MEDIA POLICY BRIEF 22

Misinformation, digital literacy and the school curriculum

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Key messages

- As misinformation takes on new and viral forms in the digital age, teaching children how to identify it has become urgent. But while digital literacy is crucial, there is no clear and unified framework on how to promote it.

- Digital literacy is a complex topic to teach and learn, and needs to be taught across a number of different subject areas. The Government thinks the national curriculum needs no revision to promote digital literacy, but there is evidence that shows otherwise.

- The national curriculum falls short of teaching primary and secondary school children about the broader digital environment. As with existing teaching resources, it overlooks how their digital skills and knowledge about the internet can be used to identify misinformation. Teaching resources, furthermore, focus predominantly on traditional media bias over online misinformation.

- Teachers need training about how to teach children the skills and knowledge they require, while we also need research on teachers’ levels of digital literacy.

- Our recommendations include:
  - Establishing a clear and unified framework on how to promote digital literacy
  - Revising the national curriculum to promote digital literacy as a cross-curricular subject and ensure that primary and secondary school children are equipped with the skills and knowledge they need to identify misinformation in the digital age
  - The development of teaching resources that focus more on misinformation and promote the ability to evaluate online content together with practical digital skills and knowledge about the internet and its implications for society
  - Research on teachers’ levels of digital literacy and ability to evaluate online content
  - Training teachers to ensure that they know how to identify misinformation and teach digital literacy across the national curriculum
Introduction

Misinformation is not new. But in the digital age, misinformation has acquired new forms and new means to spread rapidly. For both cultural and practical reasons, it has proved difficult for internet corporations and social media platforms to limit this spread, which often only becomes apparent once harm has already been done. For instance, anti-vaccination campaigns disseminated on Facebook (and probably to a lesser extent on WhatsApp parents’ groups) went largely unpublicised until outbreaks of measles increased.

Take-down policies therefore have serious limitations, and quickly encounter cultural and sometimes legal resistance. The challenge is therefore to prevent misinformation spreading in the first place by giving people the critical literacy competencies that will help them to identify it. Applied to digital media and the internet, digital literacy is a variant of media literacy, which refers to the ability to access, analyse, evaluate and create messages in a variety of forms.

The LSE’s Truth, Trust and Technology Commission (T3) has proposed a number of ways to tackle the problem of misinformation. Central to these is the creation of an Independent Platform Agency (IPA) which would be tasked with co-ordinating efforts to understand and combat this problem.

One of the T3 report’s recommendations was that media literacy should be firmly established in the UK school curriculum:

“Media literacy is a complex and demanding topic to teach and learn. It is vital that this is thoroughly embedded in classroom education... In a crowded curriculum, neither Media Studies nor Citizenship education have been prioritised, with the former studied by only a minority and the latter barely finding space in the curriculum. Neither receives the cross-curricular attention required, and there are concerns about the level and quality of media literacy teaching resources. Information literacy is in the Citizenship curriculum and that is compulsory, but there is little time for critical digital literacy. As a subject, Media Studies has been marginalised and while the Computing curriculum tackles some of these issues, this has been given poor reviews by the Royal Society and is, again, a crowded, optional topic”.

It continues:

“... The Department for Education should lead an inclusive educational framework to build digital literacy and the IPA would coordinate work with the BBC and public service broadcasters, libraries, the National Literacy Trust and the platforms. This curricula effort across the UK needs to connect the areas where literacy is addressed, such as media studies, computer studies and citizenship. There needs to be a focus on both children in schools – for example, a compulsory media literacy module in citizenship classes...”

This policy brief is an attempt to flesh out this proposal. It follows a meeting convened by the LSE with a number of stakeholders in the area which discussed the different areas of the school curriculum where misinformation might be addressed, and at what ages.
Reports that recommend action

Like T3, a few recent reports have called for action in this area:

- **The House of Lords report** on growing up with the internet

  This report (2017) called for an “ambitious programme of digital literacy” and for the latter to "sit alongside reading, writing and mathematics as the fourth pillar of a child’s education”.

