemination of their work. This study was concerned with understanding how DE was presented by those NGDOs and collecting an extensive range of organizational features potentially relevant for the analysis of their action in this field. From 46 organizations working on DE at the time, 13 were considered eligible for this study, as they were active during the data collection period and had more than one project under the DE public funding scheme between 2005 and 2015. Despite appearing small in number, this "sample" actually gathered 107 of the 120 DE projects supported by public investment in this time span. Whenever available, we collected: i) information on the organizational context (intervention, team…); ii) activities report for 2015; iii) activities plan for 2015 or 2016; and iv) statutory documentation. The information was organized in a data collection form created for this purpose, and externally validated by experts regarding its relevance, adequacy and coherence, to map organizational features potentially impacting DE across three domains: overall organizational and working profile, and the outline of DE in the organization. The presentation and analysis of the findings is structured around the key themes that emerged from the experts' interviews (study one), using data from the second study to supplement or illustrate the data from the interviews.

5 Mapping the field of DE in Portugal

Reflecting on the evolution of the field in Portugal, the experts highlighted the pioneer role of NGOs in its appearance and discussed the National Strategy for DE 2010–2016 as a crucial turning point, mentioning several aspects related to the creation and implementation of this policy, as well as the uncertainty around its future at the time. In fact, this document has been recognized, at a European level, as a good practice, as it resulted from a participatory initiative joining governmental and civil society actors, in a "multi-stakeholder" process (GENE, 2014; Pereira, 2016). Despite some critical issues in the implementation of the Strategy, there was a consensus as to its importance for making DE more visible and legitimate. This is significant even for institutions already working in the field, where sometimes a struggle for recognition (and a devaluing compared to other areas) is still seen by practitioners as an obstacle to leveraging its impact. In fact, issues connected to the acknowledgement of DE by different groups were emphasized by experts, with interesting nuances that confirm the lack of knowledge about the area:

> DE still remains very unknown in Portugal. It has gained some acknowledgement and awareness among NGOs. Little by little, it is gaining so (…) in Higher Education. In the last years, also at the Ministry of Education and Science, with positive impact on pre-school, basic and secondary education. The Camões Institute recognizes it. But general knowledge and awareness from society are missing (…). Among NGOs, the knowledge of other NGOs' work is very scarce. (P3)

These results suggest that the field needs what Santos (2002: 265) calls a "process of translation" of "knowledges, (…) social practices and its agents", among NGOs themselves and between them and other actors. We believe this may be an important exercise to strengthen the mutual knowledge between very experienced actors, as well as in bridging the connection with newcomers to the field. We argue that a qualitative leap can happen if the issue of knowledge and acknowledgement is posed at a deeper level, connected with the processes of producing knowledge *in* and *about* DE. Using Santos' metaphor, which eventual "absences" are central to DE action and knowledge production, and which "emergences" are they raising? Are they grounded in counter-hegemonic perspectives of globalization or instead, even if unintentionally, reinforcing hegemonic mechanisms (Santos, 2005)?

5.1 Understanding DE in practice

Experts were asked how they would characterize DE's work in Portugal. This intentionally broad question was asked in order to identify key ideas on the national scenario, prompting the discussion around various features of projects and practices in the field, regarding which there is little empirical evidence. While all experts referred that the inexistence of a systematized, in-depth knowledge about practices is a serious obstacle to the evolution of the field, their views relate to three main themes (Figure 1): *activities, actors and ideas*. The first theme, *activities*, aggregates general information on the approaches used, and on themes and resources. In the second theme, *actors*, we included accounts on current and prospective actors, as well as challenging issues regarding who "does" DE. The third theme, *ideas*, gathers evidence on how experts conceive DE – a standpoint on what DE "is". Three main tensions emerge from these themes.

Firstly, the field of DE appears to be struggling between growth and consolidation, between managing the existent DE *ethos* and making it scale. On the one hand, there is an increase in the number of activities, actors and partnerships, supported by the political (and financial) investment in DE. On the other hand, not only do experts acknowledge that the National Strategy was somehow "a step ahead" of real practices, but they also raise several issues that suggest the need for consolidation: the already mentioned lack of in-depth knowledge, including regarding the educational resources, the impact of this type of education, of other eventually active actors, and of other NGOs beyond the Portuguese NGDOs Platform (Figure 1). Another important issue is the geographical bias: experts consider that the geographical distribution of DE is still very unbalanced, mostly located in the capital, which is consistent with the fact that only one in 13 organizations under analysis in the online study was located outside the country's capital area. However, it is not clear to what extent NGDOs are reaching or targeting other regions outside their location, through partnerships with other organizations. NGOs appeared as predominant actors and, although being a relatively small group, there is an understanding that promotors and their practices are not homogeneous, but diverse:

