

Wassilios Baros, Ulrike Greiner, Aida Delic & Mishela Ivanova¹

Children's crisis narratives as Futures Literacy

Kurzfassung: Ziel der internationalen Studie "Futures Literacy - Children's Crisis Narrations as Spaces of Utopias of Solidarity" ist es, anhand von Krisennarrativen, die von Schulkindern in mehreren europäischen Ländern verfasst wurden, Einblicke in die (Lebens-)Welten und Perspektiven von Kindern auf schulangeleitetes Lernen zu Hause in Zeiten der Corona-Krise zu gewinnen. Die Datenerhebung basiert auf einer speziellen Schreibaufgabe, in der Schülerinnen und Schüler (10-13 Jahre) gebeten werden, zu beschreiben, wie sie ihren zukünftigen Enkelkindern die Zeit der Corona-Krise in einer fiktiven Zukunft, in der sie Großeltern sind – 60 Jahre später – erzählen würden. Die Perspektive der Kinder wird ausdrücklich in den Mittelpunkt des Interesses gerückt, um mehr über Themen zu erfahren, die Kinder dieser Altersgruppe in Krisenzeiten betreffen. Theoretisch knüpft die Studie an das Konzept der Zukunftskompetenz (inspiriert von Miller, 2007) an. Die von Schülern produzierten Texte werden durch eine systematische Kombination von quantitativer und qualitativer Inhaltsanalyse (mittels Latent Class Analysis) ausgewertet.

Abstract: The aim of the international study "Futures Literacy - Children's Crisis Narrations as Spaces of Utopias of Solidarity" is to gain insights into children's (life) worlds and perspectives on home-schooling in times of the Corona Crisis by means of crisis narratives written by schoolchildren in several European countries. The data collection is based on a special writing assignment for pupils (10-13 years), in which they are asked to describe how they would tell their future grandchildren about the time of the Corona crisis in a fictional future where they are grandparents - 60 years later. The perspectives of children are explicitly placed at the center of interest in order to draw conclusions about issues that concern this age group in times of crisis. Theoretically, the study ties in with the concept of futures literacy (inspired by Miller, 2007). Texts produced by students will be evaluated by means of a systematic combination of quantitative and qualitative content analyses (using Latent Class Analysis).

1. Problem definition and state of research

Global crises², such as pandemics, affect all educational systems differently, but with similar intensity. The respective subsystems of education, their institutions, different educational programs, actors and processes are all affected.

Comparable to a magnifying glass, existing pre-crisis correlations, complex systemic-environmental relationships and problems are now becoming visible to such an extent that it is imperative to take a closer look. The interaction of complex problems and constellations also influences school worlds and life environments, and in the age of digitization, as well their analog and digital structures. It also affects crisis interpretations, attitudes and beliefs, alongside of structures and underlying systems in education. Since the present study focuses on school education, current research results for the situations of schools under the conditions of Covid 19 in Europe are used as a starting point.

Due to the corona pandemic starting in spring 2020, schools worldwide, and also in Europe, were closed for shorter or longer periods of time, and different alternative forms of pupil care, digital teaching-learning arrangements or vacation regulations were introduced. In this paper we offer insights into the personal situations of schoolchildren, by analyzing their narratives about the Corona period and revealing their perspectives. What do students from several different European countries (Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Greece) think about the Corona crisis and the associated family, social and school changes? How do they experience and evaluate them, and how do they deal with the new life situation?

These questions highlight students' subjective perspectives. In contrast to objectively observable educational behavior, pupils' subjective perspectives on school, education, teaching and social developments are rarely studied. Pedagogical discourse has rather been characterized by emphasis on performance-related, subject-specific or interdisciplinary outcomes or group-specific comparisons (e.g. Oberwimmer et al., 2019; Breit et al., 2019). Rarely is the focus placed on learners and their view of the school as an institution (e.g. Eder, 2007; Schreiner et al., 2019). If this is done, it is usually in the context of qualitative studies (e.g. Mitgutsch, 2008; Hagedorn, 2014).

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² Following Oevermann (2008), we understand the term crisis in relation to what is seen as routine. Crisis does not define a characteristic of objects, but is always to be understood in relation to the response of a subject. The term crisis characterizes a relation between an object and a subject of experience. The COVID pandemic has created a crisis, because it cannot be routinely and immediately understood, and is indeterminate with regard to its perception.

Also, in connection with the pedagogical and educational studies inspired by the corona pandemic and the resulting school closures in spring 2020, surveys dominate which chiefly perceive students as affected and only rarely as acting. A large share of these studies, many in the form of online surveys, aim to document the situation in spring 2020 and to shed light on the role of family characteristics in student learning:

Huber et al. (2020), for example, try to draw a picture of the mood in Germany, Austria and Switzerland from the perspective of various groups of people regarding the school situation at the time of the school closures in mid-March 2020. They worked within the scope of the so-called School Barometer, by interviewing more than 7,100 persons. The surveys of pupils, parents, teachers, school administrators and other representatives of school supervision and school administration reveal various challenges in connection with questions of digitization, collaboration within teaching staffs, individualization of teaching, as well as with regard to educational justice and equal opportunities (cf. Huber and Helm, 2020).

Flack et al. (2020) examine educators' perspectives on the impact on teaching and learning.

The recent OECD study "Education at a Glance 2020" uses various indicators to compare the international handling of the corona pandemic by schools (cf. OECD 2020). It shows not only the duration of corona-related school closures, but also the different ways of implementing 'distance learning' in the OECD countries (cf. Fickermann & Edelstein, 2020).

As comprehensively as the pandemic has affected educational institutions, the consequences for the everyday life and school life of affected students are also manifold (cf. Hummrich, 2020). Accordingly, research has begun to generate statements about differential effects on different groups of pupils. The effects of different forms of digitizing teaching and learning processes on different (national) didactic traditions and teaching cultures are also beginning to come into focus (cf. Grammes, 2020).

By now, surveys of actors have been conducted in school systems, but also in family environments (e.g. Huber & Helm, 2020; Huber et al., 2020; Vodafone Stiftung, 2020; Fisher et al., 2020). These differentiate the conditions and processes of 'distance learning' during the Corona crisis among different groups of students depending on their domestic resources and self-organizational skills. Thus, Huber and Helm (2020) used data from the School Barometer. They found that students from socio-economically worse off or disadvantaged families are likely to be left behind in times of school closure, less due to a lack of technical equipment or insufficient parental support, but more due to a lack of skills for self-organization, time-structuring and self-directed learning.

In the study "Learning under COVID-19 conditions" conducted by the University of Vienna, students also emphasized their insights into the importance of their own learning organization that they had acquired in the corona crisis and the resulting changed teaching practices. They also stated that their well-being had increased after school reopening, especially due to renewed social contacts (cf. Schober et al., 2020).

These surveys already provide a first stocktaking of pupils' perspectives on the effects of the crisis in schools, which include changes in school organization and their learning strategies (see also Heller and Zügel, 2020). However, it must be noted that their samples are being critically discussed in terms of how representative they are, especially their online surveys (cf. Helm et al., 2020b), since technologically under-equipped groups of students may not have been systematically recorded.

Currently, there are hardly any studies using qualitative or mixed method approaches in this context. Exceptions are the qualitative survey of students from Baden-Württemberg (cf. Wacker et al., 2020) or the SCHELLE study, which conducted a multi-perspective survey (student-parent-teacher perspective) on so-called "corona home schooling" with a mixed-method design (cf. Letzel et al., 2020).

Initial (primarily quantitative) studies are available of students' learning situations in the context of the corona pandemic, which also include the dimension of well-being. Nevertheless, there is a lack of broader educational investigations which cover pupils' cognitions, emotions and assessments regarding the crisis and its private and social effects. Children's experience and evaluation of school and learning, as well of family and private life in times of crisis, are not yet sufficiently illuminated.

2. Research question

In the context of the international study "Children's Crisis Narrations as Spaces of Utopias of Solidarity", we are studying crisis narratives to gain insights into students' school situations and (life) environments in the time of the Corona Crisis. Our goal is to find how students from different European countries are dealing with the corona crisis, how they experience and cognitively and emotionally process it with regard to the institutions of school, society and the domestic environment, and whether they articulate "post-corona" ideas, and if so, what sorts. How can these narratives and "post-corona" ideas be characterized? What distinguishes them?

The study assumes that the reconstruction of childhood/adolescent narratives provides insight into those mental models of crisis processing that are based on anticipations of the future. This raises the question of which mental

models are recognizable in narratives about the current situation, which indicate different forms of perception and cognitive, as well as emotional, processing of the changed (school) reality.

What themes emerge in the texts? Which narratives appear as / in text structures? Which argumentative patterns and modes of childlike crisis processing are recognizable? In the mirror of the current crisis, what understanding of solidarity is revealed by childhood anticipations of scenarios involving intergenerational transmission of life experiences (relationship or isolation, mobility, existential problems, etc.) in different European societies?

How are (dis-)continuities in children's life environments revealed by the tension between digital and analog contexts of action?

3. "Futures Literacy" - Crisis narratives of students as anticipations of the future

The questions asked above belong to the tradition of a contextualized, systemic approach in which school and learning during the Corona Crisis are viewed in the context of constellations that transcend schools. The subjective experience of school and learning is combined with aspects of everyday life, family and assessments of the social consequences of the crisis and possible future perspectives. The study addresses young people as actors in school, and at the same time as subjects of social crisis processing. Especially since leisure time and school system, everyday life and school life, the present and future constructions are thought to interact with each other, ecologically more valid research is to be conducted (cf. Zinnecker, 2008, with reference to Bronfenbrenner). Especially in a crisis that clearly shakes schools as institutions (which normally operate using secure routines), the transitions and connections between school and everyday life, learning and living become even more apparent. With regard to the exploration of student perspectives, the situation seems to be fruitful, because crises have the potential to shake what has come to seem natural and make it nameable - and changeable.

Dealing with lack of knowledge, future-related uncertainty and ambiguity in the face of crises, as well as the necessity to evaluate crisis events, to imagine future scenarios and to make decisions relevant to the future, are the cognitive and psycho-social starting points for the emergence of the concept of "Futures Literacy" (cf. Miller, 2007). Different approaches should encourage this special competence to use anticipatory concepts of the future - using a wide variety of non-deterministic scientific and everyday practical methods - and it is always about understanding and solving present problems and their "future", assuming that complex and interacting systems are given (cf. Miller, 2018).

In order to understand the present, people use anticipatory systems (cf. Miller, 2018: 16). This is due to the fact that the future cannot exist in the present except in the form of anticipation, which is generated through active systems and processes (cf. Miller, 2018: 19). This perspective is of particular importance for Futures Literacy because, firstly, differences in the kinds of imagined future account for differences in what humans actually perceive and what they associate with their perceptions. Secondly, as Miller (2018: 19) phrases it: "... how people try to understand the future depends on what kind of future they are trying to understand".

Since, according to Miller (2018: 19), the future only exists in the present in the form of anticipation, it is worth examining anticipation in more detail. As Poli (2010) summarizes, there are many different disciplines in science that are concerned with the concept of Anticipation. In the context of our study, we are looking at Anticipation from the perspective of the social sciences (cf. Poli 2010: 10) and futures studies (cf. Poli 2010: 11). From these perspectives we are able to look at how the past and present play a role in the future, while also keeping the social aspect, and society as a whole, in mind when thinking about the future. This is similar to what our participants were asked to do in their narrative texts.

Miller (2018: 20) has established two different kinds of explicit anticipation, meaning, two different types of future (since the future only exists in the present as anticipation): anticipation-for-the-future (AfF) and anticipation-for-emergence (AfE). He presents the first type of anticipation, AfF, as the clearly dominant one: AfF is the future as a goal; it is planned and/ or desired (for example, carrying an umbrella to be prepared if it rains). AfE, on the contrary, is a future that is not a goal or target; it is a rather disposable construct (cf. Miller, 2018).