- **The National Literacy Trust report** on the teaching of critical literacy

  This report (June 2018) stressed the importance of practising critical literacy “by looking at news stories we find on TV, on the radio and online, including websites, apps and social media”. Understanding ‘how the news is made... [with] practical experience of the methods of journalistic enquiry and responsible news creation’ would help young people “become critical thinkers and spot fake news stories”. In particular, it would help them “understand political bias” and why it leads to the creation of misinformation. This “active engagement” would discourage “passive consumption” and media companies could play an active part in developing classroom resources for this purpose. The report also recommended that pupils read, watch and hear news stories at school (specifically recommending BBC’s Newsround) - presumably as examples of trustworthy news.

- **The House of Lords report** on political polling and digital media

  This report (2018) also called for “critical literacy skills to match digital skills to enable [people] to assess and analyse the information they read online” and said the Department for Education (DfE) should take responsibility for this.

- **The Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) committee report** on disinformation

  As with the House of Lords report on growing up with the internet (see above), this report (2019) called for “digital literacy” to be “a fourth pillar of education alongside reading, writing and maths”. Specifically, it said “techniques for slowing down interaction online should be taught, so that people themselves question both what they write and what they read - and that they pause and think further, before they make a judgement online.” The government’s response to the report questioned the need for such an extensive focus, saying that digital literacy “is already taught across the national school curriculum” and that Health and Relationships modules of Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE), which would soon be made compulsory, would teach pupils “how to consider information critically”. Referring to the white paper on online harms (see below), it promised a “comprehensive mapping exercise”.

Legislation and policy already in motion

- **Ofcom**

Ofcom is responsible for and in charge of promoting media literacy under the [Audiovisual Media Services Directive](https://www.ofcom.org.uk) and section 11 of the [UK Communications Act 2003](https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/communications-act-2003). It is in the process of developing a media literacy strategy with various partners, but could not yet give us a firm sense of its thinking.

- **Online Harms: DCMS and Home Office White Paper**

While its centrepiece is a call for a “duty of care” to deter social media platforms from promulgating misinformation, this white paper, published in April 2019, acknowledges online misinformation as a harm that needs to be tackled (p23) and promises a “new online media literacy strategy” (p10) ahead of the creation of a new regulator “possibly through a new taskforce” (p92). It says there has been “significant” work in this area and cites the Google-sponsored NewsWise and BBC Young Reporter projects as examples of good practice (p90). The white paper is particularly concerned by the threat posed by Russian disinformation, where disinformation refers to the deliberate dissemination of information intended to cause harm, during election periods.

“The first step will be a comprehensive mapping exercise to identify what actions are already underway, and to determine the objectives of an online media literacy strategy. This process will involve convening representatives from tech companies, regulators, libraries, civil society, academics and government to identify ways to strengthen existing provisions, as well as to identify what additional activity is needed to make progress against key objectives, which may include:

- **Ensuring that users can be more resilient in dealing with mis- and disinformation, including in relation to democratic processes and representation.**”

The white paper envisages a mapping exercise not unlike the one that T3’s independent body would be expected to make. What might a “new online media literacy strategy” look like with respect to the school curriculum? Before making some suggestions, we examined whether and how the current curriculum addresses online misinformation.
The state of the national curriculum and teaching resources in the UK

The national curriculum

In what ways does the national curriculum equip students with the skills and knowledge they need to understand and identify misinformation? Traditional subjects like English, History and Maths encourage primary and secondary school children in the UK to learn critical thinking, developing analytical and evaluation skills that are crucial for assessing information reliability and evidence, weighing arguments and counter arguments. At key stages 1 and 2 (aged 5-7 and 7-11 years), children are expected to “consider and evaluate different viewpoints” as part of the English curriculum. From key stage 3 (11-14 years) onwards they should be able to read critically by drawing on linguistic competences as well as “making critical comparisons across texts”. In addition, they should be able to write by “supporting ideas and arguments with any necessary factual detail”. Similarly, at key stages 1, 2 and 3, the History curriculum requires students to understand “how evidence is used rigorously to make historical claims”. The Mathematics curriculum, furthermore, encourages students to follow “a line of enquiry, … developing an argument, justification or proof”.

Besides traditional subjects, the Citizenship curriculum, which is compulsory at key stages 3 and 4 (14-16 years), provides students with knowledge about the socio-political system. It enables them to develop “the skills to think critically and debate political questions” as well as appreciate the role and responsibilities of the press. Compulsory at every key stage, the Computing curriculum, furthermore, teaches them how to engage practically with digital technologies and the internet. On the one hand, it mentions that students should learn “to appreciate how results are selected and ranked, and be discerning in evaluating digital content”. On the other hand, it is particularly geared towards encouraging them to “use technology purposefully to create, organise, store, manipulate and retrieve digital content”.