> We have very diversified practices, undertaken by diversified organizations as well. We don't have many types of actors, for instance, compared to other European countries (…). There are a lot of informal groups, social movements, etc., that are also DE actors. [In Portugal] we don't have that. There are social movements, I think that informal groups are ascending but they do not assume themselves as DE actors, nor think they are doing DE, although sometimes they are. Municipalities are very important actors in other countries … sponsors and partners with NGO. Here it is very rare. (P3)

Diversity was quite visible in the organizational profile drawn from the online study. Organizations exist for a period ranging from ten to 60 years. The majority (9/13) started as development cooperation (DC) agents, still the main area of intervention for Portuguese and European Development NGOs (CONCORD, 2018b) – explaining the strong reference made by experts to the (tensional) connection between DE and DC (Figure 1). A small number of NGOs worked in community intervention and local development (n=4). The existence of faith (n=4) and non-faith (n=9) based organizations is also an important feature of the Portuguese case. The information available on the websites of faith-based organizations suggests the existence of a connection between the work done in DE and religious intervention (e.g., delivering training about DE to future volunteers for missionary work; connecting DE's concerns to the *Laudato Si* agenda proposed by Pope Francis in 2015). Finally, and even if not explicitly acknowledged in the interviews, this first tension will surely be inflated by the transition towards (formal) education, with the involvement of new organizations and actors (schools and teachers, to name the obvious).

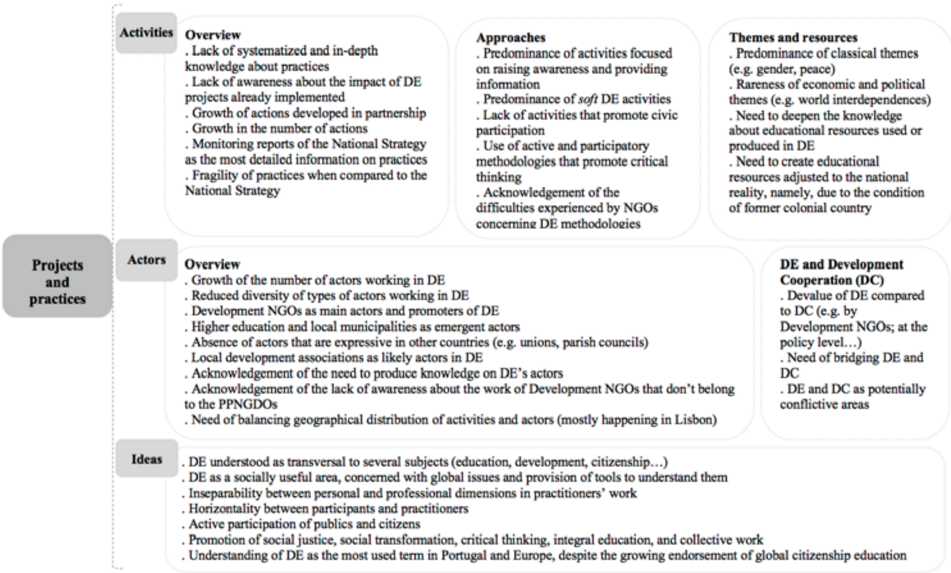

Figure 1. Practices and projects in DE – experts' views.

A second important tension is that, paradoxically, a politicized approach to DE seems to be more desired than experienced, and perhaps struggling between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic possibilities. Experts considered that there is a predominance of activities focused on raising awareness and providing information, whereas those promoting civic participation and global education are perceived as much less frequent (Figure 1). Moreover, in their opinion, activities tend to focus on classical themes (e.g., peace, poverty) and less frequently on topics of injustice and redistribution. Several references were made to methodological issues in DE (e.g., NGOs' concerns with DE methodologies in Figure 1), which may open up the discussion around functionalist, instrumental approaches to DE. In fact, current practices apparently tend to convey what Andreotti (2006b, 2011) would call a *soft,* less disruptive and politicized DE instead of a *critical* one, with greater counter-hegemonic potential and political engagement. However, the use of methodologies that promote participation and critical thinking was described as a frequent feature of Portuguese DE. The interviewees argue that DE should promote citizens' understanding of global interdependencies and participation in initiatives that foster social justice and transformation. Nonetheless, these are quite complex and demanding goals that involve diverse forms of civic and political participation, ranging from individual daily choices informed by the local-global dialectics to collective politicized activism – and, as such, it is probably unrealistic to expect this depth of impact.

From the institutional point of view, understanding participation also seems useful, especially considering the highly ideological nature of DE, evidenced in the online study. In the NGDOs' visions, the manner in which the work developed in DE is presented conveys values and finalities that include: social justice, solidarity, equity or inclusion (n=6), sustainability (n=6), a systemic vision of the world and its development (n=5), dialogue (n=5), respect for identities and diversities (n=5), and the sense of co-responsibility in global challenges (n=4).

