Journal of Teaching and Learning

# Creating Spaces of Engagement: Exploring High School Youth's Voices in Reshaping the Social Justice Curriculum

Shuyuan Liu, Kenneth Gyamerah, Claire Ahn et Thashika Pillay

Volume 18, numéro 1, 2024

URI : https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1111986ar
DOI : https://doi.org/10.22329/jtl.v18i1.7842

Aller au sommaire du numéro

Éditeur(s)

University of Windsor

ISSN

1492-1154 (imprimé)
1911-8279 (numérique)

Découvrir la revue

Citer cet article

Liu, S., Gyamerah, K., Ahn, C. & Pillay, T. (2024). Creating Spaces of Engagement: Exploring High School Youth's Voices in Reshaping the Social Justice Curriculum. *Journal of Teaching and Learning*, *18*(1), 75–92. https://doi.org/10.22329/jtl.v18i1.7842

Résumé de l'article

The current structure of formal education makes it difficult for teachers and students to hold meaningful conversations to support high-school youth's meaning-making of critical social-justice issues. This paper presents data on three high-school youth's knowledge and experiences with social justice issues during the pandemic. Specifically, the paper aims to explore how youth construct knowledge and counter dominant discourses through utilizing informal learning spaces, such as social media platforms, peer and family conversations, as well as personal encounters. In addition, and more importantly, an exploration of how formal education can incorporate social-justice issues into the curriculum is considered. The analysis of these high school youth's interview conversations presents their diverging needs to learn about social-justice topics in both formal and informal learning contexts. The data also illustrates the power of their voices in a way that could inform future curriculum development. Discussions and implications highlight the possibility of creating such ethical spaces in formal education to engage in social-justice topics.

*Journal of Teaching and Learning*
Vol. 18, No. 1 (2024), pp. 75–92
https://doi.org/10.22329/jtl.v18i1.7842
www.jtl.uwindsor.ca

# Creating Spaces of Engagement: Exploring High School Youth's Voices in Reshaping the Social Justice Curriculum

Shuyuan Liu
*Queen's University*

Kenneth Gyamerah
*Queen's University*

Claire Ahn
*Queen's University*

Thashika Pillay
*Queen's University*

## Abstract

The current structure of formal education makes it difficult for teachers and students to hold meaningful conversations to support high-school youth's meaning-making of critical social-justice issues. This paper presents data on three high-school youth's knowledge and experiences with social justice issues during the pandemic. Specifically, the paper aims to explore how youth construct knowledge and counter dominant discourses through utilizing informal learning spaces, such as social media platforms, peer and family conversations, as well as personal encounters. In addition, and more importantly, an exploration of how formal education can incorporate social-justice issues into the curriculum is considered. The analysis of these high school youth's interview conversations presents their diverging needs to learn about social-justice topics in both formal and informal learning contexts. The data also illustrates the power of their voices in a way that could inform future curriculum development. Discussions and implications highlight the possibility of creating such ethical spaces in formal education to engage in social-justice topics.

## Introduction

Ongoing, varying social (in)justices have captured the attention of the larger public at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, in particular, the murder of George Floyd, and the ensuing #BlackLivesMatter (#BLM) movement. Around the same time, there were also ongoing Wet'suwet'en protests calling for Indigenous sovereignty in what is currently Canada. These socio-political issues generated wide discussions in informal spaces, such as within peer and family conversations and social media platforms (Pillay et al., 2022). However, learning discourses in formal educational spaces, such as traditional K-12 classrooms, did not appear to engage with these prolific injustices, thus preventing meaningful dialogue and learning from occurring, as youth participants reported in our previous study (Pillay et al., 2022). A multitude of reasons can be given for this absence, such as expectations of school curricula and teachers' own reservations (Dover, 2015). Discussions of teaching social-justice issues have focused on examining how educators understand them over a shorter period of time, such as in one school term (Mills & Ballantyne, 2016). However, there is growing interest in how high-school youth understand and perceive social-justice issues, their long-standing learning needs in formal and informal spaces, and their different positions regarding implementing a socially-just curriculum in formal schooling contexts. In this article, data is presented from a case study exploring high school youth's practices and knowledge construction, as they engaged in social-justice education (in and out of classrooms), since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic. Specifically, it is advocated that there should be more serious considerations about the knowledge and understandings of youth in informal spaces, and how social-justice education can be established in formal education spaces.

## Literature Review

Formal education continues to be structured to (re)produce constrictive environments for teachers and students to hold meaningful conversations on social justice and equity (Howell et al., 2019). This limitation results in formal education being spaces that reinforce, rather than ameliorate, social injustices and other forms of disparities (Harber, 2004; hooks, 2014; Ladson-Billings, 2014). Although formal education is generally considered a public and social good (Tikly & Barrett, 2011), a critical review of formal education and schooling history has shown mixed perspectives. Adzhalie-Mensah and Dunne (2019), Dei (2008), and Harber (2004) have uncovered that formal education can have two faces. It can become a site of transformation and healing for individuals, but also perpetuate various social and epistemic injustices (Fricker, 2017; Pillay et al., 2022). Recently, schools have been critiqued for failing to address critical issues tied to the stark inequities, injustices and learning gaps that have been particularly exacerbated by COVID-19 (Allen et al., 2020). While the focus of this article is not within the pandemic specifically, it is important to acknowledge how many issues, including the ones presented in this article, were re-highlighted as a result of the restrictions of COVID-19, and the importance of continuing to address these topics. As students develop an awareness of racial injustices, violence, economic injustice, and police brutality, teachers who choose to use their classrooms as spaces for teaching about social justice increasingly come under scrutiny, due to school governance and policy restrictions (Cumberbatch & Trujillo-Pagán, 2016; Dover, 2015; Esposito & Swain, 2009). As a result, alternative spaces such as social media platforms, have provided transformative sites for youth to engage in social-justice issues (Pillay et al., 2022). Globally, many youth have been purposely seeking these spaces outside of the school walls to explore social justice and equity-related issues in relation to Black, Indigenous, Asian, and other racialized peoples. Greenhow and

Lewin (2016) found that students use social media to generate a wide range of opportunities through interactions with their peers outside schools, and how this can shape their knowledge construction in unprecedented ways. Apart from its transformative learning potential, youth often rely on social media to create awareness around specific social issues, or foster wider conversations on race and social justice (Kumi-Yeboah & Smith, 2016), such as the case with the widespread support of the #BlackLivesMatter (#BLM) movement (Cumberbatch & Trujillo-Pagán, 2016). Youth continue to assert the power of their physical voices to advocate for equity and social justice (Harrell-Levy et al., 2016; Kahne & Bowyer, 2018), in more participatory ways, to challenge the status quo.