The Futures Literacy Framework is an analytical tool which describes the different attributes of FL as a capability (cf. Miller, 2018:23). It describes how and why people "use-the-future".

Nevertheless, it has to be kept in mind that Futures Literacy is not "the future"; it is merely the capacity to reflect upon the potential of the present and the capacity to give rise to the future by development and interpretation of stories about possible, probable, and desirable futures (cf. Miller, 2007: 347). In order to successfully develop Futures Literacy, one must progress through three levels: awareness, discovery, and choice (see Table 1).

Futures Literacy	Task	Technique(s)
Level 1 awareness	Temporal awareness, shifting both values and expectations from implicit to explicit – all of which builds capacity and inventiveness	A wide range of catalysts and processes generate the discussions and sharing of stories that elicit people's views on what they want and expect in the future
Level 2 discovery	Rigorous Imagining involves two distinct challenges – imagination and rigor, the former in order to push the boundaries, and the latter to ensure that what is imagined is "scientific" and intelligible	Escaping from the probable and preferable to imagine the possible requires systematic creativity, and creating systemically, whereby non-discursive reflection and social science are essential ingredients
Level 3 choice	Strategic scenarios are aimed at questioning the assumptions used to make decisions in the present, not as targets to aim at, but to provide new insights into the potential of the complexity, heterogeneity and pertinence of spontaneous actions that put values into practice.	Strategic scenarios are aimed at questioning the assumptions used to make decisions in the present, not as targets to aim at, but to provide new insights into the potential of the complexity, heterogeneity and pertinence of spontaneous actions that put values into practice.

Table 1: Levels of Futures Literacy – tasks and technique(s) (Miller, 2007: 348)

Before being able to interpret narratives, we need to know how people develop stories about possible, probable and desirable futures. One of the primary challenges to creating a story is how to imagine and select the few distinctive and pertinent narratives from a vast field of imagination. Miller (2007: 344) mentions two commonly used methods for choosing specific stories about the future: Firstly, taking an initial starting point and developing scenarios based on a range of growth rates; this can be called the baby-bear, mamma-bear and papa-bear approach (for short: Bear). Secondly, focusing more on preferences and expectations for sketching scenarios which capture the stories of the future that people consider, anywhere from most desirable to least desirable. This method usually mixes a bit of good and bad, because people consider this to be the most realistic scenario. This approach can be called "the good, the bad and the ugly" (Miller, 2007: 344).

Fuller (2017: 41) states that scenario planning, which can be compared to story planning (cf. Miller, 2007: 344), is a strategic process that attempts to explore alternative states of being, separated from the present by temporal movement. To conclude, different "futures", meaning, different anticipatory systems, consist of stories about possible, probable, and desirable futures.

4. Methodological approach: "Youth Writing" during the crisis and the special writing task

Children's perspectives are explicitly placed in the center of interest in order to draw conclusions about issues that concern this age group in times of crisis. The aim is to discover how pupils from different European countries (Switzerland, Austria, Germany, England and Greece) deal with the corona crisis and its consequences for their societal environment, how they experience and process it cognitively and emotionally.

In order to meet the aim of placing students' cognitions, emotions and evaluations in a context with the experience and evaluation of school and everyday life in times of crisis, we use the method of "Youth Writing". School and extracurricular initiatives for youth writing practices are not primarily aimed at improving students' writing skills, but rather at articulating and clarifying their own attitudes and opinions on key issues of everyday life, politics and society. Especially in the Anglo-Saxon world, such practices are seen as substantial opportunities for young people to express themselves in writing on controversial topics of everyday life in society and their own identity development (cf. Hoechsmann & Lightman, 2015). The perspectives of young people can thus be explicitly placed at the center of pedagogical considerations. This has consequences for the life relevance of school writing tasks and the authenticity of the associated learning occasion (cf. Yost & Vogel, 2012; Gallagher & Ntelioglou, 2011), and thus for learning. At the same time, however, it also enables teachers or researchers who work with text material from young people to gain deeper insights into students' topics, motives, and ways of thinking about central social issues. "Youth Writing" can have different emphases or take on different forms.

In the context of "civic education" (cf. Garcia et al., 2020), it can be a catalyst for young people to reflect more deeply upon themselves, their strivings, and their surroundings. If teenagers are given the opportunity to write freely, they can more easily describe their views and experiences (cf. Yost & Vogel, 2012: 40).

When it comes to utilizing writing as a survey method, Yost & Vogel (2012: 44) have found that participating teachers gain insight, inter alia, into their students' problems and achievements through analysis of the students' texts (Hoechsmann & Low, 2008). In our study, this specific writing practice is applied, as it is often used in narratological research with a focus on crises and crisis overcoming in the context of anticipating possible futures (cf. Balint & Wortmann, 2020).

The data collection is based on a special writing assignment for students, in which they are asked to describe what they would tell their grandchildren about the time of the Corona crisis in the fictional future (in 60 years) in the role of grandparents:

The task:

It is the year 2080, you are over 70 years old and your grandson/granddaughter is visiting you. The media have reported extensively about the Corona crisis in the year 2020. Your grandson/granddaughter is very curious and wants to know more. He/she asks about your memories. You tell him/her how everything started, how your everyday life, your school life, your family life and contacts with your friends changed. (about 250 words)³

The targeted text, an imaginary recollection in written form, thematizes the Future II as a writing attitude of "It will have been". The narrated world is in the present, the narrative world in the future. The intersection of present and future has the potential to stimulate utopian and/or dystopian thinking and writing, depending on how optimistic or pessimistic one is about the Corona crisis and its outcome. The indirect reference to the present provides information about the subjective assessment of the present. The resulting corpus of fictitious stories of a "grandparent generation of the future" as told to their - still unborn - grandchildren about life in the time of the Corona crisis serves as data material for social and educational research.

The task requires an anticipatory effort from the present point of view, which stimulates pupils to reflect on their current situation from a certain "distance". It motivates them to adopt a perspective and to construct a "vision" (cf. Oevermann, 2008). They are asked to imagine themselves in a different time and to consider different scenarios. It is a personal way of addressing the present by attributing a characteristic (age), whereby the task refers to the corona crisis as an historically and socially significant experience. The task requires a shift of the time perspective into the future, but in a paradoxical sense, a shift of a memory of the present (How would I remember in the future what I am experiencing right now?). The change of the "actor's perspective", along with overcoming age limits, generates identification with the imagined future grandchildren, due to a parallelism of the present age and an analogy to the future grandparent's generation in the present, combined with anticipation of performing this role in the future. In addition, it is necessary to go beyond the current immediate experience of crisis and to anticipate further developments. The task encourages actors to recreate "time" and "space", with narratives enabling access to the meaning of experiences in the present. In this sense, it can be expected that the narratives will be used as "valves" for switching the focus to current problems and challenges, but also as opportunities to imagine fictional realities.

In order to tell their future grandchildren about the time they are witnessing right now in their life, they must create an imaginary scenario for how the future will be and put it into practice (see Level 3: choice) by anticipating the character of their future grandchildren and also the world where they will live in the future, with all its particularities. If and how the future is imagined can tell us something about present experience: how the "post-crisis-period" is framed, as a return to routine or as a transformation that shows the ability for anticipation and thus indicates how the crisis is experienced right now. We define futures literacy as the ability to figure out how and why we anticipate and thus become more conscious of the choices we make and of unexplored existing alternatives (Karuri-Sebina, 2020: 3). This is first of all crucial to describing more precisely the context in which people anticipate. In the context of our study, we can examine how children anticipate in times of collective crisis.

In this way the project differs from previous approaches in the study of futures literacy, for the ability to anticipate is concretely contextualized: Future scenarios are designed for certain subjective reasons in response to the current crisis.

5. Sampling and research procedure

Between April and September 2020, about 1,100 texts were collected from primary and secondary school students between the ages of 10 to 13 years. The study aims to reconstruct the different perspectives of the pupils on their (analog and digital) world of life and on home-schooling, using the narratives underlying their anticipatory stories.

The participants received the assignment as a writing task from their teachers, who previously obtained permission from their parents to use the texts anonymously for research purposes.

The first survey wave was conducted during the first "lockdown" and during the period when schools were gradually reopened (spring and summer 2020), and a second wave is scheduled for autumn and winter 2020/21.

The survey involved 800 students from 17 schools in Austria, Germany, Switzerland and Greece. The age group of the students is limited to 10 to 13-year-olds, because in this age group, it is possible to produce narratives with a

³ The limitation to 250 words may have led to a particular choice of topic by some participants. For example, there may be pre-existing family styles for the topics grandparents talk about when they reflect on their own childhood which could influence how the participants imagine themselves in that role.

change of perspective and critical-reflective commentary. The assigned writing task requires the capability for anticipation arising from the current point of view, which stimulates reflection on one's own current situation from a certain "distance" (stimulating the adoption of a perspective and the construction of a vision). Moreover, in this age group hardly any common writing style has become established in the sense of text type routines.

At the time of data collection, the students were attending the fourth, fifth or sixth grades at an elementary school, secondary school/New Middle School or grammar school. In Austria, students from these school types were the first to be affected by the school closures starting in March 2020. The present evaluation includes data collected in Salzburg, Tirol and Upper Austria. The data from Germany was gathered in an elementary school in Berlin and a private school in Augsburg. Regarding Switzerland, the data was collected in a secondary school in St. Gallen. Finally, the data included from Greece were collected in elementary schools in Alexandroupolis, Volos and Athens.

As a balance of variations between regions is not provided, regional representativeness of the samples cannot be guaranteed. However, it can be assumed that no systematic omission of any student groups occurred within the framework of the respective schools and school types.

At the time of the survey, most students had already experienced the first phase of lockdowns, including school closures. Entire classes or parts of classes participated in the study. In some classes or subgroups, the writing assignment was given as homework, in others the assignment was done in the classroom. The classroom-based survey has both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, sample distortions, as found in voluntary online surveys, could be avoided; on the other hand, class composition effects and systematic distortions caused by the specific instructions of the respective teacher cannot be excluded.

The socio-demographic variables considered are gender, age, school, class composition, a milieu-specific school typology and region (urban/rural), alongside the time of data collection. Apart from these, no other socio-demographic variables were collected, to avoid the possibility that the task combined with a questionnaire would take on the character of a survey, which would most likely have limited the students' creativity in writing their essays. Before starting the systematic coding, it was checked whether the standardized writing task makes it possible to find similar dimensions in the texts in different cultural contexts and languages (for the first partial study: German and Greek). In this respect, a homogeneously functioning writing impulse can be confirmed.

The data material on which the following analysis is based consists of a total of 515 texts, most of which are from schools in Austria (n=389), Greece (n=53), Germany (n=56) and Switzerland (n=17).

6. Method: Procedure, dimensions and variables

The texts produced by the students were evaluated by means of a systematic combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis (using Latent Class Analysis). Typical narrative and argumentative text patterns (narrative characteristics) were identified.

In order to identify typical (latent) patterns in the students' narratives, the texts were first analyzed by two different teams of researchers. 53 dichotomous variables were inductively derived from the essays and summarized in five dimensions (see Table 2): I. key themes and emotional processing (k=14), II. text-narrative form (k=7), III. thinking beyond the present, the life-world and in terms of interconnections (k=10), IV. school and classroom organization (k=15) and V. experience of school and learning behavior (k=7).

Using inductive categorization, all texts were coded along the 53 variables. The operationalization through binary variables (0=feature does not occur; 1=feature occurs) has proven particularly beneficial in that the questions addressed to the text can be answered comparatively simply, intersubjectively, and comprehensively. Table 2 shows all 53 variables and variable definitions.