A third tension involves recognising that it is necessary to revisit, reconnect with and address the legacies of DE. We select two angles for discussing this argument. The first, connected to the formal emergence of DE, has to do with the fact that DE is rooted in the "aid industry", and is an instrument of Official Development Assistance (ODA), initially created with the aim of supplementing the work done in development cooperation (Krause, 2010, 2016; Bourn, 2015). Despite the significant evolution in the way DE is understood nowadays, this legacy impacts the field, with DE still viewed by many as having that assistive role and, as Hjelleset (2011: 40) puts it, "the ODA-label becomes a liability", with NGOs often being the critic of strategic options[4]. In fact, experts described a somehow tensional relation between both DE and development cooperation, and the need to promote dialogue between both domains (Figure 1). In practical terms, DE is still considered less valuable at the policy level and even by NGOs, when compared to development cooperation. Furthermore, at the institutional level, the relation between the two domains can sometimes be conflictive, in the sense that DE can often be critical of some development cooperation practices and assumptions:

> (...) It is relatively common in other countries (…) [that] often, the DE team works as the "critical heart" of the organization (…). Here, I think that this conflict might happen in some organizations, between practices seen under the light of DE and practices within other sectors of the same organization, which (…) might end up slipping to other parameters." (P3).

In the online study, the vision of DE contained explicit references to development cooperation in seven organizations. Usually, this was connected to the fact that both areas belonged to the same department, and no conflictive side was evident in the information displayed. The study of the connection of both domains is of interest for future studies, not only in Portugal, but also for the field of DE at the international level, where this issue remains poorly discussed (Bailley Smith, 2008).

Development as a concept is also an important part of this discussion. There is a growing adoption of "global citizenship education", instead of "development education" worldwide and in Europe (Mannion *et al.,* 2011; Bourn, 2015; Nygaard & Wegimont, 2018). In fact, literature presents (education for) global citizenship as a more feasible and practical term to express DE's intents, progress and adaptation to an evolving globalized world, overcoming the critique to the models and rationale entangled in the idea of "development". Among experts, development appeared as a problematic concept, due to its vagueness and inadequacy (Parfitt, 2002; Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007; Rist, 2007). Yet, on the opposite side of this, global citizenship appeared as rather neutral and valued, contrasting with a growing body of literature that offers critique to such construct (Dill, 2013; Andreotti & Souza, 2012). The online analysis conveys similar findings, with global citizenship often presented as a channel and goal for action in this field. We believe this reinforces the need to understand and deconstruct discourses around development and global citizenship, and its potential implications for DE.

The second angle is connected to the informal emergence of DE before being defined as a development policy. The fact that DE is rooted in civil society with a de/postcolonial orientation (CIDAC, 2006), signals the counter-hegemonic identity it had in its foundation. The reference to this origin was made by the experts in this study, from a historical point of view, when describing the path of DE in Portugal. However, when reflecting on educational resources used in DE, experts also argued for the need to take the colonial legacy into account:

> I've seen some materials, I think many of them are translated or adapted from other contexts, namely, Ireland, Canada and others. It would be an interesting investment to produce materials more contextualized to our reality, I would say, even in our post-colonial condition now, and what we are as a post-colonial society. What does it imply? What is still in people's minds? I think there are a lot of unsolved things in our colonial and post-colonial past and our current situation (…) we still have further work to do on this issue, which can be translated into interesting pedagogical (…) I think it would be very important to produce our own materials (…) about our specific situation as a country, as a society, and our relationship with the world, our past and our future. (P1)

However, this call for a de/postcolonial orientation is not systematically present in current policy guidance documents for DE in Portugal (IPAD, 2009; Torres *et al.*, 2016). These documents do mention the critique of hegemonic mechanisms of inequality and oppression as the core task of DE, conceived as based on respect for diversity, inclusion, and the elimination of all forms of discrimination. The National Strategy (IPAD, 2009) presents assistive practices, such as money raising, which potentially invest a paternalist-salvationist narrative, as "what DE is not". The Strategy situates DE in its (post)colonial background, whereas the School Guidelines (Torres *et al.*, 2016: 48) generally mention, as learning goals, to "know past or current situations of respect or disrespect for human rights (…) [and] of social disruption or territorial conflict". There is some input from critical and postcolonial perspectives as background documentation. However, the postcolonial stance remains as an historical account and does not appear to be assumed as a task for the present time, nor is DE framed as (post)colonial "object" and "subject", subsuming this legacy.

We argue that Portuguese DE appears to have loosened the connection with this foundational matrix, strongly linked to decolonization struggles, and suggest the need for a strong and explicit (re)connection with it. This process may take form by addressing DE as postcolonial "object", i.e., DE as a product of de/post/colonial conditions, and "subject", i.e., DE as producer of de/post/colonial conditions. We argue that the metaphor proposed by Santos (2002) can be helpful in disclosing the "absences" at stake and thinking up the "emergences" necessary for an education that is able to contribute to democracies of high intensity (Santos, 2005), as well as a less uneven world, as DE aspires. Investing in postcolonial perspectives in Portugal also adds to the efforts of scholars and actors internationally.