A critical part of youth's discursive struggle entails the use of virtual spaces to challenge, reframe, and counter dominant discourses (Greenhow & Lewin, 2016; Kinloch et al., 2020). For instance, following George Floyd's murder, #BLM campaigners used their voices to virtually counter the legitimacy of an ostensibly "colourblind" judicial system (Kinloch et al., 2020). Carney (2016) found that youth of colour actively used social media hashtags and language to control and influence the public discourse on anti-Black racism. Other studies have also demonstrated that social media and other informal learning spaces provide a powerful environment for youth in educating and shaping conversations (de los Rios et al., 2015). These youth redefine social justice and offer critical voices to challenge counter-narratives perpetuating social inequalities and injustices. In Canada and the United States, some studies have shown that young people have used social media to write back to social injustices, demonstrating the significance of their voices (Burke & Collier, 2017).

The reality is that there are ongoing issues around teacher capacity, and how curriculum continues to fail to implement social-justice topics in the classroom (e.g., Dover, 2015; Guthrie, 2018; Howell et al., 2019). Results from previous studies also highlight that teachers suggest scaffolding is needed regarding resources, subject knowledge, and pedagogies to account for teachers' socio-political backgrounds, and address social justice in schools (Burke & Collier, 2017; Hill et al., 2020). Researchers have also advocated for authentic social-justice curricula incorporating student diversity into the decision-making process (de los Rios et al., 2015; Liou & Cutler, 2021; McMahon & Portelli, 2012). The bulk of literature on social justice in schools focus largely on teacher capacity and teacher perspectives, and has not provided spaces for student voices. Some studies appear to frame students as vulnerable social groups who do not have agency and, thus, view students as victims of social injustices rather than epistemic agents who can influence and shape their experiences by challenging the status quo and countering dominant narratives. Since structural and institutional decisions can prevent students from learning more about social justice (Esposito & Swain, 2009; Kinloch et al., 2020), or cause further harm, the onus should not be on curriculum experts and researchers to determine for students which models, teaching strategies, and forms of social justice education are most appropriate, or how students should engage with social justice topics within and outside the classroom. Instead, they should invite and include students and their experiences, along with how teachers are implementing social justice-topics (or not). It is, therefore, imperative to understand students' practices and knowledge construction as they engage in social-justice education outside the classroom walls. Moreover, the growing interest of youth in these topics through non-conventional learning platforms calls for investigations into how the formal-educational curriculum is typically designed, understood, and implemented.

To this end, it is important to consider how to reshape traditional classroom practices to facilitate active engagement with social issues that permeate students' lives, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic and the implications for future directions. As a result, this research critically

examined high-school youth's knowledge and understanding of social-justice issues (in and out of the classroom) during the pandemic, and how they utilized informal learning spaces to construct knowledge and counter dominant discourses.

## Theoretical Framework

This study is grounded in Lave's (2019) work of learning and everyday life that draws from two Marxist scholarships: Lefebvre's (1987, 1988, 2002) notion of *the everyday* and Gramsci's (1971) notion of *common sense.* Institutional, structural, and systemic oppression is formalized in the larger society and formal schooling system through policies and practices. Whiteness is the norm, and it is reproduced by educational practices and policies, thereby reifying and normalizing issues of oppression (Dei, 2008). What the notion of the everyday (Lefebvre, 2002) recognizes is the richness of people's everyday lives and their potential transformative capacity in contesting the influence of hegemonic power in society, including the learning that happens in various educational settings, including formal educational spaces, such as classrooms, and informal educational spaces, such as social media. Therefore, the critique of the everyday life seeks to question, and discover, "what must and can change and be transformed in people's lives" (Lefebvre, 2002, p. 18), in order to explore the reality of what might be possible to lead to a better and more just world. Gramsci's (1971) common sense indicates "a form of 'everyday thinking' which offers frameworks of meaning with which to make sense of the world" (Hall & O'Shea, 2013, p. 8). Though fragmentary, spontaneous, and sometimes contradictory, these "everyday thinkings" might offer the chance to produce alternative world views that are able to transform the hegemonic practices in social circulation (Gramsci, 1971). Therefore, are there spaces (Lefebvre, 1991) in which people see the possibilities and develop their abilities to make sense of, and transform the everyday areas of their lives, where "learning is always a political project, a collective endeavor, situated in everyday practice and a key to future transformative change" (Lave, 2019, p. 8)?

Integration of the everyday in education seeks to explore and emphasize the important learning opportunities that occur both inside and outside of the classroom (Lave, 2019). That is, to ask: What spaces inside or outside of the classroom do students reflect on or interrogate regarding common events, where their conversations are often spontaneous, unrefined, unorganized, with evolving ideas that subsequently find their way into classroom discourse? How might engaging with the students' everyday lives, bridge formal and informal learning, foster greater engagement and elicit more critical discussions about social issues, as opposed to solely relying on authoritative voices and conventional textbooks that often provide very restrictive perspectives? To seek answers to these questions, the everyday guides the study to consider dialogue and inquiry-based conversations to understand how youth, in particular, think about, construct, and narrate discourses of socio-political life and its effects on individuals.