With the aim of identifying narrative style(s) that provide insights into the students' perspectives, the texts produced by the students and coded by the research teams were analyzed using Latent Class Analysis (Lazarsfeld, 1950; Tarnai & Bos, 1989; Kempf, 2010). Through a systematic combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis, this procedure enables the identification of typical narrative and rhetorical text patterns, including narrative styles.

Dimension I: Key themes and emotional processing	
Variable	Definition
1	<i>School life during "Corona"</i> : The effects of the Corona crisis on school life are addressed.
2	<i>Changes in everyday life</i> : Changes are addressed that affect the everyday life of the students or the population.
3	<i>Family situation and changes in the working worlds of parents</i> : The effects of changes in the working worlds of parents during the Corona crisis on family life are described.
4	<i>Friendships/peers</i> : Students' contact with friends and social networks is addressed in the context of the Corona crisis.
5	<i>Media and digitization</i> : The uses of (social, digital) media are mentioned or described in connection with the Corona crisis.
6	<i>Subjective theories</i> : Explanations are formulated regarding the origin/proliferation/ effects of the corona virus.
7	<i>Scientific/medical information</i> : The text contains scientific and medical information and/or illustrations of the corona virus, which explain the origin and effects of the virus in more detail.
8	<i>Covid acuteness</i> : Corona cases are reported in the family, in the family circle or in the neighborhood.
9	<i>Physicality</i> : Emotions are expressed in connection with movement and body.
10	<i>Not allowed</i> : Forbidden activities are mentioned.
11	<i>Allowed</i> : Permitted activities are mentioned.
12	<i>Positive evaluation of the consequences of the crisis</i> : The corona crisis, the consequences of the crisis and the process of crisis management are presented by the narrative as predominantly utopian.
13	<i>Negative evaluation of the consequences of the crisis</i> : The corona crisis, the consequences of the crisis and the process of crisis management are presented by the narrative as predominantly dystopian.
14	<i>Spatial restriction/spatial isolation is explicitly addressed</i> : the socio-geographical restriction of one's own life world and/or the life worlds of other people are addressed.
Dimension II: Text-narrative form	
Variable	Definition
15	<i>Formal fictionalization - the grandchild is addressed</i> : The narrative is designed as a story-telling scene between persons in the sense of the written assignment (whereby characteristically "oral" narration predominates).
16	<i>Formal fictionalization - context</i> : The text contains a spatial contextualization of the narrative situation.
17	<i>Evaluations of the corona situation/reflection</i> : The events portrayed in the narrative are evaluated through explicit narrative comments.
18	<i>Dynamic narrative</i> : Events associated with the corona outbreak and lockdown are narrated with an orientation towards a sequence of events (e.g. by using temporal words that trace a process) (differentiation from static narrative: simultaneity of circumstances, temporal sequences not recognizable).
19	<i>Time before covid</i> : The private and/or social conditions before the corona crisis are portrayed in the text.
20	<i>Draft of the Future</i> : The time after writing (i.e. the time between 2020 and "2080") is portrayed by the text as a period with special characteristics.
21	<i>Generalization</i> : In addition to the I-/We-perspective, a point of view with descriptions of general events (e.g. "the people", "the schools") is adopted.
Dimension III: Thinking beyond the present, the life-world and in terms of interconnections	
Variable	Definition
22	<i>Corona as a global spatial dimension</i> : Beyond one's own living environment, larger socio-geographical dimensions are mentioned: neighboring countries, worldwide perspective, territorial spread of the virus, etc.
23	<i>Fictionalization</i> : An alternative (fictional) possible world is designed, not only in the sense of a formal perspective, but also in the sense of a fictional world.
24	<i>"We and Others"</i> : In addressing the issue of being affected by the virus, boundaries are drawn between "we" and the "others".
25	<i>Addressing further social problems</i> : Other social problems are addressed that can, but need not be, found in the context of Corona virus.
26	<i>Economic crisis</i> : In the texts economic crisis is explicitly named as a consequence of the Corona crisis.
27	<i>Permanent effects since "Corona"</i> : After Corona the world is a different one, because the corona state still persists and/or will not end.
28	<i>End of the crisis</i> : In descriptions referring to the time after Corona, an end of the crisis is assumed. The corona crisis appears as a state that is considered to have come to an end.
29	<i>Crisis as permanent state</i> : Covid state is still present. Permanent crises since that time; the crisis is addressed either as a threat scenario or as a challenge.
30	<i>Consequences of corona for other subsystems of society</i> : "Corona" is not an isolated (medical, hygienic, etc.) problem; it affects other areas of society, which either arose in the context of corona or exist separately, and are now seen and thought of together with it.
31	<i>Solidarity as crisis management</i> : Expression of the desire for more solidarity for future generations.

Dimension IV: School and classroom organization	
Variable	Definition
32	<i>Digital school organization</i> : Participant* in comments that the Corona crisis has changed the way homework is done.
33	<i>School closure</i> : The text contains subjective evaluations of the situation (school closure).
34	<i>In favor of school closure</i> : Positive emotional words are used in relation to school closure.
35	<i>Against school closure</i> : Negative emotional words are used in connection with school closure.
36	<i>Type of tasks</i> : The changeover to new types of school tasks is discussed.
37	<i>Digital lessons</i> : The changed (digital) form of teaching and learning is mentioned.
38	<i>Reopening</i> : The situation after the school's reopening is described.
39	<i>School rules</i> : The organization of work at school during digital distance learning and/or after reopening is described.
40	<i>Astonishment</i> : The fact that schools had to close is presented as something strange; astonishment is expressed.
41	<i>Support from Teachers</i> : The supportive role of teachers during this period is emphasized.
42	<i>Missing/inadequate support by teachers</i> : Lack of or insufficient support by teachers during this time is criticized.
43	<i>In favor of re-opening</i> : Positive emotions associated with reopening schools are articulated.
44	<i>Against re-opening</i> : Negative emotions associated with reopening schools are articulated.
45	<i>Parental support</i> : The supportive role of parents during this period is emphasized.
46	<i>Non-support by parents</i> : Missing or insufficient support by parents during this time is criticized.
Dimension V: Experience of school and learning behavior	
Variable	Definition
47	<i>Homework</i> : School tasks are described as stressful, with negative emotions.
48	<i>Work overload</i> : The large amount of schoolwork is mentioned.
49	Retrospective on school: School is explicitly commented on in children's descriptions from a future perspective.
50	<i>Learning behavior (neutral)</i> : Own learning behavior during the corona time is discussed.
51	<i>Learning behavior (positive)</i> : Own learning behavior during the corona time is evaluated positively.
52	<i>Learning behavior (negative)</i> : Own learning behavior during the corona time is evaluated negatively.
53	<i>Changed attitudes toward school and/or learning</i> : References to changed attitudes toward school and/or learning or changed learning behavior are reported.

Table 2: Definition of the content analytical variables

A Latent Class Analysis (LCA) was conducted for each of the five dimensions.^{4/5} The individual classes of the LCA 1st order⁶ are treated as covariates in the framework of the LCA 2nd order (see Figure 1). In the LCA 2nd order, we investigate how the five dimensions (A. key themes and emotional processing, B. text-narrative form, C. thinking beyond the present, the life-world and in terms of interconnections D. school and classroom organization and E. experience of school and learning behavior) interact with each other. Contingency analyses were then used to examine the possible effects of covariates, specifically time of survey and pupils' gender, as well as their schools' region (city/country) and nationality. To validate the interpretations, typical passages from the texts are presented as examples.

⁴ Calculated by means of the software Recal3 (cf. Freelon, 2010), the randomly corrected Krippendorff's coefficient α ranged across variables between .60 (variable: dynamic narrative) und .93 (variable: end of the crisis); therefore, intercoder reliability is acceptable and high, respectively.

⁵ The calculation of the LCA was done with the software WINMIRA 2001. The frequency and contingency calculations were made by means of the program DYNAMIC (2.5).

⁶ The presentation of the individual classes of the LCA 1st order, identified according to AIC, is omitted due to length of the text.

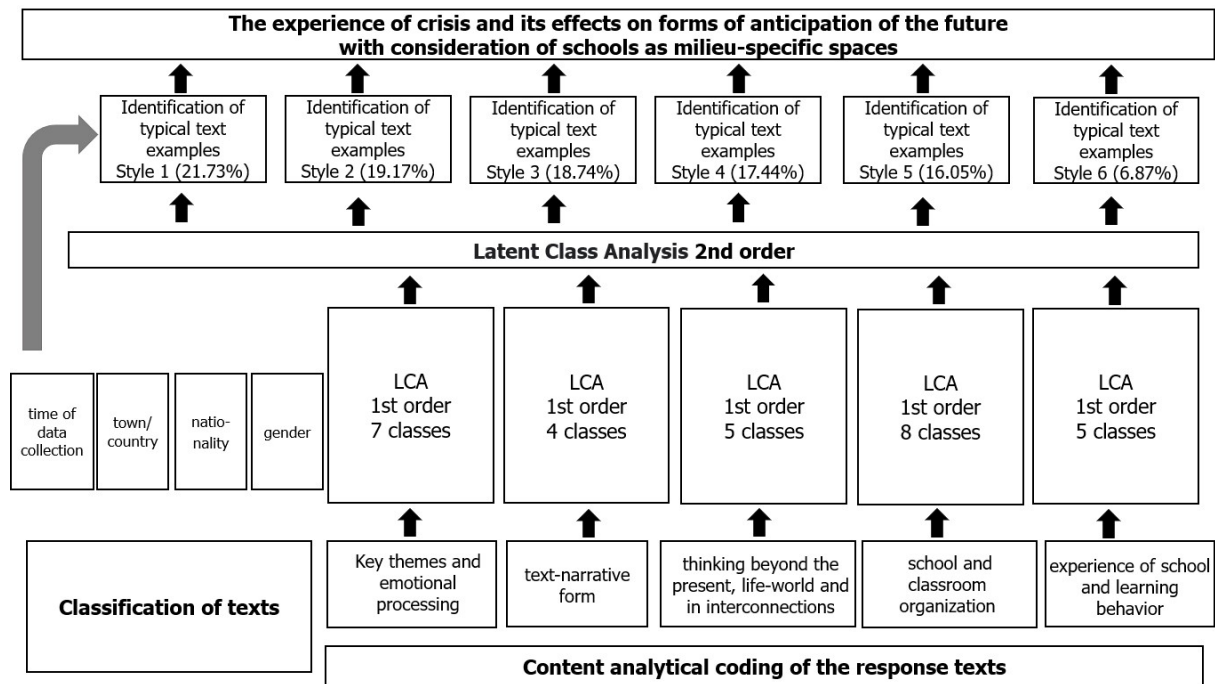


Figure 1: Design of the data evaluation

7. Latent Class Analysis 2nd Order – Results and interpretation

As a result of the LCA 2nd order, latent narrative styles of students are outlined. It is assumed that mental representations manifest themselves in text narratives, whose reconstruction makes possible the formulation of initial hypotheses regarding perceptions of and dealing with (considerable) changes in one's own life and school world. The variables of this LCA are shown in Table 3.