5.2 Challenges and recommendations

Concerning the main challenges and recommendations for the field in Portugal, four themes were identified: (i) *NGOs' conditions*, (ii) *quality and innovation*, (iii) *higher education* and (iv) *understanding and problematizing DE* (Figure 2). NGOs' conditions comprise issues at the level of the financial situation and the organizational dynamics. Quality and innovation cover a broad range of challenges and recommendations concerning training. Higher education refers to the need for promoting DE in higher education, in institutional policies, training and research. The last theme, understanding and problematizing DE, expresses experts' thoughts on conceptual issues affecting the field, and which options can be of use when researching about it. The *conditions* faced by NGO's were reported as having a significant impact on DE. The financial situation was highlighted by all experts as critical, and even a taboo amongst NGOs. They described the struggle for financial sustainability, the dependence on external income and the difficulties in obtaining funding:

> Institutional and financial constraints are not known at all. In fact, another problem, in the scope of Portuguese NGDOs, is that money is never mentioned. Organizations have great difficulty in collectivizing that experience, the lack of money, the way they manage money. All that is untouchable, unspeakable, and therefore, is a fundamental and obscure aspect – not that there are bad practices; it's obscure in the sense that it's unknown. (P3)

The online study helps to understand these conditions as well. When looking at the volume of financed projects in DE, we also see the diversity between organizations. From the 107 projects implemented by these 13 organizations between 2005 and 2015, 90 were actually promoted by a group of seven. In projects sponsored by national funds, there is a significant lack of diversity in funding providers, with the large majority of projects being granted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, helping to understand the observation on the fragile financial sustainability and dependence on external funding (Figure 2). Only five in 13 NGDOs mentioned participation in international projects, as a partner in all cases.

Regarding organizational dynamics, several concerns were expressed. This includes NGOs' high workload and, in many cases, the scarcity and reduced size of teams specifically dedicated to DE – only four of the 13 organizations reported having two or three professionals each. Additionally, experts considered the project-based dynamic as the dominant work pattern, leading to instability, constant transition between projects and the lack of reflection about intervention. The online study supports this pattern, as the work developed by NGDOs was presented around financed projects in all cases. Apart from that, in the vast majority of cases, it was not evident whether they develop other work in DE beyond the sponsored activities. Nevertheless, three NGDOs – the oldest – also used their websites as hubs to advocate for DE-related issues (e.g., international trade agreements).

The challenges with the financial situation and organizational dynamics of NGDOs are well discussed in the literature (Fowler, 2000a,b; Lewis & Kanji, 2009) and uncovered by recent data (CONCORD, 2018b). It impacts the way DE is conceived, implemented and evaluated, as well as the broader evolution of the field, eventually pushing organizations into a more technical, task-based delivery of DE that potentially precludes its critical and counter-hegemonic possibilities. Thus, the "projectization" trend (Fowler 2000b) as the main working mode introduces a constant transition between projects, usually shortly spanned and heavily relying on the grants' calendar, without the necessary time to learn from the experience (Bourn 2008, 2015).

As our experts acknowledged, this critical scenario limits the possibilities of organizations consistently reflecting on, and capitalizing from, experience acquired as a collective, with consequences for the evolution of DE from the theoretical point of view, as well. In this respect, Andreotti (2006b, 2) argues that "as a result (and understandably), fundraising and the implementation of projects take up most (if not all) of practitioners' time. Thus, DE has mainly focused on practice – a 'how to' approach - at the expense of DE thinking – or theory". Although experts voiced several tensions faced by NGOs, we found no evidence of a need for a profound reconfiguration in the role of NGOs, as authors such as Fowler (2000b) and Krause (2016) suggest. Further research is needed in order to understand the perceptions of DE practitioners regarding the current and prospective role of NGOs.

With respect to *quality and innovation*, once again, the discourses express the need for growth and consolidation, as previously discussed. Experts considered that the investment in quality and innovation issues in DE is crucial and still insufficiently explored among NGOs. This is perhaps one of the least invested aspects in the field and across different actors, at least in Europe. Wegimont (2016: 227) notes: “there is also a slight but growing recognition of *the need to support learning, creativity, breakthrough and innovation in the field* – which must include the space to fund failure along with success” (italics as presented in the original). Experts associated quality and innovation issues with an investment in tools for supporting reflection and systematized information, training, and strengthening the sense of community among DE actors (Figure 2):

> (...) experience sharing (...) is very rare and really unstructured. The details are totally unknown and there are a lot of important details. In fact, DE’s principles are visible in them. (P3)