## Research Design

### *Participants*

The data presented in this article is drawn from a study investigating high school students' understanding of social-justice events that occurred since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic (Pillay et al., 2022). Participants (n=10), aged 15 years and older, from Grades 9 to 12, were recruited via social media, where participants could respond to a poster and information about the

study. Prior to the scheduled interviews, these individuals met with researchers, and were asked to provide their demographic information. They were asked to share their pronouns, as well as ethnicity/racial identities, ages, grades, and number of people living in their homes. Participants were then invited to either a focus group or one-on-one interview, depending on their schedules, where they could share their thoughts and understandings of various social issues through a narrative enquiry process and (re)telling stories (Pillay et al., 2022). Participants were asked questions about various social-justice events from immediately prior to the start of the COVID-19 pandemic to those currently occurring at the time of the interviews, such as the Wet'suwet'un protests and train blockades, #BLM protests, and police and RCMP violence in Canada. For each of these events, participants were asked the following: What do you recall about this event? What sorts of discussions did you have with peers, family, and teachers? Did you seek out any information on your own and in what ways? The initial intent of the study was to understand how youth were learning about social-justice issues during the first pandemic-related school closures, since most learning was asynchronous. We came to this research with what turned out to be a very mistaken assumption that students would have been learning about such issues, such as the train blockades, through formal education. However, the data very clearly showed that these events were not taken up in formal education spaces and that any learning about these events and issues were occurring through informal spaces (Pillay et al., 2022). After preliminary analysis of the first interviews, participants were invited to one-on-one follow-up interviews to expand on some of the ideas that they shared during the first interviews. This article focuses on the interview data from three high school students: Ignatius, Fay, and Mike (pseudonyms). These three participants were chosen as the focus of this article, because they articulated distinct understandings of social-justice education in the everyday. Understandings that, despite coming from varied backgrounds with diverse life experiences, illustrated the failures of formal education in supporting these youth in comprehending the world around them.

## *Methodology*

This study employed a case-study approach (Creswell & Poth, 2018), taking place during a specific time period (the first COVID-19 period of restrictions in Ontario, Canada between March – August 2020). For this article, three interviews were selected from a larger sample of 10 interviews (Pillay et al., 2022), after the data collection was completed. Three high-school students were selected because they represented unique cases that reflected the diversity of students' experiences in learning about social-justice issues. Their responses deeply reflected the myriad of ways in which youth engaged with everyday in understanding and responding to social-justice issues. Although this purposeful selection of data represents a possible limitation of a small-sample case study approach, this method was chosen for several reasons. First, qualitative research prioritizes in-depth, rich data that enables the researcher to address the research questions holistically. Second, a small-sample case study allows for a more granular analysis of participants' meaning-making processes. Therefore, the three selected cases are thought to reflect students' diversity in learning about social justice issues during the COVID-19 pandemic. Lastly, representative cases on this topic are lacking in the school setting, and should be carefully considered.

### *Method of analysis*

Leggo's (2008) framework, RITES (reading, interrogate, thematize, expand, summarize), was used to analyze the data for this article. First, an iterative-data analysis was conducted by reading through transcripts from the interview data. Next, an interrogation was done by asking basic questions about the speaker, what happened, and where it happened. Then, a reflexive thematic analysis identified recurring interview themes, and each was classified from the content of the participants' interviews. This process yielded four main themes from the larger study: education, power, knowledge, and positionality. Subsequently, it was found that the themes mentioned by the students during the interviews involved a variety of expressions that reflected their unique positionalities and understandings of social-justice issues. Therefore, a set of interviews were chosen to constitute this sub-data analysis. Each of the three youth whose data was used for this article brought forward distinct ways in which their everyday lives impacted their understandings of social justice and socio-political issues. In analyzing the data, a narrative was created for each of the three youth. Then, by expanding and drawing connections from the identified themes, a better understanding of each participant's meaning-making around social issues, in and outside of school, as well as patterns of engagement on social media, particularly in relation to these social-justice topics. Finally, the summarized themes are presented to indicate what can be learned from these narratives.

In one line of inquiry, there was an exploration of how the participants' knowledge of social-justice issues during the COVID-19 pandemic were expressed, actioned, and viewed. Specifically, the participants' distinct ways in which they shared their stories was considered (Leggo, 2008). For example, why is it that certain youth may speak more about a specific issue, and what are their beliefs, actions, and ideologies related to that issue? These conversations mirror participants' beliefs and assumptions of their worlds, which depict their social differences (e.g., social identities) and ideological differences.

The analysis of participants' conversations in this study is not intended to critique individuals' socio-political views. Instead, the aim is to unpack the reason that youth develop divergent views following their school education and interactions with family, friends, and society. In this instance, these impacts and interactions, coupled with education (or its absence), depict the power enacted on everyday people by high-school youth. Therefore, this study serves to highlight how and what power "does to people, groups, and societies" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 2), and the counter-dominant practices that emerge among conversations as alternatives to hegemonic discourses. The analysis is thus meant to pinpoint how power can affect under-represented groups (in this case youth) in discourses around social justice in schools, due to hierarchical structures and constrictive environments within them. It is in this that the ability to illustrate a collective, and somewhat shared experience, for these three youth, who, despite bringing very diverse experiences and worldviews, were all failed by a formal educational system that was incapable of helping them to understand what was happening in the world around them. Table 1 outlines the specific demographic information for each of the three participants that they shared prior to the interviews being conducted.

Table 1: Demographic information of the three participants

| Participant Name (Pseudonym) | Pronouns | Ethnic Identity | Age | Grade |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ignatius | He/him | White | 16 | 11 |
| Fay | She/her | Mauritian | 17 | 12 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mike | He/Him | Half Korean/Half White | 17 | 12 |

## Findings: High School Youth Understandings of Socio-political Issues

This section presents the findings of each participant, their experiences as they relate to their everyday lives, and how these shaped their understanding of socio-political issues during the pandemic.

### *Ignatius: Everyday activist*

Ignatius was a Grade 11 student, using the pronouns "he/him" and self-identifying as white. The conversation started by discussing protests by Indigenous land defenders in "Canada" that began prior to the pandemic, but have since continued. Ignatius was involved in activism through solidarity.

> *Transcript excerpt 1*
> Ignatius: My parents talked about [the Wet'suwet'un protests] because they work for the government. … I know that they were kind of against it. …they didn't agree with how [the protesters] are going about it, like burning tires, and the blockades, and stuff like that. …I still wasn't sure if I completely agreed with that or not because, if you're fighting for the pipeline [and]for environmental issues, partially, that's kind of counter-productive, but at the same time, the government also wasn't listening. So, what do you do? … There's a point where it's like, what else do you do? You got to make them notice.