Item	Coding
A Key themes and emotional processing	<p>0 = Class 1 (24.01%): Expression of changes in (family) everyday life and in one's own living environment, as well as of scientific/medical information and subjective theories, strongly negative assessment of consequences of the crisis</p> <p>1 = Class 2 (21.89%): Strong expression of spatial restriction, also in connection with movement and body, hardly any scientific information and subjective theories</p> <p>2 = Class 3 (19.08%): Expression of changes in everyday life and weaker expressions about one's own (family) environment, strongly negative assessment of the crisis's consequences, expression of spatial restrictions, also in connection with movement and body</p> <p>3 = Class 4 (11.83%): Focus on changes in everyday life, less expression of restrictions in one's own life environment, strongly negative assessment of the crisis's consequences, expression of spatial restrictions in connection with movement and body</p> <p>4 = Class 5 (10.61%): Expression of changes in everyday life and in one's own life world, hardly any reference to subjective theories and scientific/medical information, consequences of crisis assessed negatively, no spatial restriction</p> <p>5 = Class 6 (8.75%): Strong expression of changes in one's own life environment and permitted and prohibited activities, without exception negative assessment of crisis consequences and spatial restrictions, hardly any scientific information</p> <p>6 = Class 7 (3.83%): Focus on school life, media and subjective theories, no spatial restrictions and contact with friends/peers, good adaptation to the digital world</p>

B Text-narrative form	<p>0 = Class 1 (51.18%): Focus on current situation, dynamic narrative style, no real perspective adoption</p> <p>1 = Class 2 (25.3 %): Transcending the present (draft of the future), dynamic narrative style, genuine adoption of perspective</p> <p>2 = Class 3 (12.41%): Assessments of the corona situation with reference to pre-corona times, hardly any dynamic narrative, no adoption of perspective</p> <p>3 = Class 4 (11.19%): Assessments of the corona situation with reference to pre-corona times, hardly any dynamic narrative, real adoption of perspective</p>
C Thinking beyond the present, the life-world and in terms of interconnections	<p>0 = Class 1 (41.34%): Crisis as a temporary incident, hope for an end to the corona crisis with a tendency to ignore the global dimension and the social consequences of the crisis</p> <p>1 = Class 2 (35.13%): Crisis as a temporary incident, hope for an end to the corona crisis in its global dimension</p> <p>2 = Class 3 (16.88%): Crisis as a temporary incident, reflection of political and social consequences, belief in overcoming the corona crisis with solidarity</p> <p>3 = Class 4 (5.09%): Crisis as a permanent state with permanent changes, no end to the crisis, tendency to fictionalization</p> <p>4 = Class 5 (1.5%): Crisis as a permanent state with end of the corona crisis, reflection on political and social consequences, belief in solidarity in overcoming the corona crisis, without exception fictionalizing</p>
D School and classroom organization	<p>0 = Class 1 (20.65%): Comments on the new school/teaching organization on the surface, no position taken</p> <p>1 = Class 2 (20.62%): Detailed reports on the new school/teaching organization, Pro reopening, parents and teachers are not included</p> <p>2 = Class 3 (13.44%): Detailed reports on the new school/teaching organization, hardly any positions taken, parents and teachers are not included</p> <p>3 = Class 4 (10.28%): Focus on the phase of school closure with predominantly negative emotions</p> <p>4 = Class 5 (9.47%): Mentioning the closing and opening of schools, Pro and Contra school closing, Pro reopening</p> <p>5 = Class 6 (8.82%): Reports on the new school/teaching organization, Contra school closure, Pro reopening, teachers faded out, support of parents hardly mentioned</p> <p>6 = Class 7 (8.54%): Focus on school closure, detailed presentation of new school/teaching organization (especially digital formats), pros and cons of school closure</p> <p>7 = Class 8 (8.17%): Focus on school closure, detailed presentation of new school/teaching organization (especially digital formats) without taking a position for school closure, teachers' supportive role</p>
E Experience of school and learning behavior	<p>0 = Class 1 (46.32%): Balanced workload, hardly any mention of learning behavior, occasional review of school from a future perspective</p> <p>1 = Kl. 2 (34.66%): Intensive perception of workload, often looking back at school from a future perspective and neutral reference to one's own learning behavior</p> <p>2 = Kl. 3 (8.12%): Positive experience of own learning behavior with rare detailing of workload, report on changed attitude towards learning and school</p> <p>3 = Kl. 4 (5.52%): Situation-related high workload, assessment of own learning behavior mostly positive but often negative</p> <p>4 = Kl. 5 (5.37%): Overtaxed by strongly changed school situation, positive and mostly negative experience of own learning behavior</p>

Table 3: Variables of the LCA 2nd order

According to AIC (Akaike, 1987), a 6-class solution (Table 4), with a proportional reduction of error of PRE=53.21% and a medium probability of classification of MEM=83.47%, showed a satisfactory model adaptation.

Model	ln(L)	n(P)	df	L-Ratio	p	AIC	BIC
LC1	-4119.57	25	11174	2185.98	n.s.	8289.14	8395.24
LC2	-3957.37	51	11148	1861.58	n.s.	8016.74	8233.19
LC3	-3885.92	77	11122	1718.68	n.s.	7925.84	8252.64
LC4	-3857.17	103	11096	1661.18	n.s.	7920.34	8357.48
LC5	-3822.4	129	11070	1591.64	n.s.	7902.8	8450.29
LC6	-3794.98	155	11044	1536.8	n.s.	7899.96	8557.80
LC7	-3773.84	181	11018	1494.52	n.s.	7909.68	8677.87
LC8	-3751.69	207	10992	1450.22	n.s.	7917.38	8795.92
Saturated	-3026.58	11199	---	---	---	28451.16	75981.59

Table 4: Goodness-of-Fit-Statistics of the LCA 2nd order (n = 515, k = variable, m = 6)

The total evaluation (n = 515) results in 6 classes, which are presented and interpreted here in detail. The following illustrations (see Figures 2a – 2e) highlight the most important characteristics of the individual styles in Class comparison.

Style 1 (21.73%): Crisis as a limitation of an (analog) life world

Style 1 only barely corresponds to the collection date in April 2020 (4.3%); thus, it primarily consists of texts collected between May and June 2020, the period after the first lockdown. Most of these cases were found in Austria (85.0%) and can often be assigned to rural regions (32.5%).

Latent narrative style 1 is characterized by frequently mentioned contact with friends and social networks (84.4 %) in the context of the Corona crisis, and a negative experience of school during the lockdown. In this style, school tasks are mostly described as stressful, with negative emotions (60.5%). It was also criticized that too many school tasks are assigned (45.6%). Thus, this class positions itself most commonly towards school closure, both with positive (36.6%) and (more obvious) negative emotional words (46.9%). Other topics of school life are often discussed in class comparison, but to a lesser extent, such as the effects of the crisis on school life (97.21%) and related school rules (48.0%), own learning behavior during corona (47.0%), the situation after reopening (59.0%), the change to new types of school tasks (42.7%), and a new way of doing homework (73.7%) during lockdown and the situation of school closure (78.6%). The use of social/digital media (50.9%), the impact of parents' work on family life (34.9%), and changes in everyday life (86.8%) are frequently mentioned, but are also rather moderate in class comparison. A characteristic feature is the frequent reference to conditions before the Corona crisis (36.6%). A draft of the future is presented only rarely (9.3% n.s.). Drafts of alternative fictional worlds are almost never included. Beyond the life world, the fewest references are made in this style to larger (socio-geographical) contexts: While in its global spatial dimension (29.1%) Corona is still relatively clearly understandable, almost never discussed are the consequences for other subsystems of society (0.0%) or the drawing of boundaries to "others" (0.0%) in addressing the issue of being affected. It is also characteristic that this narrative style contains hardly any scientific and medical information (6.3%) or subjective theories (7.7%) explaining the origin, proliferation, or impact of the virus in more detail.

The narrative of their own crisis-like experiences within their own subjective world of experience can be reconstructed for this style, as illustrated by the excessive demands placed on the students in their own school environment during lockdown, and the breaking off of analogous contacts with peer groups as a subjectively particularly critical experience. The disproportionately low level of addressing permitted activities indicates a limitation of the life world. These texts are oriented to states of past "normality"; they do not deal with the "essence" of the crisis but remain on the surface in the experience of limitations.

»But now it was not that easy to do the homework. There were many things that were new and different from the usual. I had to learn so much that I could hardly go outside. When school finally started again, we were all very happy. [...] When the masks came off, everything slowly returned to normal.« (case 1414, f, MP=97.6%)⁷

Style 2 (19.17%): Crisis as discrepancy between analog and digital space

Style 2 corresponds exclusively to texts collected after the first lockdown, 38.8% allocated to rural areas in general and 81.4% assigned to Austria.

Characteristic for this latent narrative style is that the focus is on changes in traditional analog and digital life environments, less in relation to private/out-of-school media use (51.0%), and especially and most often compared to the other styles - in the area of digitization and school: main focuses are on the change to new types of schoolwork (56.8%), the changed way of doing homework (94.0%), subjective assessments of the situation of school closure (84.1%) and the return to the analog school world after reopening (81.8%). Associated with this are views on school closure (pros 35.3%, cons 45.9%) and the discussion of excessive demands for schoolwork (60.3%) and, more frequently than in all other styles, the number of school tasks (49.3%). Even if similarities to the latent narrative style 1 can be found in terms of this overload with the changed school situation, this style differs significantly from the others - in addition to the already emphasized changes of digital schooling - in the presentation of scientific/medical information (36.6%) and subjective theories (33.6%), the conception of the corona crisis in its global entanglements (88.9%) and the greater attention paid to consequences for other subsystems of society (10.7%). More often than in all other styles, prohibited activities (92.0%) and spatial restrictions (80.9%) are addressed. On the formal level of the text, the students succeed in adopting the perspective of a grandmother/grandfather by addressing their anticipated grandchildren (65.3%) and, in particular, in designing spatial narrative contexts (40.0%) - most frequently in a class comparison. Characteristically, the time before the Corona crisis seems less relevant than a future draft after the pandemic (23.7% n.s.), although the texts rarely show transgressions in terms of drafting fictional worlds (6.2%). The crisis

⁷ MP = Membership Probability; f = female, m = male

is often presented as a permanent state (15.2% n.s.). Central to narratives of this style is the strongly expressed discrepancy between analog and digital (school) worlds, as well as the strong articulation of restrictions, which, however, is not infrequently broken through transgressions of writing presence and the anticipation of future drafts, and can be read as a crisis management strategy.

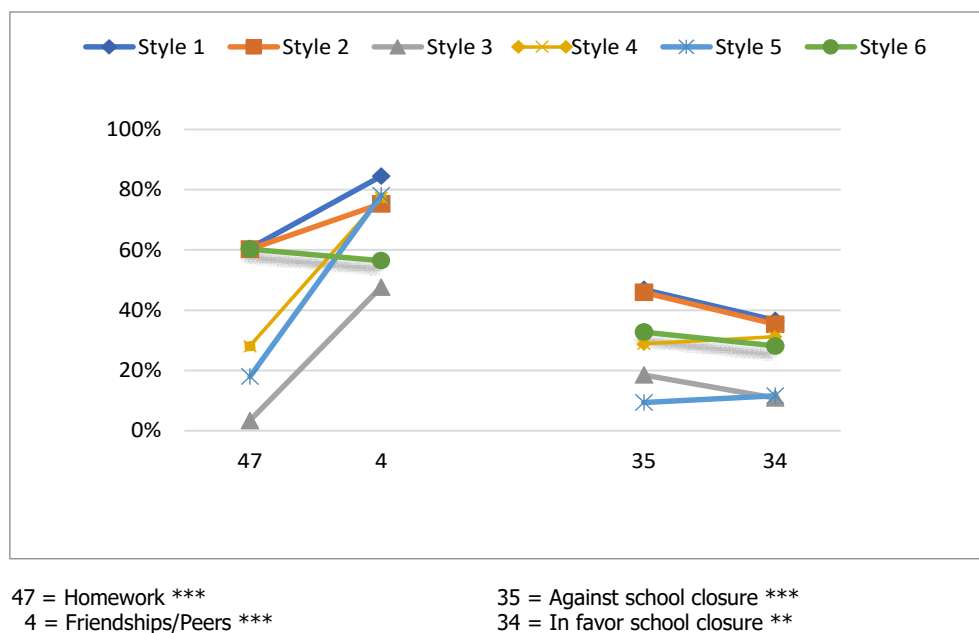


Figure 2a. LCA 2nd order: Most important characteristics in Class comparison. Frequencies of significant text features (Chi-Square-Test; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.005, * p<0.01).