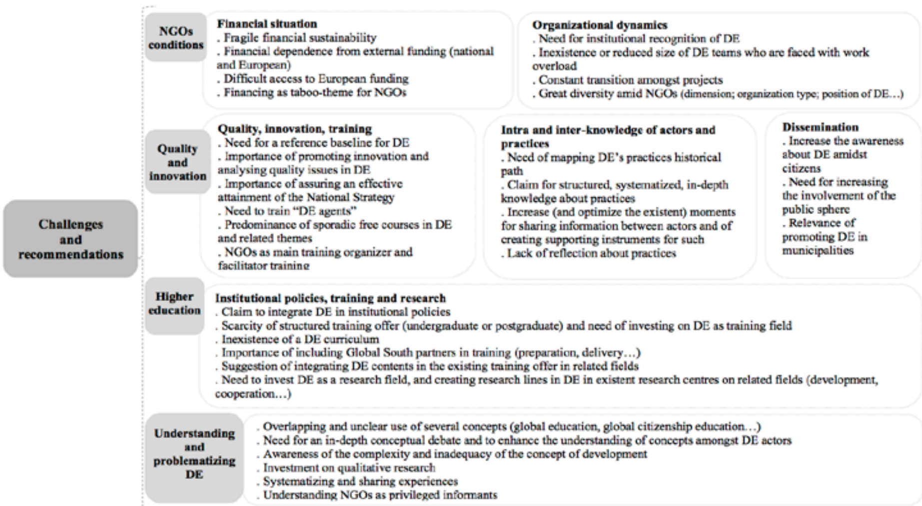

Figure 2. Challenges and recommendations to DE – experts’ views.

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Optimizing the already existing meetings between professionals (e.g., conferences), creating specific instruments to share information and defining a reference baseline for practices were suggested to support such processes. The knowledge around practitioners, either in NGO or in other settings, is still rare, not only in Portugal, but also in other countries, despite being of utmost importance (Shultz, 2007; Brown, 2015; Skinner & Baillie Smith, 2015). These studies have shown the importance of practitioners' personal stances, such as experiences and beliefs.

Approaching the study of practitioners from a "community" perspective, knowing which collectives, intervention and reflection spaces eventually cross and foster their experiences, as well as which dynamics and tensions describe the relations between NGDOs, can equally add important inputs to a comprehensive understanding of these actors. In Portugal, valuable efforts are in place in the scope of the project Sinergias, which, since 2013, has been promoting collaborative action and reflection between civil society organization and higher education institutions, "committed to the interface of practice and theory" (Wegimont, 2016: 228). Bridging this type of collaboration is, in fact, a matter of concern and considered of paramount importance by scholars worldwide for strengthening the field (Shultz, Abdi & Richardson, 2011; Boni, Hofmann-Pinilla & Paino, 2012). Other concerns expressed by experts had to do with the fact that DE still lacks wider dissemination among citizens. They considered that involving the public sphere and municipalities can be of significant impact on such purpose.

The third theme is *higher education*. Experts' discourses were explicit on the lack of research and training in Portugal and the importance and expectations of higher education. Experts are well aware of multiple challenges caused by the lack of DE (Figure 2):

> In this field, everything is missing. There's a lot to write and read about conceptual issues: how is DE in Portugal, how do practitioners (…) see it, what is currently happening in other countries? It would be essential that research reach NGOs and try to understand what is being made. (P2)

The need for graduate and postgraduate courses was among the most valued aspects, as most of the current training offers consist of short-term courses, provided by NGOs themselves. The importance of research was also extremely emphasized, and higher education institutions were stated as crucial partners in the growth and consolidation of the field via research:

> I deeply regret the absence of DE in higher education. I think that this absence, this gap, must be fulfilled, somehow, with research, with systematized training, and also with practices from academics and academia (…) it's crucial, I would say, to train "DE agents", promoters, people… very well prepared. (P1)

On the whole, experts advocate for a stronger involvement of higher education, be it in research or training, which is also consistent with accounts on the Portuguese situation (IPAD, 2009; GENE, 2014; CONCORD, 2018b). But this will require a closer look into this “emergent” actor, with the assumption that the practice of DE appears to be moving faster than its formal adoption in training and research. In fact, we believe that a comprehensive analysis of the DE financed projects, past and current, would be relevant for a wider understanding. Is the informal practice in DE preceding, following or surpassing its formal adoption in HEI? Does DE imply an immediate and similar commitment at the level of the three “missions” of HEI (training, research, extension)? Which factors help to explain the more or less intense formal adoption of DE, and which steps would be important to foster higher education’s engagement? To what extent are DE’s concerns already being addressed in Portuguese higher education, even if not framed as such?