Ignatius also referred to subsequent solidarity protests held when the Royal Canadian Mounted Police removed the Wet'suwet'en blockades and arrested land defenders. Many land defenders in British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec, along with those in solidarity received a backlash, especially as the protests purposefully impeded the national railway from fully operating. Ignatius's general feelings of, "You got to make them notice," alluded to the bottom-up models of protests: to show up and cause a disturbance on an individual level to affect structural conditions (Opp, 2009). Ignatius' idea of getting the government's attention, by partaking in protests, conveyed his initial knowledge of, and thoughts on, what activism and social justice education can or should be. However, his questioning of his support for the activism and specific protest acts of land defenders and protesters illustrates an inability to understand how the actions of protesters, including those who cause inconvenience, are seen through the lens of respectability politics, in that those who are protesting injustice are expected to do so in a way that is palatable to those who are not suffering from such injustices.

> *Transcript excerpt 2*
> Ignatius: I do remember when [the #BLM protest] was happening. There's just a lot of focus on how white people were protesting and on white people causing destruction. Basically, the entire protest was ridiculous and uncalled for. Still, I just know that I saw a lot of that, and I didn't feel like I could comfortably make an informed decision, because I knew that there was no way I was getting all the information.

Speaking about the #BLM protests, Ignatius repeatedly stated that he could not form an opinion, because he did not know the entire story, or where to find sufficient information. Furthermore, when discussing the Wet'suwet'en protests, Ignatius reiterated the need to have "the

whole picture," and "all the information" before making a decision. He reported acquiring information from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and other news channels. He also turned to his and his friends' parents, who worked for the police and government, respectively, and were directly, or indirectly, involved in the issue. Compared with other participants from this study, Ignatius could glean information from multiple sources, and was better informed, perhaps because of his interest in activism, and the numerous places where he formally, and informally, found information. Yet, he still lacked confidence in expressing a decisive opinion on the issue. One could concur that this was because his attempts to seek out information placed him in opposition to his family and friends. Additionally, although Ignatius obtained knowledge based on his interests, he did not possess the language to process and articulate his thoughts. Such language opposes the dominant discourse at school and in his life (as he stated that he occasionally disagreed with his parents). This type of communication enables individuals who are struggling with the dominant discourse to develop a counter-hegemonic discourse. Increased access to, and familiarity with, non-hegemonic discourse could mitigate such discomfort with minor disagreements, and with the hegemonic discourses circulating in mainstream society, including those on social media.

It is also worth considering why students' everyday life experiences (e.g., their encounters with socio-political events amid the pandemic) merit such conversation. As Ignatius described his experiences with activism and social media, he mentioned surveillance and people's fear of posting.

> *Transcript excerpt 3*
> Ignatius: This kind of seems ridiculous now, looking back on it, but if I don't repost and share for every single person, 'cause first it was George Floyd, then it was Breonna Taylor. It was just person after person after person, and I felt like, if I didn't repost for every single person, then people are going to think that I just don't care. And it's not that I don't care. It's that it gets exhausting after a while… You're constantly in this bubble of all these people [who] are dying. All these people are helpless. All these people, they're not being listened to. More people just keep getting killed.

Ignatius' comment implies that he might have experienced conflicting thoughts between taking action (e.g., reacting to a post, reposting every single social justice event) and the external (or self-induced) pressure of not doing so (e.g., being accused of, or perceived as, not caring). His continued mentions of engaging in activism and the exhaustion of "obligatory" activism suggests the belief that "perfect" activists speak out on every social-justice issue. However, language referencing the need to "repost for every single person," or otherwise being accused of not caring, is a form of surveillance present on social media and in society. That is, people may attack or accuse activists of not being inclusive regarding all social-justice matters. The power of such language and logic in online environments, specifically, can swiftly diminish authentic engagement into merely joining the trending brigade on social media. Teachers should, therefore, be guiding students in considering what engagement with issues of injustice can entail, and the ways in which social media can be used and manipulated, via the power of agency, as a weapon: to confront or push certain ideologies; to enact violence and oppress people, or, in Ignatius' case, to evoke anxiety around needing to treat all social-justice issues equally through action. How might teachers implore high-school students to go beyond a sense of being "perfect" activists, and start a conversation on alternative approaches to activism regarding socio-political issues?

### *Fay: Activism from behind the screen*

Fay was a seventeen-year-old, grade 12 student, who identified as Mauritian, and used she/her pronouns. Fay discussed her experiences on social media in the immediate aftermath of the murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor. Much like Ignatius, Fay also revealed the ways in which social media became a tool to learn about her friends' understanding of these events and issues.

> *Transcript excerpt 4*
> Fay: I feel like I was more shocked in who wasn't posting about it, [and] … I was kind of shocked by the people who are posting about anti-Black Lives Matter, .... I feel like there are a lot of people who I thought … held very similar morals as me. When I saw this post, I was like, "Oh, they aren't the people I thought they were" …. and some of the stuff that they reposted or did post was a bit concerning. I don't want to associate myself with these people anymore….
>
> And then, [there were] people who didn't post anything. I feel like I don't know how I feel about them…. I don't think that they are bad people, because, honestly, people can be doing things behind the screen without even posting anything. I personally didn't post too much about [Black Lives Matter] because … I didn't know what was actually going to make a change…, but I went on my own and I looked at petitions and stuff that could have … made a change. That's what I kind of worked [on]. …I did talk to a couple people who didn't post stuff, and kind of got their opinion on it.

In admitting that "[she] personally didn't post too much about it," but pondered #BlackLivesMatter, its petitions, and what she could do to effect change, Fay came to understand performance (i.e., posting and reposting) on social media, and how it may be distinct from offline activities. In essence, supporting or dissenting actions (or lack thereof) on social media does not necessarily correspond to one's positionality in reality. A person cannot assume another's socio-political attitude or positions as "either/or," and then determine their actual attitude towards a certain issue. Fay also framed an alternative: people are working to make a change behind the screen, whether through the actions mentioned above or, as Fay did, simply talking to people to better understand their positions. This comment harkened back to Ignatius's perceived pressure to post about every social justice issue.

Later in the conversation, Fay offered another alternative interpretation of individuals who remain silent on social media.

> *Transcript excerpt 5*
> Fay: One of my close friends didn't really post anything, and we did talk about it…. [She] just didn't feel like it would make that big of a difference. … She didn't want to really add to that chain, because at one point, it was kind of becoming a trend, rather than becoming awareness…, so [instead], she was doing more stuff behind the screen.