Unlike Citizenship and Computing, Media Studies is a non-statutory subject that is optional at GCSE and A level. It teaches students not only about media representation, addressing “how the media portray events, issues, individuals and social groups”, but also how to “analyse critically … media products”, including both traditional and digital media. Furthermore, it allows them to develop “a critical understanding of the media and their role both historically and currently in society, culture, politics and the economy”. Like Media Studies, Personal, Social, Heath and Economic education (PSHE) is a non-statutory subject. Taught at the discretion of schools, it is organised around three core themes: 1) Health and Wellbeing, 2) Relationships, and 3) Living in the Wider World. The second theme (Relationships) teaches students about online safety, focusing on cyberbullying and trolling, and “how to respond and ask for help”. This theme will become compulsory from 2020. The third theme (Living in the Wider World) encourages them to “critique how the media present information” and “understand how information contained in social media can misrepresent or mislead”.

Teaching resources

Teachers in the UK design their lesson plans independently and/or by drawing on teaching resources provided by a range of stakeholders, including the UK Parliament, the British Library, media outlets such as the BBC, internet corporations such as Google, and educational organisations and charities. Here is a non-exhaustive list of organisations, ordered alphabetically, that provide teaching resources on aspects related to textual analysis and evaluation, media representation, misinformation, the media and the internet:

- The Assessment and Qualifications Alliance (AQA) provides GCSE and A level teaching and assessment resources for English teachers, focusing on reading comprehension and writing. It also offers Media Studies resources on media representation, bias and stereotyping.

- The Association for Citizenship Teaching offers resources and lesson plans for teaching Citizenship, focusing on media bias and representation of controversial issues in the context, for instance, of democracy, religion, and terrorism.

- The BBC has made available teaching resources that are not geared towards specific subjects or key stages on how to assess evidence when reading the news and how to recognise fake news, defined as “false information distributed deliberately, usually for political or commercial purposes”.

- The British Film Institute (BFI) provides resources for teaching Media Studies at GCSE level. They focus on teaching television and film studies as well as digital video production.

- Computing at School has made available resources and lesson plans for teaching Computing at different key stages. These are designed to familiarise primary school children with basic computer science terminology, and teach secondary school children computational thinking and coding.

- Childnet Trust Me offers resources and lesson plans aimed to encourage students to learn about media propaganda and reflect critically on what constitutes factual and trustworthy information online, differentiating between facts and opinions.

- Eduqas’ resources and lesson plans for English teachers at GCSE level are designed for students to learn how to synthesise, and make comparisons between, texts such as blogs written by reporters. Eduqas also provides resources for teaching how English is written or spoken on websites and blogs, inviting students to analyse “the narrative structures of websites” as well as engage in creative writing tasks.

- The English and Media Centre provides resources and lesson plans for English and Media Studies teachers. Their resources are designed for students at different key stages to become critical readers and assess bias and negative stereotyping in English literature. They also encourage students in Media Studies to learn about media bias, social media and fake news.
Google offers teaching resources that encourage students to learn about artificial intelligence and internet safety, as well as develop search and creative skills online.

The Information Commissioner’s Office (ICO) has made available resources that are not geared towards specific subjects. These are aimed to teach students at different key stages about privacy in the digital age, how to manage personal information online, and how to opt out from sharing it with third parties.

Media Smart offers secondary school teaching resources to support the PSHE curriculum. These are on traditional media and digital advertising, focusing on media bias and representation.

The National Literacy Trust has made available resources and lesson plans on textual analysis and evaluation, media bias and fake news to primary and secondary school teachers of different subjects, including English, History, Maths, Science, Citizenship and PSHE. Their English resources encourage students to analyse media bias and fake news, focusing on the author’s intentions and impact on the reader. Their History resources promote historical enquiry based on assessing evidence. Their Maths resources enable students to reflect critically on different representations of mathematics and statistics in the media. Their Science resources are designed for students to analyse scientific articles and data, reflecting on their accuracy and reliability. Their Citizenship resources require students to examine media and social media coverage of local protests. And their PSHE resources are designed for students to learn about journalists’ ethical conduct, fact-checking, the difference between facts and opinions, and how facts may be distorted online.