The fourth theme is related to *understanding and problematizing DE*. The fact that there are, as Nygaard & Wegimont (2018: 44) note for the Portuguese case, “differing, sometimes overlapping, often interrelated, and nonetheless distinct concepts in use in the field” (e.g., global learning, global education, global development education, global citizenship education) is seen as an obstacle by experts, justifying the need for furthering the conceptual debate. However, it should be noted that important efforts have been made, particularly in the preparation of both cycles of the National Strategy (Pereira, 2016), and by the DE working group in the Portuguese NGDOs Platform, that recently proposed a revised definition.

However, the results from the online study also evidence the terminological diversity and overlapping. The terms most commonly adopted were DE (n=9) and Global Citizenship Education (n=6). In eight organizations, these and other less frequent terms were used interchangeably. These results are consistent with the most recent studies on the concepts adopted in Europe (Global Schools, 2016; CONCORD, 2018b), suggesting that continuous efforts on conceptual clarification should remain a transversal research priority (Myers, 2016). In sum, “the journey to greater conceptual clarity is one that is ongoing” (Nygaard & Wegimont 2018: 44). Once again, DE practitioners are key players in making the knowledge about what DE is, moving forward, and explaining to what extent, if at all, statements from the official definitions are expressive of their representations and practices.

6 Concluding remarks

The field of DE is paved with controversies, mainly due to its conflictive “nature”. In a way, DE is in a liminal space: between the ‘aid industry’ and social transformation; between information/awareness raising and participation/empowerment; between promoting individual competencies and confronting social inequalities; between state support and independence; between mainstream education and critical pedagogy; between the Global North and the Global South; and, last but not least, between “development education” and “global citizenship education”. Concerns with its imprecise identity and epistemological statute, can, at least partly, be explained by the lack of advanced training and comprehensive research in DE and the insufficient theorization across the field (Marshall, 2006; Liddy, 2013). These are related to how exactly DE is defined (e.g., as pedagogy, a field of knowledge, as a process) (Bourn, 2015) and to the specificities of DE or how it should relate to other similar terms (e.g., coexist, blend, replace) (Davies, Evans & Reid, 2005; Mannion *et al.*, 2011). Myers

(2016: 9) adds that the field “lacks an articulated focus and sense of a shared goal that would provide a distinct identity”. The reduced contribution from HEI also justifies, in many countries, including Portugal, the increasing claim for strengthening its connection to nongovernmental actors in DE (Krause, 2010; Bourn, 2015; GENE, 2014; Pereira, 2016).

On the whole, our data suggest that the vision of expert actors is consistent with existing research in other countries. This is especially significant given the limited corpus of our research, with three expert interviews and the analysis of the websites from 13 NGDOs. Like their international counterparts, Portuguese experts clamour for the involvement of HEI, assuming that the fostering of DE in Portugal depends on advanced training and research, both on the theoretical foundations and on praxis. The “in-between” status of DE, across the fields of development, (global) citizenship and education is recognized as a nowhere land. Its rationale, coordinates and implications remain unclear, in spite of the vivid and committed work of several NGOs in the country, with the support of specific public policies. Experts clamour for critical and postcolonial perspectives, placing DE in the wider (but nevertheless controversial) conversation regarding the role of education in citizenship and democracy (Biesta, 2007; Myers, 2016). However, if the emergence of DE in Portugal had both a strong decolonial and postcolonial root, we question whether the postcolonial driver remains active among Portuguese DE actors and organizations: to what extent are they attentive to the ‘absences’ caused by and the ‘emergences’ expected from DE? Boaventura de Sousa Santos’ (2002) sociological metaphors, together with critical and postcolonial perspectives on education, global citizenship and development (Parfitt, 2002; Tikly, 2004; Andreotti, 2006a,b, 2011, 2016; Shultz, 2007; Rist, 2007; Pashby, 2013), are valuable tools to read discourses around DE in Portugal and to question whether (and how) the field can generate counter-hegemonic views and alternative imagined futures. This implies, as Alexis Shotwell (2016) suggests, that we “examine our connection with *unbearable pasts* (…), our implication in *impossible complex presents* through which we might craft different modes of response, and our aspirations for *different futures* towards which we might shape different world-yet-to-come” (p. 8).

Postcolonial perspectives are not only of utmost importance for understanding the field of DE in Portugal (and elsewhere), but also to position this educational response among the wider efforts of decolonizing education. This requires keeping in mind that education is, at the same time, object and subject. In this sense, it can produce “non-existences” as much as it can generate “counter-hegemonic possibilities”, to recall Santos’ (2002) imagery. It also seems evident that the desired consolidation of the field and the renewal of some of its narratives is unlikely to happen without “unlearning” efforts (Andreotti, 2011; Santos, 2002), and without a profound change in (northern) epistemic stances. To put it more simply, without bringing the Global South in. Moreover, the transitions discussed (between development, education and citizenship; between traditional and emergent actors) should be kept in mind, and the referred “translation” processes should be considered one of the possible tools to make the field move forward, fostering dialogue as much as conflict, or the necessary dissensus contended by Wegimont (2016).