Fay continually mentioned that, after a while, #BlackLivesMatter became a trend on social media — especially with her mentioning that everyday people could not do much to eradicate broader issues such as systemic racism. The embedded discourse in Fay's statement, that the issue became "a trend, rather than becoming awareness," indicates that, in contrast to raising awareness, social-media posts on critical social-justice issues may gradually become ubiquitous on certain platforms. Given this perception, social media could readily be deemed, "That's only how they act

online" discourse. How, then, should people maintain their interest in showing awareness without turning such a display of support into a performative online trend? Fay described a scenario from one of her classes.

> *Transcript excerpt 6*
> Fay: I feel like a lot of teachers … don't really know how to teach [social-justice issues]. I feel like a lot of teachers also struggle with teaching it in a way that you don't really offend people. Because even though the majority of people might be pro #BlackLivesMatter, there are still students who aren't. …There was a student who did bring up something about Islam in class, and as soon as I went to defend myself, a teacher kind of shut it down and said like, no, like, "We're just going to move on and not talk about it." Even though we have very opposing values and opposing views in that situation, I felt the need to kind of talk about it and to explain myself [*not*e: *elsewhere in the interview, Fay mentioned that she wears a hijab and follows Islam*]. The teacher wasn't really willing to – so I feel like, I don't know, I feel like that's interesting to think about, is that teachers don't really want to offend anyone either, because you want your students to like you, at the end of the day.

Fay mentioned a common occurrence in high-school classrooms, particularly in the United States and Canada: a lack of attention to engaging students with contemporary critical social-justice issues (Kumi-Yeboah & Smith, 2016). Other studies have shown that teachers fail to address topics related to current social phenomena during class (de los Rios et al., 2015; Kelly & Brandes, 2010). Fay mentioned that her teachers did not include social-justice topics in class, theorizing that teachers may be afraid to offend anyone through such discussions, and that some students might not be "pro-#BlackLivesMatter" in class. Fay expressed the need to speak up in response to her classmate's Islamophobic comments, and instead of opening dialogue in what should be a safe space, to allow a conversation, the teacher "shut it down," perhaps out of fear of generating conflict in the classroom, anxiety due to lack of knowledge, and/or fear of losing some form of authority. From the authors' experiences in teacher education programs and conversations with practicing teachers, these so-called "fears," among others, are common. It could also be that teachers, in an effort to be "liked" by students, but being simultaneously "scared about what students think of [them]," typically display neutrality on critical sociopolitical topics. However, does the "neutrality" discourses in school —or staying silent on socio-political issues — not also suggest political views or a specific discourse pervading the school and formal education? Might this situation also produce micro and passive encouragement for students to remain silent, and develop the false belief that neutrality is not, in fact, taking a political position? This problematic pattern would then continue to be learned in school systems, a place where the majority of youth will continue to perpetuate problematic racist, homophobic, sexist, and ableist discourses.

### *Mike: The hesitant activist*

Mike, a seventeen-year-old Grade 12 student, identified as Korean and white, and used the pronouns he/him. While Mike's responses reflected his emerging understandings of social-justice topics and education, along with his own identity as a racialized young man, he was different from Ignatius and Fay, who more easily articulated their discursive positions. Mike's interview, on the other hand, was more like a "stream-of-consciousness." The RITES analysis with Mike also endeavored to consider how his racial and social identities shaped his experiences with issues of injustice. The excerpt below shares his experiences and understanding of the early-2020 Wet'suwet'en protests in Canada.

*Transcript excerpt 7*

Mike: I remember I heard about [the Indigenous solidarity protests] on the news and stuff, and I was walking to [a] dance after school, and I saw a bunch of [students] waiting to take the bus, and I wondered why there are so many taking the bus, and my friends said, "Oh, the trains are closed because of the protest," and I said, "Oh, I knew that was happening." And I think I was supposed to go to [Urban City] or something [and], take the train, but we can't do that, obviously. But other than that, I guess I didn't get to learn much about the actual protests and the reason behind it and stuff.

Mike's attention to the protests by land defenders suggests that he considered how such events would influence his personal life. He did not display as much interest as Ignatius, for example, in discussing the topic further. We do not intend to critique Mike's apparent lack of curiosity; rather, educators should contemplate whether this instance could be a teachable moment (i.e., regarding how social-justice issues are individually relevant to students' lives), without placing such students in the uncomfortable position of having to speak about their experiences, nor assuming that all students are aware of the issues. Furthermore, as students, such as Mike, begin to think about how those who share elements of their own identities may be marginalized or face injustice, they are often unable to fully understand how such issues can be better integrated into formal schooling.

*Transcript excerpt 8*

Mike: I guess, like I said earlier, if [there is] something going on in the world that is not directly relevant to the course, the teachers probably won't bring it up. It's understandable, and I guess unless it's something really, really big that everyone is [talking about], like an election or something. And yeah, wait … we just talk[ed] about a lot of elections and stuff and politics, I guess, but not directly, like social issues.

In follow-up interviews, Mike commented:

> I guess I don't know if it's super important for the teachers to [address socio-political topics], because I think [that] the students will talk about it, if it's important to them. Like, we don't necessarily need a teacher to bring it up, because I think we're eager and capable to do it ourselves.

Mike's speculation about teachers' failure to address social-justice topics in the classroom mirrored other participants' comments (see Pillay et al., 2022), and many teachers' behaviour in most classrooms in the United States and Canada (Mills & Ballantyne, 2016). This situation reflects the dominant ideological assumption of the functions of schools and teachers, where the teacher often takes the lead on ideas determined to be important for the students. This circumstance further echoes the assumption that school learning is not relevant to ongoing social issues and should only safely "deposit" (Freire, 1970) types of knowledge that are approved and recognized by the authority. These dominant ideologies circulate through schools and the educational system, as indicated in Mike's interview. Yet, Mike emphasized that "if something is important to the students, they will talk about it," which indicates that students possess the agency and interest to discuss these topics amongst themselves. Mike did not deny the importance of addressing these issues on a personal level, nor did he suggest that students should not talk about them. He simply thought that these topics might be discussed outside of the classroom. In this case, two issues are

at play: that which revolves around engagement in socio-political issues "out there" in society, and that which is separate from classroom engagement "in here." Between these types of discourses are students, who act as mediators among these two discourses on their own. However, can these discourses be completely isolated from one another, and even if they are somewhat separate in certain circumstances, should formal education not facilitate such discussions, and support students in making sense of the world that regulates these discursive positions?