NewsWise, set up by the Guardian Foundation, The New Literacy Trust and the PSHE Association, provides English and PSHE resources for teaching students how to understand and critically navigate the news, encouraging them to assess news headlines, distinguish between factual, biased and fake news, and write news stories.

Oxford, Cambridge and RSA (OCR) provides teaching and assessment resources at GCSE and A levels. Their English resources encourage students to analyse and compare different texts, enhancing their reading comprehension skills. Their Citizenship resources are designed to teach students about citizens’ rights and responsibilities, as well as the role of the media for democracy, with an emphasis on freedom of speech and media ownership. Their Computing resources encourage students to engage with the foundations of computer science, programming, system software, and how to use the internet. Their Media Studies resources are designed to teach students about the different creative industries and their audiences.

PSHE has made available resources for teaching PSHE students at different key stages about media bias, in relation, for instance, to extremism and radicalisation. It also has resources on the impact of digital technologies on young people, and it draws on the resources provided by NewsWise (see above) to teach them about fake news and how to evaluate news stories.
- **SecEd** offers resources to English teachers from key stage 3 onwards, designed to teach students literacy and English literature. It also offers Computing resources on computational thinking, problem solving, coding, and online privacy and security.

- **STEM** provides secondary and A level computing resources designed to teach students the skills and knowledge they need to use digital technologies, focusing on how algorithms function, how to code, and use blogging platforms.

- **Tes** is a forum with teaching resources and lesson plans designed and uploaded by teachers, including resources on media bias and fake news for English, Citizenship, Media Studies, and PSHE teachers. These focus predominantly on traditional media, the implications of misinformation for society, and how to distinguish between real and false news stories through textual analysis. Some encourage students to reflect on the risks of social media for spreading misinformation or to assess how information is presented online.
Key challenges

Given the state of legislation, the national curriculum and teaching resources in the UK, we have identified the following key challenges:

- **There is no clear and unified framework on how to promote digital literacy.**

  Ofcom is in charge of promoting media literacy in the context of both traditional and digital media. But while it has provided a wealth of reports on children’s and adults' levels of media literacy throughout the years, it “has retrenched from efforts to ‘promote [it]’.” The white paper on online harms promises a mapping exercise to determine how to promote digital literacy, and an “online media literacy strategy”. It overlooks, however, that a similar exercise was already conducted in 2014 by Livingstone and McDougall as part of a wider mapping exercise at EU level. Furthermore, not only is it unclear what such an exercise and strategy would consist of and lead to, but it is also dubious whether and how DfE is going to be involved.

- **The Government thinks the national curriculum needs no revision, but most teachers think it does**

  In 2013 the national curriculum was “slimmed down” to enable “teachers to use their professional judgement to design curricula that meet the needs of their pupils”. According to DfE, it was reformed to ensure that children learn essential skills and knowledge in key subjects. In 2018 (and again in 2019), the Government responded to the DCMS report on disinformation by rejecting their recommendation that digital literacy should be a ‘fourth pillar’ of the curriculum. In its response, the Government stated that “digital literacy is already taught across the national school curriculum”. But while it is reluctant to make revisions to the latter, the National Literacy Trust’s 2018 report found that only 2% of primary and secondary school children know how to identify misinformation. Relatedly, more than half of teachers (i.e. 53.5%) think the curriculum needs to be revised to equip children with the skills they need to evaluate information in the digital age.

- **The national curriculum falls short of teaching primary and secondary school children about the broader digital environment, as well as how their digital skills and knowledge can be used to identify misinformation**

  Notions of information literacy and critical literacy refer to the skills and knowledge that are crucial for accessing and understanding information critically. While they overlap with media literacy and digital literacy, in an age where (mis)information is highly mediated by digital technologies, children cannot be expected to become critically literate unless they know how to use digital media and understand the context where information circulates. As argued by Buckingham, digital literacy
should incorporate an understanding of the broader digital environment, that is, how information is produced and consumed online, with what implications, and what potentials and constraints the internet presents for society at large.