This also resonates with the discussion – and the expectations – on terminology. Regardless of the terminology adopted, we need to further the conversation between (instead of *versus*) development and global citizenship, and to strengthen the *locus* of education. Acknowledging the “in-between” status is necessary to clarify representations and frameworks of reference underpinning DE practitioners’ activities and discourses. To what extent is DE really being merged or replaced by global citizenship education and what are the consequences of such change? What are the perceptions of practitioners, and what are the implications of shifting terms? Recognizing (un)contested visions of development and global citizenship, these studies show the need for understanding terminology and analysing its intrinsic (postcolonial) implications (Bourn, 2008; Skinner, Blum & Bourn, 2013). There is room for a strong positioning of the field in education *as, for, through* democracy debate (Biesta, 2007), while also furthering research on the understandings, meanings and experiences of citizenship and participation in relation to the communities in which we live.

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Endnotes

[1] Since "there is an emerging consensus amongst NGOs and academics regarding the main constituents of this body of practice" (Skinner, Blum & Bourn 2013: 92) and DE is the terminology used in official documents in Portugal, we will adopt DE as term during the text, assuming it an equivalent to global education and global citizenship education in core issues, regardless of the particularities of each term.
[2] Retrieved from: https://goo.gl/nh7xjM.
[3] Retrieved from: https://goo.gl/ttn7g5.
[4]A recent example is the position of the European NGOs Confederation for Relief and Development (CONCORD) on the use of ODA in relation to migration, raising a flag on the European Union's aid use "to curb migration, done on-purpose by EU policy-makers to serve three domestic priorities: inflation, diversion, conditionality" (CONCORD, 2018a, n/p).

Dalila P. Coelho is a PhD researcher in Educational Sciences at the University of Porto, where she is part of the Centre for Research and Intervention in Education. With a background in educational sciences, she has worked in higher education since 2005. Her research interests include development education, global citizenship, global education, social responsibility, and civic and political participation.

João Caramelo is Assistant Professor at University of Porto in the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences. He holds a PhD in Educational Sciences from the University of Porto and is a permanent member of the Centre for Research and Intervention in Education. His main research interests are adult education and community development, and he has coordinated several international projects in this domain.

Isabel Menezes has a PhD in Psychology and a Habilitation in Educational Sciences from the University of Porto, where she is a Professor in the fields of Educational Research, Educational and Community Intervention, Political Education and Political Psychology. Her research deals with citizenship/political education in formal and non-formal (including artistic) contexts and the civic and political participation of children, young people and adults. She as been involved in several inter/national projects in these areas.

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Hedtke, Reinhold (2018): Das Sozioökonomische Curriculum (The Socioeconomic Curriculum), Frankfurt am Main: Wochenschau Verlag. 464 pages. €41.99. ISBN 978-3-7344-0730-7.

Tim Engartner
Goethe University Frankfurt

Teaching subjects that integrate the individual social science disciplines represent the norm in international contexts, with the connections between politics, history, economics, law, sociology and cultural studies generally regarded as productive for learning with reference to the didactic principles of orientation on lifeworld, situation and problem. The school subject of economics, however, ignores the inseparable interconnections between associated disciplines, provokes an irresolvable *exclusionary competition* between the individual social science disciplines, and in light of timetabling constraints represents a fiction (even leaving aside the reduction of regular secondary education to eight years at many grammar schools). Integrating various social sciences disciplines goes in line with the perspective that if economics is taught in a separate subject, schools will be teaching transient specialist knowledge. Economic education in a cocoon is the inevitable consequence.

Nevertheless, initiatives to improve knowledge of economics by introducing a dedicated teaching subject in schools are gaining momentum in Germany. The state of Baden-Württemberg launched “economics/orientation for study and career” (*Wirtschaft/Studien- und Berufsorientierung*) as a separate subject in its grammar schools in school year 2018/19, while the conservative/liberal state government of North Rhine–Westphalia has decided to shift the balance from politics to economics, symbolised in the renaming of the integrated subject of “politics/economics” as “economics/politics”. As well as diminishing the role of political education, the curriculum reform represents a turn away from multi-, inter- and trans-disciplinarity in political studies. Instead of learning to discuss economic and financial questions in their broader societal, political and historic contexts, for example, orthodox economic didactics – like mainstream economics as a whole – focuses on teaching students economic and management theories, paradigms and methods, generally to the systematic exclusion of sociological, historical, psychological, political and geographical aspects.