For Mike, it appears that it was not his formal learning that helped him to better understand issues of injustice, but rather experiences of racism faced by his family.

> *Transcript excerpt 9*
> **[**My mom is] a financial advisor, and… [at] one time, somebody… wanted to know how to pronounce her name. And they said, "Oh sorry, my Japanese is bad," or something, and then she said, "Oh, I'm actually Korean," and then they kept attacking her and saying, "What is the Japanese name?" Just trying to tell her if it's Japanese or whatever. And other times, she'll go to create a new client, and a few times they've said they want somebody [who] speaks English, without even hearing her.

Mike's story revealed the racist discourses his mother encountered in Canada. The first issue involved a minority identity and perceptions of people from different ethnic backgrounds. Earlier in the conversation, Mike described his mixed identity, as both white and Korean, which he pondered on the question as to why his Asian identifier always comes first in Canada during schooling, but not the other way around. Furthermore, his mother was subjected to racist micro-aggressions based solely on her Asian name and racialized appearance, which is reiterated when she is perceived to be less competent at work, based on her presumed lack of English proficiency. These racist discourses exemplify Mike's awareness of social-justice issues, specifically regarding anti-racism. His personal racialized identity and experiences can serve to remind educators that social (in)justice issues are not necessarily as distant as one might imagine, among student groups.

## Discussion: Student Voice, Social Justice Curriculum, and the Everyday

Youth voices have been amplified in this paper to shed light on the question: on whose behalf should the agenda of social justice education be established — for higher educational institutions, for schools, for society, or for young students themselves? While it is important to consider institutions, school leadership, teacher professional development etc., the findings of this paper indicate that social-justice education cannot be realized without centering the views of specific youth, which in turn, benefits the institutions, schools, and societies within which the youth grow.

Ignatius was heavily involved with these issues, applied his passion to everyday actions, such as attending protests, and actively engaged with the issues. His anecdotes related to daily life and what helped him to make sense of his everyday. He detailed what school educators should do to embed socio-political topics efficiently. He also shared his perceived weaknesses, difficulties, and contradictions as a student activist implying that he requires better guidance from formal education. Out of all the participants, Ignatius was the most vocal about making the learning in formal classrooms count. He consistently asked, "What is the point of doing this? Why are we doing this? Why does this matter? Why am I standing in this classroom if you can't tell me how I'm going to use this in my everyday life?" Ignatius made astute observations about standard knowledge in textbooks and formal educational discourses, which he believed to be detached from everyday life. In such a circumstance, does engaging in learning require a shift away from residual,

ordinary knowledge towards so-called "high culture," represented by philosophy, science, and technology? Are school knowledges alienated from everyday life? As Lave (2019) contended, learning should capture the situated production of the everyday. Schools should help students make sense of what is happening in the everyday, which includes discussions about the current social-justice events. Ignatius provided several reasons why incorporating current events into the classroom by mentioning the "everyday." His expressions, such as "day-to-day" and "everyday," are counter terms to higher realms, such as politics, or the term "social justice." Can or should "everyday" moments — ordinary people's presence in school, at home, or in different communities, their "trivial" ideas about what can, or should be done to make sense of the social world in which they live, the utterances or discourses manifesting in various places (from family and friends or in diverse situations), but are unpolished and unorganized ideas — be brought into the classroom for discussion in place of simply listening to authoritative voices and reading texts such as policies or textbooks that are developed within a Western framework?

Fay expressed a critical understanding of online social media discourses by discussing people who were for, against, and silent on social-justice issues on these platforms. She was at once both passionate and exhausted, due to information overload, and topics trending on social media. She implicitly articulated the neutrality discourse of formal schooling in critical social-justice education. What Fay drew upon, specifically, was her engagement, experiences, and observations with social media platforms in learning about important social-justice issues. Research demonstrates that youth are relying more on social media platforms, with YouTube, TikTok, Instagram and Snapchat being their preferred choices (Vogels et al., 2022). Yet the implementation of social media in formal education spaces continues to be criticized (Carney, 2016), and arguably "taboo" (Pillay et al., 2022). These "everyday spaces" are acting as transformative spaces for youth, where they are engaging in online conversations about larger social issues, and where racialized youth are seeking more safe spaces. In addition, "integrating social media into the curricula can facilitate [the] integration of social justice into the classroom in a holistic way" (Cumberbatch & Trujillo-Pagán, 2016, p. 83). Fay's anecdotes invite the following question: How can social media, as a transformational non-formal educational space (Pillay et al., 2022), avoid being seen as a place that is suppressed by hegemonic discourses and surveilled? Moreover, Fay's reluctance to be more active on social media raises another question: Can critical practices within and outside informal spaces (e.g., recognition, understanding, and observation on social media, watching the news, or talking with parents and friends) in fact "make a change" especially when formal schooling does not adequately offer such spaces of engagement?

Mike concentrated on how the issues he was asked about were most relevant to his personal life. Besides the conjecture that teachers are too nervous to broach critical social-justice issues, Mike's statements — that unless an issue is especially prevalent, it will not be mentioned in class — may align with many teachers' inclusion criteria when determining which current issues may be deemed "worthy" to bring into the classroom. Mike's understanding of which social issues would be introduced typically covered "really big" topics, such as "elections or politics." Meanwhile, Mike also observed that students will converse about other events that are important to them, often outside of the school walls, which do not always need teacher guidance. This phenomenon again sparks the question: For whom, and what groups of students, does the knowledges privileged by schooling serve? Such topics as an election may be considered "worthwhile" to address in class, because it is seen as serving the political interests of all groups, whereas other social issues do not. However, what and who does schooling represent, and whose knowledge is deemed worthy of inclusion?