Critical thinking, crucial to evaluating information, is a key competence that cuts across different subjects in the national curriculum. On the one hand, traditional subjects like English, History and Maths promote analysis and evaluation skills based on respect for evidence and balancing different arguments and viewpoints. On the other hand, their curricula do not focus on misinformation as such, how it circulates online and how the internet may be used to evaluate information. The ability to make critical comparisons across texts, as encouraged by the English curriculum, feeds into the ability to compare and contrast multiple sources. But such a curriculum overlooks how the internet may be used to fact-check information, or how misinformation may be presented online. Nor does it teach students how to distinguish between bias and misrepresentation, and deliberately fabricated misinformation (that is, as defined above, disinformation). Similarly, while the Citizenship curriculum encourages students to think critically about the socio-political system and the press, it is not geared towards teaching them also about the broader digital environment.

The Computing curriculum places little emphasis on evaluating online content, or understanding the internet as embedded within wider socio-political and economic forces. It overlooks how the internet facilitates, for instance, political participation but also misinformation. Instead, it focuses narrowly on how to engage practically with digital media, how to code, and how algorithms function, in isolation from how they contribute to misinformation by maximising the visibility of popular content through online sharing, or creating information bubbles that expose users only to online content that is aligned with their pre-existing beliefs. According to a 2017 report by the Royal Society, not only is computing education across the UK “patchy”, but “a cross-curricular approach for digital literacy at primary and early secondary school” is still to be achieved. Unlike Computing, Media Studies encourages students to critically understand the broader media ecosystem, focusing on both traditional and digital media, but it is not compulsory. In 2017, it was taken by only 7.3% of GCSE students, as opposed to 8.9% in 2014 and 9.5% in 2010. Similarly, while the PSHE curriculum teaches students about media bias and online misinformation, it is currently a non-statutory subject. Taught at the discretion of schools, the quality of its provision is inconsistent, with 40% of schools’ PSHE education assessed by Ofsted as inadequate in its most recent report.

-existing teaching resources focus predominantly on traditional media bias rather than on online misinformation. They also promote the ability to evaluate online content in isolation from practical digital skills and knowledge about the internet and its implications for society

In their 2018 report on the teaching of critical literacy in primary and secondary schools, the National Literacy Trust argued that “there is a need for good-quality, expert-led resources to help schools … support children’s critical literacy in the digital age”. AQA and the Association for Citizenship Teaching provide teaching resources for Media Studies and Citizenship respectively that are particularly
geared towards encouraging students to learn about traditional media, focusing more on media bias and (mis)representation than online misinformation. While Media Smart offers resources on media representation in the context of both traditional and digital media, it also overlooks misinformation. And so does OCR, which provides resources that encourage students to develop textual analysis skills and appreciate the role of traditional media for democracy. Similarly, BFI’s resources for Media Studies focus more on media representation and digital video production. ICO has made available resources for teaching about privacy in the digital age, but not about media bias, nor misinformation. And the English Media Centre provides resources on textual bias to English teachers, and on media bias, social media and fake news for Media Studies.

Computing at School, Google, EDUQAS, SecEd and STEM have made available resources to Computing teachers, encouraging students to engage with the narrative structures of websites, familiarise with computer science terminology and develop computing, creative and coding skills. But these overlook how to critically evaluate online content, as well as how to draw on practical digital skills and knowledge about the internet to check and evaluate information trustworthiness. Such a lacuna applies also to PSHE, NewsWise and the National Literacy Trust. On the one hand, the resources offered by the latter have the merit to focus on media bias and fake news in the context of traditional subjects, encouraging students to learn, for instance, how mathematical and statistical data is represented in the media. On the other hand, as with the resources available on Tes, they fail to train students how to fact-check information by using multiple sources online while deploying knowledge of what algorithms afford for spreading misinformation or creating information bubbles, and with what implications for society and democracy.

While students generally enjoy a ‘teaching through doing journalism’ approach, it is not necessarily the most comprehensive way to address misinformation, which appears in a wide range of forms – such as unattributed memes (increasingly prevalent on Instagram), sponsored content, election and political advertising, video and even ‘deepfakes’ (videos that have been convincingly edited to change a speakers’ words). The traditional news article that forms the basis for many of classroom exercises is only one of the ways that people consume news (which may be, for example, on TV, on Twitter, or an audio news bulletin on radio or a smart speaker) - nor does it bear much resemblance to the wider kinds of (mis)information they encounter on, for example, Instagram. Students may not be sufficiently prepared for the different forms misinformation can take. In addition, there are risks, outlined by danah boyd, that associating misinformation and news coverage too closely can lead to cynicism (one of the ‘five evils’ identified in the T3 report) and an overly sceptical attitude towards all media organisations, which may not be justified.