If school students are not to analyse economic matters exclusively in *model*, *mathematically typologised* or *idealised* form, but illuminate them in the context of social science-led education, this also has repercussions for questions of business and macro-economics. Economies are subject to economic, fiscal and social policy decisions and as such generally affected by *zeitgeist* and historical trends; business decisions are often influenced by psychological, cultural and social factors. Fundamentally, social coexistence is not best organised by everyone seeking *exclusively* to maximise personal gain at any price. “Economic man” (and woman), who views all and sundry – from what to study to which career to pursue to when to found a family – through the economic lens of utility, must not be held up as the paradigm for educational processes.

In that context of a highly disputed depoliticised economics teaching, *Reinhold Hedtke's Sozioökonomische Curriculum* (Socioeconomic curriculum) could not be more timely. With due respect for competing curricular interests, *Hedtke* contributes convincingly to continuously improve tried-and-tested integrated social science subjects. Drawing together a multitude of aspects of socioeconomic education, his monograph realises its ambition to lay out "the knowledge and skills in the field of economics that children and young people should command today and tomorrow" (p. 15). It also discusses the basic principles of a critical, reflexive understanding of education – with reference to the necessity for subject-specific didactical contextualisation under principles such as orientation on subject, situation, problem and experience – before applying them specifically to socioeconomic didactics. Building on a wealth of facts and facets, the Bielefeld- and Frankfurt-based professor of economic sociology and social science didactics demonstrates which educational objectives need to be pursued if political, social and economic developments are to be scrutinised from a socioeconomic perspective. He understands socioeconomic education as "the application of social science learning to the topic of economics" (p. 11).

Hedtke dedicates the first part of his book to an extensive treatment of the topics of socioeconomic education, which he names for years 7 and 8 "household and gender", "business and production", "consumption and environment", "work and labour politics", and "money and credit" (pp. 66–87). He characterises the central didactic problem of the identified year 9 and 10 topic of "work experience" with the pertinent observation that systematic tensions "between the selectivity and singularity of personal practical experience in a particular workplace vis-à-vis the breadth, diversity and representativeness of the insights generally required for an adequate career orientation" (p. 86) need to be resolved. In view of the steadily growing (curricular) significance of work experience in the statutory education context, that tension needs to be addressed in line with the objective of (socioeconomic) general education. The author's observations indirectly confirm and underline the pedagogical, sociological and political problems associated with analysing, exploring and interpreting work-related phenomena through employer-driven initiatives (in Germany for example business@school, Schüler im Chefsessel, Gründerwoche, Gründerkids and JUNIOR). Citing the 2015 Shell-Jugendstudie (Youth study), *Hedtke* rightly emphasises that young people give "top priority to job security" ahead of "contributing their own ideas, pursuing a meaningful activity and doing something beneficial for society in second, third and fifth place" (p. 135).

The book offers a wealth of answers to the question *what* children and young people should learn in school and *why*. But the author regards the public debate over curriculum content as woefully inadequate. As far as his own proposals for the social science curriculum are concerned, he certainly meets his own criterion of backing assertions "systematically and comprehensively with empirical evidence and theoretical arguments" (p. 11). He rightly notes the presence of interpretations from social science in most curricula in the general school system, when he writes: "The social science principle accomplishes this interpretation for the lion's share of school-specific domain knowledge codified in curricula, as most of the latter is couched in social-scientific and multi-disciplinary terms" (p. 238). Basing his arguments on a continuously growing socioeconomic literature, *Hedtke* succeeds in laying out a concept that characterises the needs of young people for an education "that fosters their personality development and examines the topic of economics from this subject-oriented perspective" (p. 11).

Hedtke shows that if economic knowledge is to be conveyed in a context of general education and lifeworld contexts, persisting with the various established versions of integrated social science remains the only plausible way forward. Only this teaching subject, actively integrating adjacent disciplines, enables perspectives and findings of central associated disciplines of socio-economic education and knowledge to be more centrally elaborated, analysed and (critically) reflected. Classical macro-economic questions need to be placed in relation to findings from sociology, ethics and also politics, history and cultural studies, and discussed with respect to didactic aspects in order to enable learning that is networked and meaningful and thus satisfies the educational ambition of the general school system.

Exceptionally well-formulated and enriched with a wealth of graphics, this volume is recommended reading for anyone seeking arguments for integrating economic education with societal and political aspects in the curriculum.

Hedtke, who is also co-author of the widely respected German "Ranking Politische Bildung 2018" (https://pub.uni-bielefeld.de/download/2934293/2934488.pdf), indirectly supplies numerous reasons why for example grammar schools in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia need more than just twenty minutes per week of political education for years 5 to 10. Regardless of its impact on education policy, the book represents a cornucopia of principles, concepts and methods for social-scientific exploration of "the economy". Directing attention to the rich socio-economic tradition – and with it socio-economic education – it is another inevitable support for interdisciplinary thinking and research. This voluminous book is set to quickly become a standard work – both for educationally interested economists and social scientists, and for decision-makers in schools and ministries.