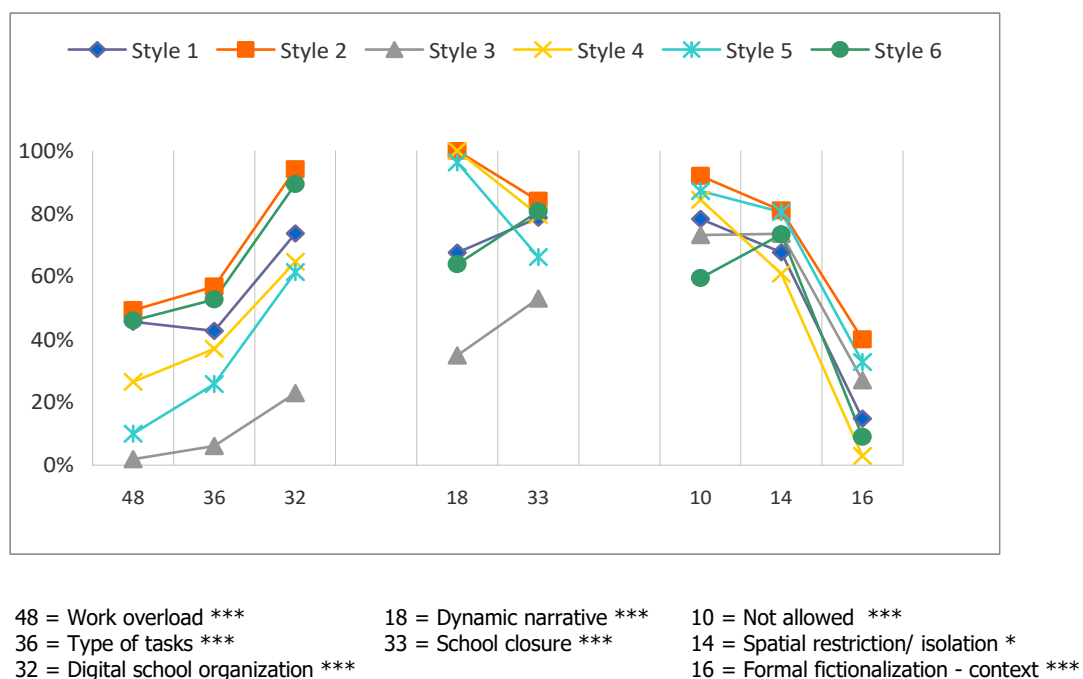


Figure 2b: LCA 2. Order: Most important Characteristics in class comparison. Frequencies of significant text features (continued) (Chi-Square-Test; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.005, * p<0.01).

»It was very new for me not to be able to go to school anymore, but to study independently at home. This was called homeschooling. I always got up at half past seven in the morning and started studying and doing my homework. I often sat until 6/half past six in the evening and studied. Scanning and sending the tasks was very

time-consuming [...] My friends and I talked on the phone via face time, from time to time, and it was strange to see them only on the smart-phone screen.« (case 1051, f, MP=98.5%)

Style 3 (18.74%): Desire for overcoming the crisis and its social consequences

Texts in Style 3 were collected very frequently (62.8%) in April 2020 and can thus be attributed to a large extent to the phase of the first lockdown at the beginning of the pandemic. It is striking that 41.7% of the texts in this style consist of texts from Greece. The vast majority of the texts can be allocated to the urban area (91%).

Typical for the latent narrative style 3 is the discussion of the consequences of the Corona crisis for other societal subsystems (31.3%), the economic crisis (13.6% n.s.) and other social problems (31.6% n.s.). The crisis is very often presented in its global spatial dimensions (69.7%). The sensitivity to global problems expressed in this way is accompanied by an emphasis on solidarity as an appropriate form of crisis management (17.4% n.s.). Moreover, the crisis is rarely conceived as a permanent state (6.4% n.s.), and it is assumed that permanent changes will occur after the corona crisis (7.2% n.s.). Quite clearly subjective theories (50.9%) are cited, and scientific/medical information (44.3%) is described. More moderate are the topics assigned to the so-called own life world (effects of parents' working world on family life 24.1%, use of social/digital media 30.8%, and friendships/peers 47.8%). In particular, the school environment is less frequently addressed than in the other styles (reopening 5.7%, school rules 2.5%, digital teaching 14.2%, school life during corona 71.1%, learning behavior 2.2%, types of tasks 6.1%, digital school organization 2.3%, school closure 53.0%). Overload with a large number of school tasks (0.2%) or burdening with school tasks (0.3%) are hardly ever discussed. A characteristic of latent narrative style 3 is the distinction between different phases, especially the orientation to the respective private or social contexts before the onset of the Corona crisis (68.6%). The time after the writing phase, with 12.4% (n.s.), is often realized in the texts as a draft of the future. A draft of alternative fictional worlds (9.2%) rarely applies. The texts are not predominantly written dynamically (34.9%), but with an orientation towards the simultaneity of states. The sensitivity to social problems that is characteristic of this narrative style is made understandable through life experiences in and with crisis discourses.

»It all started like this: In China an animal had the Corona virus and transmitted its disease to a human being. [...] I thought of the children who are dying of hunger in the world. The air had already improved considerably and several animals dared to make themselves visible« (case 1026, f, MP 99.9%)

Style 4 (17.44%): Crisis as opportunity - experiencing the crisis positively through dealing with digital media

Style 4 mainly includes texts from Austrian schools (87.5%). All texts were written during the period when regulations were gradually being relaxed after the first lockdown, and 47.6% of these texts can be allocated to rural areas.

Characteristic of latent narrative style 4 is a positive attitude towards the handling of the corona crisis and its consequences (52.1%), which is the highest rate compared to the other styles. Furthermore, another dominant feature is the description of the situation after school reopening (81.9%) with school rules (67.4%), as well as contacts with friends and social networks (77.3%) and the use of social/digital media (56.5%). Permitted activities (67.3%) are reported more often than in texts of other styles. This style has the lowest values for spatial restriction/spatial isolation (60.9%), with statements related to movement and body issues made more frequently (21.0%). School tasks are relatively often considered stressful (28.9%), and the high numbers of school tasks (26.5%) are discussed. Cross-cutting issues such as Covid-19 as a global spatial dimension (30.2%) and consequences for other subsystems of society (34.7%) are less frequently highlighted. Formal transgressions in the sense of drafting narrative contexts are the least often reported on (formal fictionalization: address 35.8%, context 2.9%). A focus on writing in the present is evident, with hardly any phase distinctions being made (pre-Corona 4.2%, post-Corona 7.9% n.s.), and no alternative fictional worlds at all are imagined (0.0%). Due to good adaptation to digital life worlds, this narrative style shows less attention to restrictions and is constructed in a less crisis-centered style.

»My cousin called me every day to play online games with me. It was also great that I was allowed to get up when I wanted to (after waking up) and I was allowed to sleep when I wanted to, when my parents went to bed I also had to, but when my parents went to bed a little earlier, I was allowed to surf for half an hour in the internet« (case 1242, f, 99.9%)

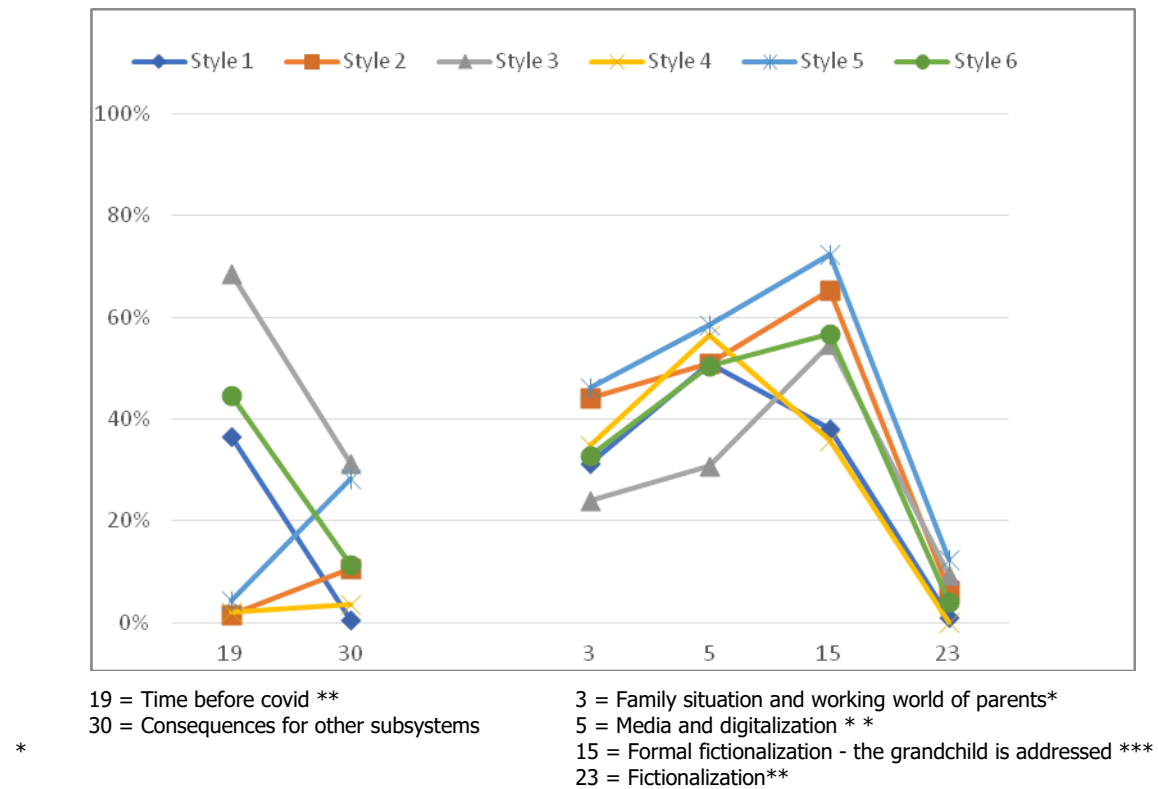


Figure 2c: LCA 2. Order: Most important Characteristics in class comparison. Frequencies of significant text features (continued) (Chi-Square-Test; *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.005$, * $p < 0.01$).