These instances, whether occurring within or outside of the classroom, encompass what is commonly referred to as the everyday (Lefebvre, 2002). Within this notion, broad, abstract, and higher concepts like the term "social justice," undergo a process of recontextualization into the everyday by the participants, the teachers, family members, and friends they mentioned in the interviews. This recontextualization takes shape through various conversations, the prevailing social discourses, and the individual's personal lived experiences and identities. To some extent, this dynamic opens up opportunities for schools to intervene and challenge these discourses and question the ongoing, unexamined routines within the realm of education. Rather than the educational institutions and curriculum imposing well-structured, settled representations of everyday, these challenge and disruptions in the classroom, or other contexts, create spaces where more authentic learning exchanges about social justice issues can thrive. It also generates alternative knowledge that contributes to both contesting the current discourses and constructing people's own sense of everyday towards social-justice issues. These might have been excluded and dismissed in formal education. This critical perspective on the everyday holds the potential to align with Lefebvre's vision of exploring the boundaries between reality, and the possibility of realizing alternative worldviews.

## Conclusion and Implications

This study presented three high-school youth's understanding and experiences about social-justice education during the pandemic, in both formal and informal spaces. Youth participants also drew upon their experiences and backgrounds to counter dominant views. Many conversations reflected a fragmented, but practical understanding of current events, what could be done, and what has yet to be done in everyday life, amid the COVID-19 pandemic and beyond. Participants' responses demonstrate the challenges and opportunities of critically engaging with these socio-political topics, as well as the potential for social justice education via social media, and in formal schooling. The interviews also illuminated the power of youths' voices. These individuals are often ignored in non-formal education regarding social-justice issues on social media, and when framing the social-justice education, one is expected to receive in formal schooling. Thus, it is important to consider the pedagogical implications of identifying dominant discourses, and thus, developing counter-dominant discourses. As educators revise the curricula on engaging with critical socio-political topics, they must also centre students' voices in reshaping social-justice education and the need to provide such lessons within formal school settings.

The following response also illustrates the possibility of opening a space to embed social-justice education by listening to students' voices. Prior to ending the interviews, all the participants in the larger study were asked the same question: What made them decide to participate in the study and discuss their experiences with social-justice events? Ignatius said:

> Honestly, I thought that all the kind[s] of information you had, like the topics that you had mentioned … [are] all really important, … and I don't really know what you can do with the information …, because except for the youth-serving organizations, I feel like nobody's listening to you. Like, nobody.

At the time of the interview, students were returning to in-person classes, and Ignatius compared this to being "like guinea pigs." He later noted the undue stress and anxiety this was causing for many youth. He ended by saying, "So where's this conversation with us happening, because we're the people that it's affecting. It's just not happening." This comment could also

answer why youth are not being consulted in (re)developing curriculum. Perhaps his explanation partly indicates why participants agreed to take part. They wanted to make sense of personally relevant happenings, and to talk to someone. If schools created spaces for such conversations, or at least their initiation, then students and schools could think more deliberately about social-justice education, related pedagogy, and its future. While Ignatius' comment was made in direct connection with schooling and learning about social events during the pandemic, the authors argue that this is not unique to this particular time period. Unfortunately, conversations about many current social-justice events rarely make it to the traditional classroom.

Although the preceding analysis of these three student cases is far from representative, it presents a series of their experiences with particular social-justice events that are, in reality, all too common. They carried different meanings for different people. Future research needs to engage educators and students to reflect on their experiences with social justice issues together, and how they can collectively re-imagine themselves engaging in related conversations in the classroom. In addition, future studies also need to consider how educators can meaningfully engage with students. By developing languages, cultural practices, and actions that oppose dominant discourses around social-justice topics in society and mainstream education, significant learning can truly take place.

## Author Bio

**Shuyuan Liu** is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Faculty of Education at Queen's University. Her research focuses on curriculum and pedagogies, formal/informal learning, learning and everyday life, and teaching English language learners across the curriculum. Her doctoral research explores the formal and informal learning experiences of newcomer high school youth in Ontario during the COVID-19 pandemic. She completed her MA in TESOL in the Rossier School of Education at University of Southern California. She has taught in Canada, China, and the United States at both secondary and post-secondary levels.

**Kenneth Gyamerah** is a certified K-12 educator and researcher with a Bachelor of Education (B.Ed) from the University of Education, Winneba, Ghana, and a Master's degree in Education Policy and International Development from the University of Bristol, UK. He is a Chevening scholar and has worked in K-12 and higher education across Canada, the UK, and Ghana. Kenneth is currently a Ph.D. Candidate at Queen's University. His scholarship and research focus on curriculum and policy studies, STEM education, decolonizing education, African Indigenous knowledge systems, and teacher education.

**Claire Ahn** is an Assistant Professor of Multiliteracies in the Faculty of Education at Queen's. Broadly speaking, her research focuses on how information is shared across different platforms and how this affects people's understanding of issues, events, and of people. She has explored these areas through topics such as considering the integration of film analysis in the English classroom, the importance of critical digital and visual literacy education, and in ways in which to better prepare students to detect deceptive media. She is also interested in youth and English teachers' experiences and perspectives in implementing critical social-justice education (CSJE) in English classrooms.

**Thashika Pillay** is Assistant Professor in Education Policy in the Faculty of Education, Queen's University. Thashika completed her PhD in Social Justice and International Education in the Department of Educational Policy Studies at the University of Alberta. Thashika has extensive research and teaching experience in K-12 and higher education in Canada, Australia, and Ethiopia. Thashika's research program explores questions of social, cultural, economic, political, and epistemic justice in working towards reimagining education for anti-colonial futures with regards to curriculum and policy in formal and informal educational contexts both in Canada and global South contexts.

## References

Adzahlie-Mensah, V., & Dunne, M. (2019). Continuing in the shadows of colonialism: The educational experiences of the African child in Ghana. *Perspectives in Education*, *36*(2), 44-60. https://doi.org/10.18820/2519593X/pie.v36i2.5

Allen, J., Mahamde, F., & Williams, K. (2020). Disparities in education: E-learning and COVID-19, who matters? *Child & Youth Services, 41*(3), 208-210. https://doi.org/10.1080/0145935X.2020.1834125

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A critical introduction.* Cambridge University Press.

Burke, A., & Collier, D. R. (2017). 'I was kind of teaching myself': Teachers' conversations about social justice and teaching for change. *Teacher Development*, *21*(2), 269-287. https://doi.org/10.1080/13664530.2016.1235607

Carney, N. (2016). All lives matter, but so does race: Black lives matter and the evolving role of social media. *Humanity and Society*, *40*(2), 180-199. https://doi.org/10.1177/0160597616643868

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches (4th Ed.).* SAGE Publications, Inc.