Finally, while most teaching resources consist of handouts, worksheets and multimedia content, they do not necessarily encourage students to learn how to spot misinformation by using the internet in synergy with knowledge about the broader digital environment. By contrast, an example of good practice can be found in the US non-profit organisation Common Sense Education. Besides consisting of handouts, worksheets and videos, their lesson plans encourage students to use the internet and digital technologies to gain awareness of what they afford and their implications for society. They invite students to assess online
misinformation by, for instance, comparing different websites, running online searches and accessing fact-checking sites.

Teachers need training

As digital literacy involves skills and knowledge that range from practical digital skills to the ability to evaluate online content, from knowledge about what the internet affords to understanding media bias and the broader digital environment, teachers need to be trained adequately to equip children with such skills and knowledge. And they need to be trained in ways that go beyond their own subjects. While only 7.7% of UK school teachers reported in 2013 having a high need for professionally developing their ICT skills for teaching, the 2018 evidence review of the National Literacy Trust showed that “teacher training is central to the success of any plan to boost critical literacy”. As a result, it recommended that “the Department for Education should ensure that the teaching of critical literacy relevant for the digital age is included within Initial Teacher Training (ITT) and Continuous Professional Development (CPD)” programmes, cutting across the different subjects in which teachers are specialised. Furthermore, while there is a lack of evidence on whether school teachers know how to identify misinformation, the Royal Society found in 2017 that the most common request among primary and secondary Computing teachers in the UK is for more training.
Recommendations

To address these challenges, we recommend:

- **Establishing a clear and unified framework on how to promote digital literacy**

  We need clarity from the Government as to what steps will be taken to promote digital literacy (a mapping exercise? A digital literacy strategy?), what these steps will entail and lead to, and whether and how different actors such as Ofcom and DfE will be involved.

- **Revising the national curriculum to ensure that children are equipped with the skills and knowledge they need to identify misinformation in the digital age**

  The Government and DfE should acknowledge that, although the national curriculum was revised a few years ago, it needs further revision to promote digital literacy. As online (mis)information is mediated by the internet, textual analysis and evaluation skills are not enough. While traditional subjects are crucial for promoting critical thinking, the Citizenship curriculum should teach students not only about the role of the press and traditional media bias, but also about misinformation and the broader digital environment – in particular the forms which disinformation can take and how it is targeted at particular groups via social media. The Computing curriculum, furthermore, should focus not just on practical digital skills and how the internet functions, but also on the ability to evaluate online content along with knowledge about the internet’s implications for society.

- **The development of teaching resources that focus more on misinformation and promote the ability to evaluate online content together with practical digital skills and knowledge about the internet and its implications for society**

  Educational organisations, charities, the media industry and internet corporations such as Google should develop resources and lesson plans for traditional subjects as well as Computing and Citizenship in ways that focus more closely on identifying misinformation. Besides consisting of handouts, worksheets and multimedia content, their resources should encourage students to use the internet and digital technologies to evaluate online content by comparing, for instance, websites and running searches in synergy with knowledge of what these technologies afford and the internet’s implications for society.

- **Research on primary and secondary school teachers’ levels of digital literacy and ability to evaluate online content**
Both quantitative and qualitative research is needed to investigate teachers’ digital literacy levels. This research should be conducted by organisations such as Ofcom, independent researchers and academics.

- **Training teachers to ensure that they know how to identify misinformation and teach digital literacy across the national curriculum**

  The Government and DfE should ensure that digital literacy training is embedded within ITT and CPD programmes. Such training should be designed to enable teachers to learn not only the skills and knowledge that are necessary for identifying misinformation in the digital age, but also how to teach digital literacy across the national curriculum in ways that go beyond the specificity of their own subjects.
LSE MEDIA POLICY PROJECT

ABOUT:
The Media Policy Project aims to establish a deliberative relationship between policy makers, civil society actors, media professionals and relevant media research. We want policy makers to have timely access to the best policy-relevant research and better access to the views of civil society. We also hope to engage the policy community with research on the policy making process itself.

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