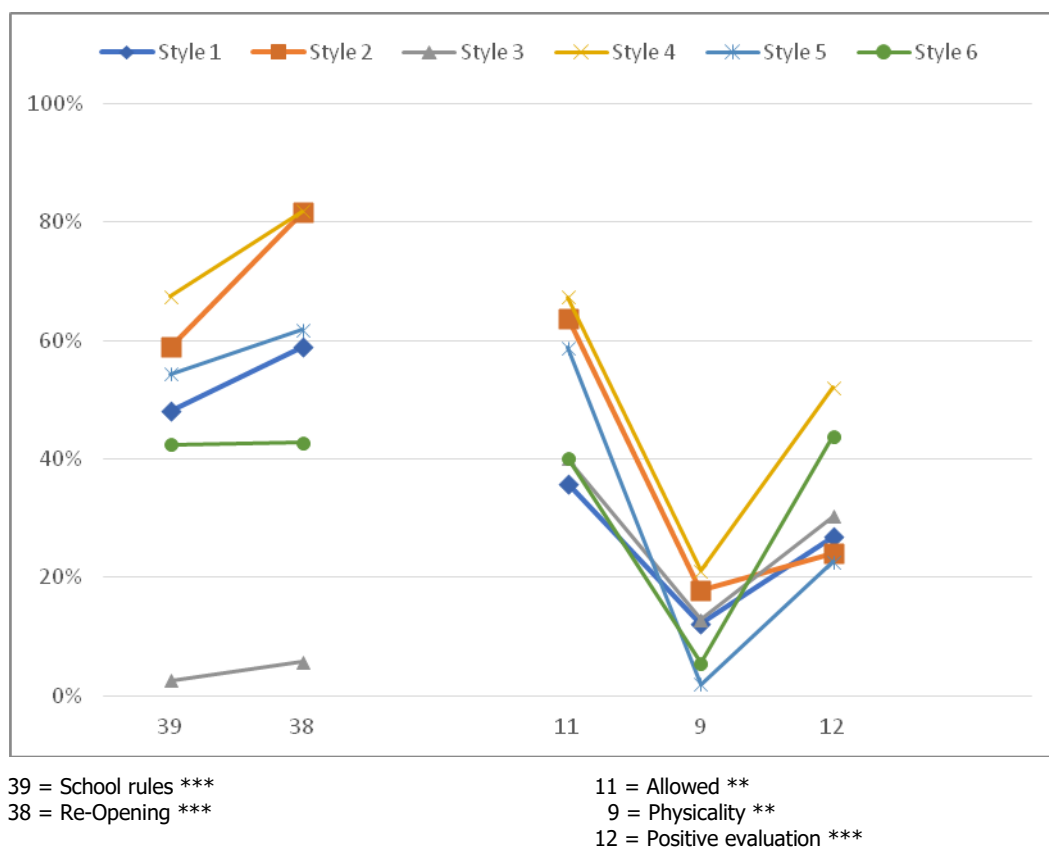


Figure 2d: LCA 2. order: most important Characteristics in class comparison. Frequencies of significant text features (continued) (Chi-Square-Test; *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.005$, * $p < 0.01$).

Style 5 (16.05%): Anticipation of crisis resolution through transgressive thinking and tendency towards fictionalization

Style 5 primarily consists of texts from Austria (77.8%) and hardly any texts from Greece (9.8%). Only a small number of texts were collected in April 2020 during the first lockdown (7.2%), and 30.7% of the texts can be allocated to the rural regions.

A prominent feature of latent narrative style 5 is the tendency to create alternative fictional worlds (12.5%), which is common in class comparison. The respective states before the Corona crisis are not discussed (0.4%), but states after corona are relatively often realized (27.2% n.s.) as a draft of the future. The crisis often appears as a permanent state (17.7%). In these texts, school is often referred to explicitly from a future perspective (31.2% n.s.). Fictionalizations in the sense of a formal perspective are also typical: very often - in comparison to the other styles - the narrative appears as a narrative scene in the sense of the writing assignment (addressing grandchildren, 72.5%), and spatial contextualizations of the narrative situation (32.8%) also frequently appear. Exceedance of one's own (social and geographical) life world can also be found at the level of content: the Corona crisis is usually addressed concerning its global spatial dimension (91.3%), and consequences for other subsystems of society are clearly stated (28.3%). Other social problems in the context of Covid-19 (35.5% n.s.) are explained more frequently than in texts of the other styles. The economic crisis (19.5% n.s.) and solidarity as a crisis management strategy (19.0% n.s.) are also mentioned frequently. In comparison, the private/out-of-school use of social and digital media (58.5%), and also the effects of changed situations in parents' working worlds on family life (46.03%) are mentioned more often. Spatial isolation (80.5%) is documented in most texts. In comparison to the other styles, the consequences of the crisis and the process of crisis management were assessed positively (22.6%). Statements with regard to movement and body issues were scarcely made (0.2%). In comparison, topics of school life appear only moderately. Texts only occasionally deal with work overload (10.0%) or school tasks as a burden (18.0%).

»In this time, one only heard about COVID-19, and I had the impression that other topics like climate change were neglected. [...] In the summer we were in Bremen and in Italy with my grandparents. Then a vaccine was developed that could cure all infected people« (case 1013, m, MP=99.6%)

Style 6 (6.87%): Multi-perspective crisis perception in the construction of security

Style 6 consists of 74.3% texts from Austria, only a few of which were written in April 2020 (6.1%). Most texts can be allocated to the urban area (country: 12.9%).

A dominant feature of latent narrative style 6 is the classification of the Corona crisis in larger socio-geographical contexts (95.6%); nevertheless, in comparison to the other styles, the most frequent distinctions are drawn between "we and others" (57.1%). Frequently consequences for other subsystems of society (11.3%) are inferred, and other social problems are addressed (20.3% n.s.). Solidarity as a form of crisis solving (26.8%) is addressed more frequently than in the other styles. In addition to the I/We perspective, this style frequently also adopts general positions with descriptions of general events (66.9% n.s.). Typical for texts of style 6 is also the citation of scientific/medical information (51.9%) and subjective theories (59.3%), which appear most significantly. In addition, the effects of the pandemic on school life (100%), the changed (digital) form of teaching (82.9%), and often own learning behavior (56.0%) are discussed without exception. School tasks (60.3%) are often perceived as stressful (46.0%). Changes in everyday life (97.8%) are usually also addressed in this style, although positive consequences of crises are often imagined (43.8%). In comparison, prohibited activities (49.5%) are addressed much less frequently. The texts seldom contain drafts of alternative fictional worlds (3.9%). Likewise, life after Corona (6.8% n.s.) is seldom described, whereas the time before the outbreak of the pandemic is often discussed (44.7%). It is not surprising, however, that a permanent state of crisis is assumed (14.1% n.s.). This narrative style is characterized by explanations of the origins and beginnings of the crisis; often addressed are especially actors affected worldwide, with individual effects being narrated in comparison to the pre-corona context. By remaining in the present state of the crisis, on the one hand, and by orienting oneself to "normality" before Corona, on the other hand, possible outlines for the future do not become apparent. Addressing positive consequences of the crisis relates to the assumption that other regions of the world are even more severely affected, and that a return to "normal" conditions seems to be in prospect or is longed for.

»Back in 2020, it was a very bad time for all people. It started in China, where a virus was spread by a fish market. [...] A state of emergency was declared. Everyone had to stay at home in the whole WORLD! Then it also hit Italy, where the whole system was over-strained and degenerated completely. [...]

We in Switzerland were very lucky to be so well prepared, we could only be so well prepared, because the virus arrived late in Switzerland. At school we had 7 weeks of home schooling, which was not easy for us, because we had to organize ourselves very well. [...] Grandson, you won't believe how many died from the Corona virus, because more than 400,000 people died! « (case 1466, m, MP=100%)

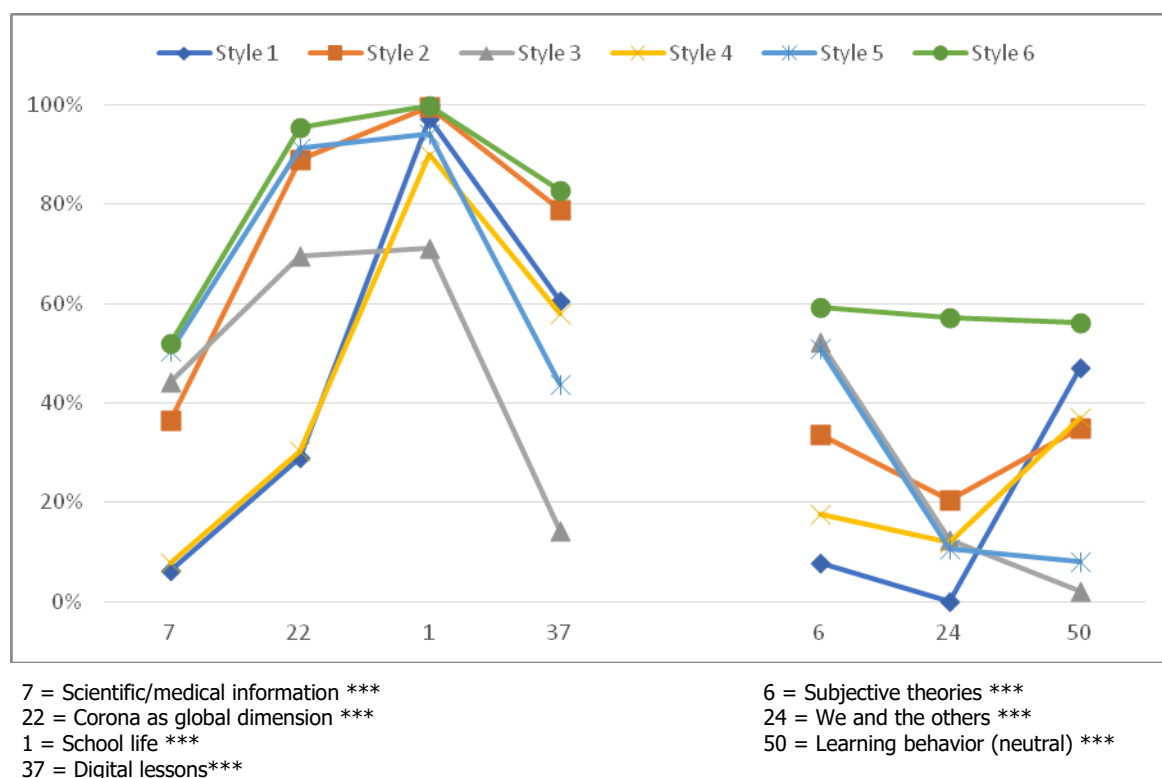


Figure 2e: LCA 2. Order: most important Characteristics in class comparison. Frequencies of significant text features (continued) (Chi-Square-Test; *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.005$, * $p < 0.01$).

Results and discussion

The narrative styles and their underlying latent patterns differ in the socio-spatial extension of the perceptual perspective on the crisis. The spectrum ranges from a limited, private (domestic) perspective on everyday life to an assessment of the significance of the school world or the role of other social (national) subsystems affected by the crisis (for example, economy, tourism or politics), to an international perspective on a global problem, which, on the one hand, was creating a new "we" and "others", but on the other hand, also hints at cross-border solidarity.

The students' narratives and the identified latent styles can be understood as an expression for the different ways of processing the circumstances caused by Covid-19: they not only illustrate the immediate perception, as well as the subjective experience of radical changes in one's own life and school world, but also represent a life practice in dealing with contemporary problems and their solution in a hypothetical world. There were no significant differences between the classes based on the students' gender (Chi-square= 4.81, $df=5$, n.s.).

Futures literacy here is conceptualized "as a capability that allows us to unearth why and how we anticipate, and thus become more conscious of the choices we make and unexplored existing alternatives" (Karuri-Sebina, 2020: 3). According to Oskar Negt (1993), the ability to remember and to create utopias accentuates the possibility of processing the past in order to be able to design the future this way. This future cannot be reduced to predictable goals and scenarios, so that the distinction of predict - foresight - anticipation (Amsler & Facer, 2017a, p.1.) as essential is also emphasized in further analyses. Also fundamental is the differentiation of "anticipation" into different orientations and articulations that are in tension with each other, whether it is described as inescapable, alternative or utopian, as an extension or crossing of or denial of a "dictated" future (Amsler & Facer, 2017b). It follows that not every form of future anticipation is futures literacy. In order to speak of futures literacy, in addition to the awareness of how and why we anticipate, it is also crucial to develop a reflexive awareness of possible consequences that would result from one's own anticipated future scenarios: for oneself, for human interaction, for the relationship to living beings and to the environment, and for social development in general. This awareness includes an understanding of solidarity that takes into account the fundamental neediness of all human beings and thus interpersonal dependence (Kamlah, 1973). According to Rorty, solidarity is only attainable through imagination, through "the ability to see other people as fellow sufferers" (Rorty 1989: 16). Solidarity is based on awareness of others' affectedness and engagement to actively work to overcome pain, humiliation and socially produced suffering (ibid.).