Cumberbatch, P., & Trujillo-Pagán, N. (2016). Hashtag activism and why #BlackLivesMatter in (and to) the classroom. *Radical Teacher*, *106, 78-86.* https://doi.org/10.5195/rt.2016.302

de los Rios, C. V., Lopez, J., & Morrell, E. (2015). Toward a critical pedagogy of race: Ethnic studies and literacies of power in high school classrooms. *Race and Social Problems*, *7*(1, SI), 84–96. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-014-9142-1

Dei, G. J. S. (2008). Schooling as community: Race, schooling, and the education of African youth. *Journal of Black Studies, 38*(3), 346–366. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934707306570.

Dover, A. G. (2015). "Promoting acceptance" or "preparing warrior scholars": Variance in teaching for social justice vision and praxis. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *48*(3, SI), 361–372. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2015.1056710

Esposito, J., & Swain, A. N. (2009). Pathways to social justice: Urban teachers' uses of culturally relevant pedagogy as a conduit for teaching for social justice. *Penn GSE Perspectives on Urban Education*, *6*(1), 38-48. https://urbanedjournal.gse.upenn.edu/sites/default/files/pdf_archive/38-48--Esposito_and_Swain.pdf

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* Herder and Herder.

Fricker, M. (2017). Evolving concepts of epistemic injustice. In I. J. Kidd, J. Medina & G. Pohlhaus Jr. (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of epistemic injustice* (pp. 53-60). Routledge.

Greenhow, C., & Lewin, C. (2016). Social media and education: Reconceptualizing the boundaries of formal and informal learning. *Learning, Media and Technology, 41*(1), 6–30. https://doi.org/10.1080/17439884.2015.1064954

Guthrie, E. (2018, November 10). *The importance of digital, multimodal pedagogy in the general-writing classroom* [Conference presentation]. The 6th Annual 21st Century Englishes Conference, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH, United States.

Hall, S., & O'Shea, A. (2013). Common-sense neoliberalism. *Soundings, 55*, 9–25. https://doi.org/10.3898/136266213809450194

Harrell-Levy, M., Kerpelman, J., & Henry, D. (2016). Practices of exemplary transformative teachers, as perceived by students transformed by an urban high school social justice course. *Urban Review*, *48*(1), 73–100. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-015-0346-5

Hill, C., Rosehart, P., St. Helene, J., & Sadhra, S. (2020). What kind of educator does the world need today? Reimagining teacher education in post-pandemic Canada. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 46*(4), 565–575. https://doi.org/10.1080/02607476.2020.1797439

Harber, C. (2004). *Schooling as violence: How schools harm pupils and societies.* Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203488423

hooks, b. (2014). *Teaching to transgress.* Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203700280

Howell, P. B., Cantrell, S. C., & Rintamaa, M. (2019). Setting the stage for action: Teaching social justice in the middle school classroom. *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas, 92*(6), 185–192, https://doi.org/10.1080/00098655.2019.1649630

Kahne, J., & Bowyer, B. (2018). The political significance of social media activity and social networks. *Political Communication*, *35*(3), 470–493. https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2018.1426662

Kelly, D. M., & Brandes, G. M. (2010). "Social justice needs to be everywhere": Imagining the future of anti-oppression education in teacher preparation. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research, 56*(4), 388-402. https://doi.org/10.11575/ajer.v56i4.55425

Kinloch, V., Penn, C., & Burkhard, T. (2020). Black Lives Matter: Storying, identities, and counternarratives. *Journal of Literacy Research, 52*(4), 382-405. https://doi.org/10.1177/1086296X20966372

Kumi-Yeboah, A., & Smith, P. (2016). Critical multicultural citizenship education among black immigrant youth: Factors and challenges. *International Journal of Multicultural Education*, *18*(1), 158–182. https://doi.org/10.18251/ijme.v18i1.1079

Ladson-Billings, G. (2014). Culturally relevant pedagogy 2.0: aka the remix. *Harvard Educational Review, 84*(1), 74-84. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.84.1.p2rj131485484751

Lave, J. (2019). *Learning and everyday life: Access, participation, and changing practice*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108616416

Lefebvre, H. (1987). The everyday and everydayness (C. Levich Trans.). *Yale French Studies, 73*, 7-11. https://doi.org/10.2307/2930193

Lefebvre, H. (1988). Toward a leftist cultural politics: Remarks occasioned by the centenary of Marx's death. In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (pp. 75-88). University of Illinois Press.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space.* Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (2002). *Critique of everyday life Volume 2: Foundations for a sociology of the everyday.* (J. Moore Trans.). Verso. (Original work published 1962)

Leggo, C. (2008). Narrative inquiry: Attending to the art of discourse. *Language and Literacy, 10*(1). https://doi.org/10.20360/G2SG6Q

Liou, D. D., & Cutler, K. D. (2021). Disrupting the educational racial contract of Islamophobia: Racialized curricular expectations of Muslims in children's literature. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 24*(3), 410–430. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2020.1753680

McMahon, B., & Portelli, J. (2012). The challenges of neoliberalism in education: Implications for student engagement. In B. McMahon & J. Portelli (Eds.), *Student engagement in urban schools: Beyond neoliberal discourses* (pp. 1–10). Information Age Publishing.

Mills, C., & Ballantyne, J. (2016). Social justice and teacher education: A systematic review of empirical work in the field. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *67*(4), 263-276. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487116660152

Opp, K. (2009). *Theories of political protest and social movements: A multidisciplinary introduction, critique, and synthesis.* Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203883846

Pillay, T., Ahn, C., Gyamerah, K., & Liu, S. (2022). Considering the role of social media: #BlackLivesMatter as a pedagogical intervention to decolonize curriculum. *London Review of Education, 20*(1), 1-14. https://doi.org/10.14324/LRE.20.1.14

Tikly, L. & Barrett, A. M. (2011). Social justice, capabilities and the quality of education in low income countries. *International Journal of Educational Development, 31*(1), 3–14. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2010.06.001

Vogels, E. A., Gelles-Watnick, R., & Massarat, N. (2022). *Teens, social media and technology 2022.* Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2022/08/10/teens-social-media-and-technology-2022/