The study contributes to the exploration of conditions that inhibit or support anticipation and the creation of futures. In order to be able to answer the question of how and why children anticipate the future under conditions of collective crisis, we have included the dimensions *Creation of future narratives*, *Transformation as a draft of the future* (Ability to recollect and anticipate) and *Awareness of major socio-geographical effects*, *Awareness of social consequences* (Capacity for solidarity)⁸ as constitutional conditions for Futures Literacy in the analysis (see Tab. 5 and Fig. 3a-d).

Futures Literacy under conditions of crisis	
Ability to recollect and anticipate	Capacity for solidarity
<i>Creation of future narratives</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formal level: story-telling scene, spatial contextualization Temporal level: the time after writing is realized 	<i>Awareness of major socio-geographical effects</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Larger socio-geographical dimensions of the crisis are mentioned In addressing the issue of being affected by the virus, boundaries are drawn between "we" and "others"
<i>Transformation as draft of the future</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> An alternative (fictional) possible world is designed Permanent effects are anticipated to arise since covid crisis began Crisis is anticipated as permanent state since covid began 	<i>Awareness of social consequences</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expression of desire for more solidarity for future generations Addressing further social problems that affect other areas of society (e.g. climate crisis) Consequences of the covid crisis for other subsystems of society Economic crisis named as consequence of the covid crisis

Table 5: Futures Literacy under conditions of crisis

Analysis of the data reveals the following tendencies, which are fundamental for the ability to anticipate:

- The more the crisis is experienced as a limitation, and the discrepancy between digital and analog worlds is articulated, the less references to global and social problems become apparent.
- The more consequences of the crisis for school, everyday life or social life are addressed, and the more texts are oriented towards a changed previous state (oriented towards routines - Oevermann, 2008), the less room there is for (global) future visions or alternative worlds.

A comparison of the classes shows that narrative styles which allow fewer fictional visions of the future can be characterized more strongly as "crisis-narratives". If school and its requirements, as well as one's own everyday life (style 1, 2 and 6) or social consequences (style 3) are predominantly strongly addressed as significant practical problems, there is less room for (global) future visions, articulated crisis solution scenarios, or alternative worlds. In the classes, the articulation of visions is "inhibited" by a "backward-looking attitude", which is accentuated differently in each style (styles 1, 3 and 6), as well as by the construction of different irreconcilable spaces and threatening scenarios (style 2).

⁸ For this additional analysis, the variables shown in Table 5 were operationalized as follows by combining several of the already coded variables (cf. Table 2) into one main variable (at least one of these characteristics applies): *Creation of future narratives* (Var 15: Formal fictionalization - the grandchild is addressed, Var 16: Formal fictionalization – context, Var 20: Draft of the Future); *Transformation as draft of the future* (Var 23: Fictionalization as transformation of the world, Var 27: Permanent effects since "Corona", Var 29: Crisis as a permanent state); *Awareness of major socio-geographical effects* (Var 22: Corona as a global spatial dimension, Var 24: "We and Others"); *Awareness of social consequences* (Var 25: Addressing further social problems, Var 26: Economic crisis, Var 30: Consequences of corona for other subsystems of society, Var 31: Solidarity as crisis handling).

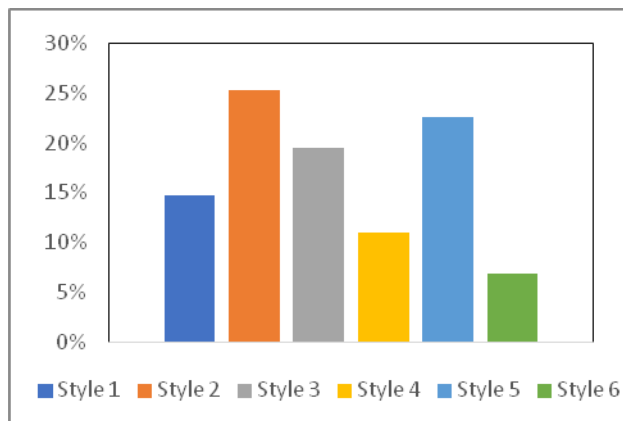


Figure 3a: Relative frequency of styles in connection with ability to recollect and imagine (creation of future narratives) (Chi-Square = 46.1, df = 5, $p < 0.001$)

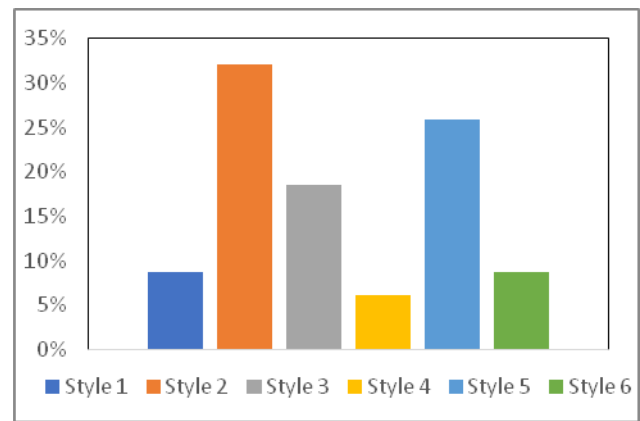


Figure 3b: Relative frequency of styles in connection with ability to recollect and imagine (transformation as draft of the future) (Chi-Square = 24.63, df = 5, $p < 0.001$)

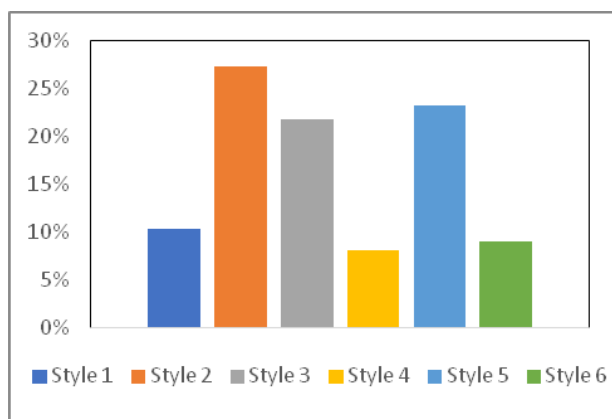


Figure 3c: Relative frequency of styles in connection with capacity of solidarity (awareness of major socio-geographical effects) (Chi-Square = 197.63, df = 5, $p < 0.001$)

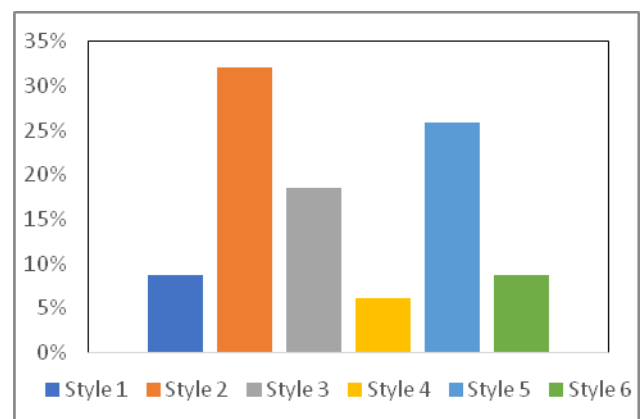


Figure 3d: Relative frequency of styles in connection with capacity of solidarity (awareness of social consequences) (Chi-Square = 66.39, df = 5, $p < 0.001$)

In terms of the crisis' immediacy, latent narrative style 1 remains thematically restricted to one's own life world and to effects on one's own concerns. A multi-perspectival view of the crisis (social consequences, consequences for other sub-systems, global dimensions) is neglected, and the possibility of shaping life is not taken into account (fading out of permitted activities). Due to a lack of strategies for dealing with this state of constraint, the only imaginable possibility is a return to normality, so that the "pre-Corona time" and presence of writing cannot be exceeded, even hypothetically. The desire for a return to "normal conditions" is also a characteristic feature of style 6, although there is another motive behind this: even though negative consequences of the crisis shape the narrative, one's own "privileged" situation is emphasized in comparison to other more affected actors, and a positive crisis outcome is assumed. This style opens up a view of several perspectives (global connections, consequences for other global actors, crisis management, learning behavior, effects on school life and everyday life, explanations for the cause of the crisis), but (national) consequences for other subsystems of society are usually ignored. The need for "security" is satisfied by constructing a rapid return to a "pre-crisis" state. The longing for "peace" to replace socially precarious conditions is particularly evident in texts of style 3. An explanation can be found in the contextualization of crisis discourses and the associated job insecurity for individual life during the so-called economic crisis in the southern European periphery (Figure 4).

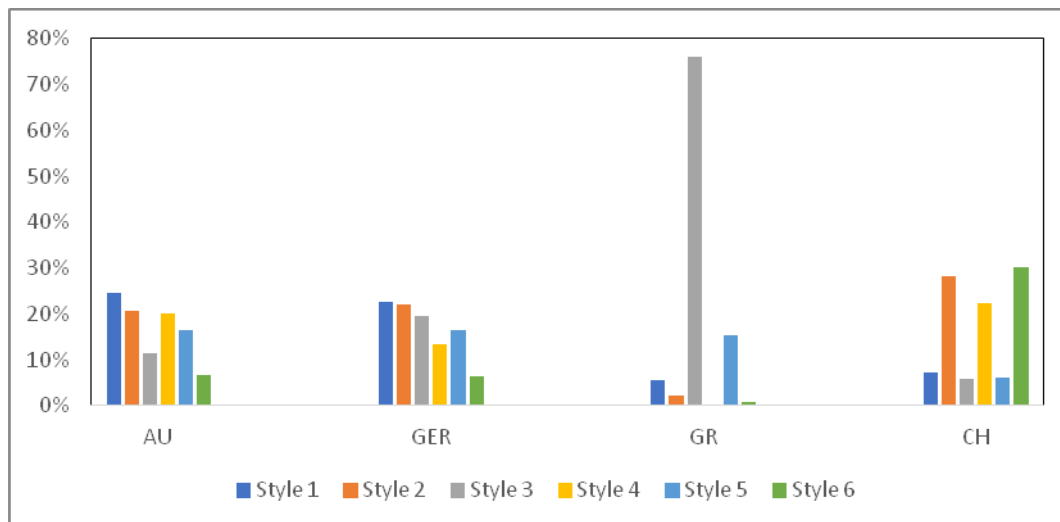


Figure 4: Relative frequency of styles in connection with the nationality (Austria, Germany, Greece, Switzerland) (Chi-Square n.c.).

In contrast, sensitivity to social and global contexts means that the perception of changes in one's own everyday life is more strongly pushed into the background in this narrative style. The latent narrative style 2 - also in the immediacy of the crisis - is characterized by a divergence between different analog and digital spaces⁹ and the construction of (digital) spaces as restrictions of (analog) routines with a threatening character. Although this latent narrative style succeeds in capturing larger geographical spaces and creating fictional spaces in the narrative on the formal level of the text, it does not succeed in visualizing alternative worlds, since the guiding theme remains the experience of discontinuity.

If school requirements in the texts recede as a problem and/or school proves to be a relativized institution in view of worldwide problems - or problems in the family and parents' working worlds - alternative fictional worlds and newly conceived future scenarios (Style 5) appear. Style 5 thus contains elements of a "routine narrative" (see also Oevermann, 2008). Following Oevermann, discontinuities in the worlds of life and school cannot be overcome by crisis-narratives in the immediacy of the here and now, but rather in spaces for a creative shaping of the future. The imagination of a hypothetical future can be interpreted as an approach to the "unknown" in the sense of a crisis resolution strategy. By constructing different possibilities for the future, the ability to draw new scenarios from "traumatic crises" are developing in the imagination; thus, previous routines are no longer sufficient.

A frequently positive articulation of digital worlds (school and private) and media as (technical) crisis management instruments (Style 4 – frequently from rural schools and after the first lockdown) is accompanied by the absence of alternative world and future concepts. Thus, "crisis-narration" appears to be the starting point for introducing fictional concepts of the future (Figure 5 and Figure 6).

The expansion of perspective between the styles can be recognized socio-spatially and/or temporally. Socio-geographical farsightedness (the full extent of the crisis with all possible worldwide consequences) does not necessarily correlate with temporal farsightedness, but can also indicate a "present tableau" of this crisis (Style 6), whose perceived intensity leaves future plans in the shadows.

In this sense, the latent styles represent forms of individual strategies of dealing with the crisis and experiences resulting from the tension between the analog and digital components of individual learning and life worlds. Exceeding the present by anticipating "crises of decision" (Oevermann, 2008) creates the possibility of distancing from the present threatening COVID situation and thus enables the creation of new "routines".

⁹ Following Serres' relational understanding of "space", we understand the term as something always imagined in relation to created and existing space. The idea of the "fluid" in Serres' work has a special meaning for the transformation of space. From this thinking of the "in-between" the basic figure of separation and connection is developed, whereby the "fluid", as the dissolution of solid structures, makes this possible (Serres 1993). In the context of media worlds, Serres refers to the contrast between a metric space constructed by distances and virtual space as a topological space of features (Serres 2013).

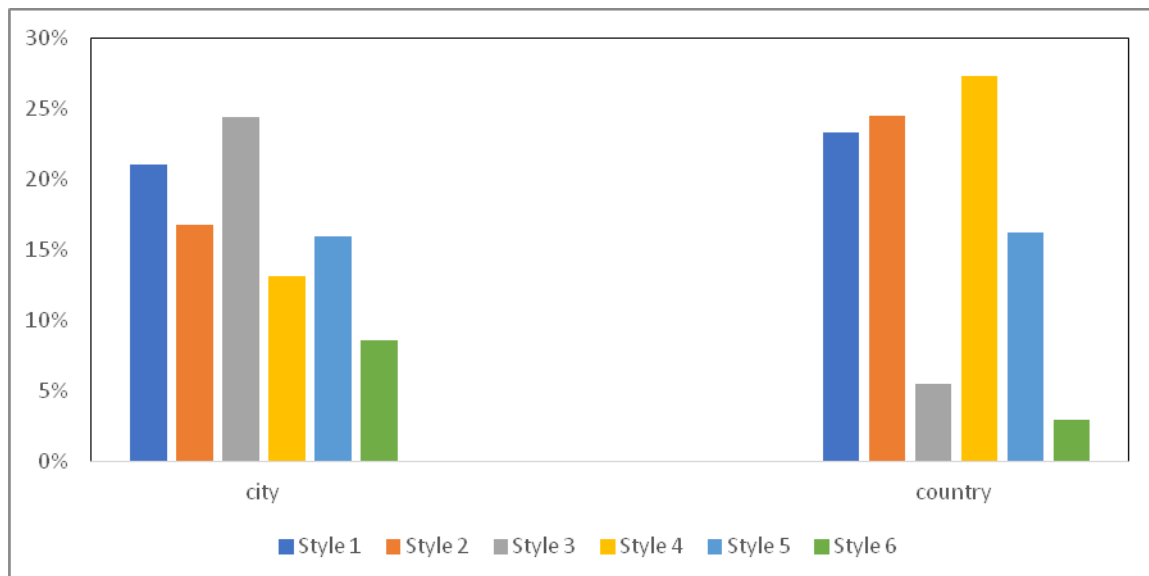


Figure 5: Relative frequency of styles in connection with the place of living (city or country) (Chi-Square= 32.43, df=5, $p < 0.001$)

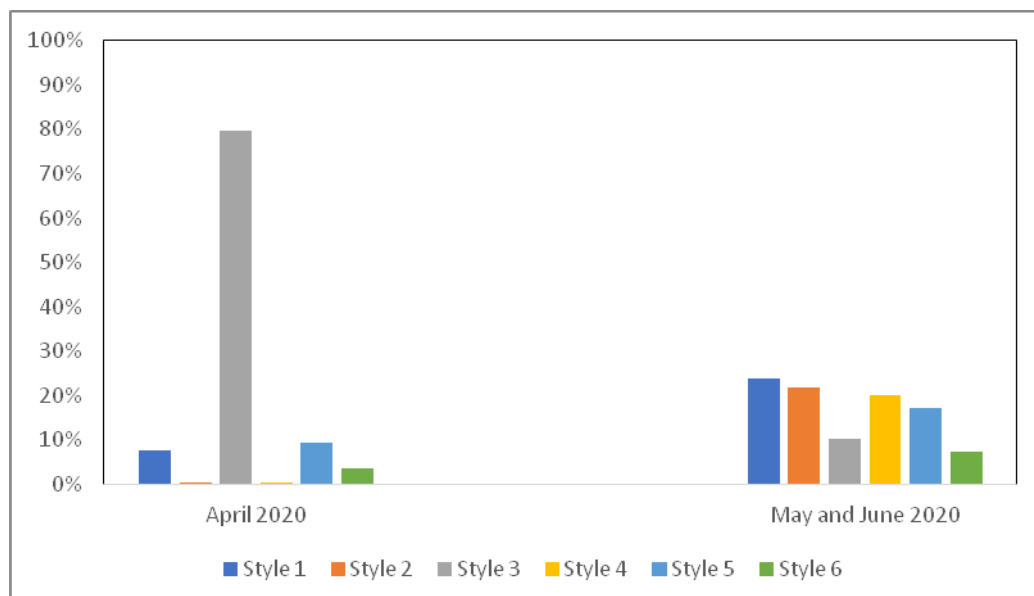


Figure 6: Relative frequency of styles in connection with the data collection date (Chi-Square = 161.72, df = 5, $p < 0.001$)

As milieus, schools provide conditions under which future designs can unfold and under which the capability for anticipation can be constituted. If we consider the latent styles with a milieu-specific differentiation of the schools (Fig. 7), we can conclude the following:

The ability to fictionalize is strongest in the so-called "Upwardly mobile schools"¹⁰, but they show particularly little sensitivity to social problems, as they focus on the articulation of discrepancies between digital and analog spaces. The so-called "troubled schools" fictionalize the least but rarely display sensitivity to social problems, because they experience the crisis itself as a radical break in their lives, and the texts are focused on this. But the experience of

¹⁰ The differentiation of four school milieus at the lower secondary level - schools with clear performance problems mostly due to family background ("troubled schools"), schools that attract pupils as ambitious educational climbers ("upwardly mobile schools"), schools that are characterized by the high socio-economic and cultural educational capital of their pupils ("elite schools"), and schools located in rural regions and characterized by a natural regional-social heterogeneity ("natural heterogeneity due to localization") -, so to speak, may be slightly exaggerated, but it is in accord with performance differences due to school milieus, such as those attested to by national test results (<https://www.iqs.gv.at/downloads/archiv-des-bifie/bildungsstandardueberpruefungen/ergebnisberichte>). Downloaded 11/07/2021

the crisis as an opportunity is also characteristic of texts from these schools. "Natural heterogeneity due to localization" seems to be not only a favorable milieu for the experience of social problems, but also for the design of alternative fictional worlds. The schools with "natural heterogeneity" thus seem to support both characteristics, but only rarely do the characteristics support each other. The experience of crisis as opportunity also occurs frequently, which can also be seen as a condition favoring the ability for anticipation. These are the schools where patterns of seeking security are rarest, as are the articulation of stress and discrepancy of digital and analog spaces. The search for security is particularly pronounced in the "elite schools". In these texts, fictionalization goes hand in hand with the desire for security.

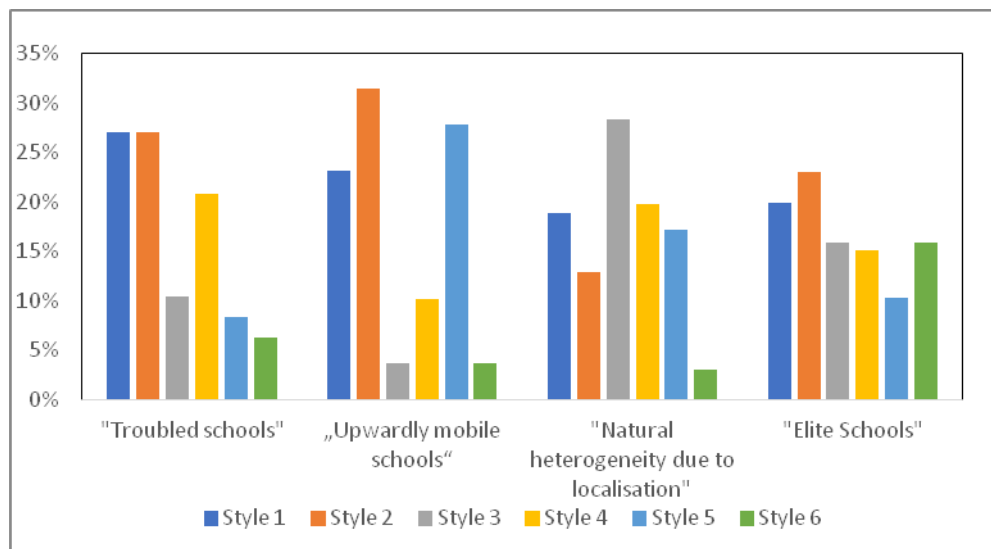


Figure 7: Relative frequencies of styles associated with a milieu-specific school typology (Chi-Square = 83.13, df=15, $p < 0.001$)

The methodology used in our study is aimed at identifying narrative styles - with deliberate avoidance of hypothesis-testing procedures. Further potential for expanding this study lies in evaluating all data material and drawing on additional texts from the second survey phase (in late autumn/winter 2020/21) to examine whether and how the narratives and future scenarios behave against the background of a prolonged period of crisis and the "second wave" of the pandemic.

The question of the subjective justification of future anticipations for pupils can only be answered in a further step. It will be a matter of conducting argumentative feedback conversations (Baros & Reetz, 2012) with pupils, in which they can reflectively deal with possible consequences of their own anticipations.

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The authors

Wassilios Baros is professor of educational research at the University of Salzburg, Austria. He leads the project group Empirical Migration Research (PREMISA). His research focuses migration and political education research, latent style analyses of communication cultures and recipient research.

Address: FB Erziehungswissenschaft, Universität Salzburg, Erzabt-Klotz-Str. 1, 5020 Salzburg.

eMail: wassilios.baros@sbq.ac.at

Ulrike Greiner is professor of educational sciences in the field of teacher education and general didactics at the University of Salzburg, Austria. Her research focuses on diversity and heterogeneity at school and innovation and development of teacher education. She has been working in the field of school education for over 30 years as a secondary school teacher, manager and researcher at university.

Address: School of Education, Universität Salzburg, Erzabt-Klotz-Straße 1, 5050 Salzburg.

eMail: ulrike.greiner@sbq.ac.at

Aida Delic is university assistant and doctoral candidate at the Department of Educational Science at the University of Salzburg, Austria. Her research focuses on educational migration research, native language instruction and biographical education processes in the context of migration.

Address: FB Erziehungswissenschaft, Universität Salzburg, Erzabt-Klotz-Str. 1, 5020 Salzburg.

eMail: aida.delic@sbq.ac.at

Mishela Ivanova is senior scientist at the School of Education, Department of Educational Science, School Research and School Practice, University of Salzburg. Her focal points in research and teaching are critical migration research, democracy education, educational research, teacher education and professionalisation research.

Address: School of Education, Universität Salzburg, Erzabt-Klotz-Straße 1, 5050 Salzburg.

eMail: mishela.ivanova@sbq.ac.at