Early Childhood Political Education:
The Role of Media in Shaping Democratic Awareness

Raphaela Tkotzyk, TU Dortmund University, Germany
Johanna Lategahn, TU Dortmund University, Germany
Gudrun Marci-Boehncke, TU Dortmund University, Germany
Thomas Goll, TU Dortmund University, Germany
Eva-Maria Goll, TU Dortmund University, Germany
Michael Streinbrecher, TU Dortmund University, Germany

The Barcelona Conference on Education 2024
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract
Democracy thrives on participation (Endeward et al., 2016). The active engagement of citizens in society depends on their political understanding, which requires both knowledge and political awareness. This awareness is cultivated from childhood (Marci-Boehncke et al., 2023), as "childhood is not a politics-free zone, and children's lives are by no means apolitical" (Belwe, 2005). Children enter the school system with prior exposure to political education, but where does this early political understanding originate, and what socio-political knowledge do they possess? The interdisciplinary research project PoJoMeC at TU Dortmund, funded by the Federal Agency for Civic Education, investigates these questions. The project emphasizes the relationship between media and world understanding (Goll et al., 2023), as media act as "mediators of the world and generators of worldviews, shaping our perception of reality" (Rath, 2014). This is particularly significant in the context of politics. Mass media and the communication about them plays a critical role in early childhood education. This is also reflected in the educational principles for children aged 0 to 10 in North Rhine-Westphalia by highlighting media as one of the crucial "influences in the constantly evolving world of children" (MFKJKS, 2016). This paper presents the findings from the first phase of the PoJoMeC research project, focusing on how socio-political knowledge is acquired through media, family, and early childhood education institutions such as kindergartens. The study also examines the role of daycare centers as the first non-family institution providing democratic experiences for children (vbw 2020; BMFSFJ, 2020).

Keywords: Media Literacy, Political Literacy, Early Childhood Education

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

The continued viablitity of democracy depends on active participation of its citizens (Endeward et al., 2016). Given that democracy is not a static entity but rather a dynamic system undergoing constant evolution (Kenner & Lange, 2022), it is imperative to ensure its continued existence (Massing, 2020). The efficacy of a democracy is reliant upon the informed participation of its citizens (Stark et al., 2022). However, it is important to recognize that individuals do not come into this world as inherently political beings (Negt, 2010). Rather, the capacity for democratic engagement must be cultivated through learning (KMK, 2012; Fischer & Reinhardt, 2022). It is therefore of the utmost importance that children are involved from an early age, given that "childhood is not a politics-free environment, and children's lives are not immune to political influences" (Belwe, 2005, p. 2). Children absorb the language used to discuss political and social issues and express their views on these matters (Abendschön, 2022). Nevertheless, children have long been perceived by society and politics as "apolitical beings" (Husmann, 2020), who only passively participate in life and are neither capable of acting nor social actors in our society (Butschi & Hedderich, 2021). However, children are just as affected by political change as adults. This indicates that their political socialization does not only begin in adolescence or adulthood (Blöcker, 2002), as has been traditionally assumed, but rather, it already begins in early childhood (Goll, 2022; Marci-Boehncke et al., 2022). Research findings demonstrate that children as young as five years of age possess varying degrees of political literacy. This suggests that they are already capable of perceiving social issues and developing political concepts (Goll, 2022). These political concepts are closely linked to media education, among other factors. As Endeward, Köberer and Schattenschneider (2016) note, media education, media literacy, and political and civic literacy are inextricably linked, given the pervasive role of the media in the dissemination of political information. Media expand our understanding of the world, influence the way we communicate and play a role in shaping our worldviews, as they are so-called "worldview generators" (Rath, 2000; Körberer, 2022). Nowadays, there are countless ways to access information, with (digital) media exerting a particularly pervasive influence. However, the question remains: where do children gain their early political understanding, and what socio-political knowledge do they possess? These are the fundamental inquiries guiding the interdisciplinary research project, "Politics, Journalism, Media - Competencies of Children of Preschool and Elementary School Age" (PoJoMeC), which is being conducted at TU Dortmund University, with funding from the German Federal Agency for Civic Education (bpb).

The research project is centered on the examination of the political knowledge of young children, with a particular emphasis on the period preceding their entry into elementary school. Of particular interest is the question of how this knowledge is shaped and acquired through the influence of media. Of particular interest is the question of how this knowledge is shaped and acquired through the influence of the media. In this context, the following article presents the findings of the initial project period (2022-2024). The article begins by outlining the current state of research in order to contextualize the study within the scientific and social frameworks pertinent to early childhood civic education. It not only considers the family as a primary source of socialization but also examines the role of daycare centers as the initial non-family environment in which children encounter democratic values and political education.

State of Research on Media's Role in Early Democratic Socialization

The social attitude towards the "apolitical" child underwent a significant transformation towards the end of the 20th century (Butschi & Hedderich, 2021). This shift has led to a recognition of children as active members of our society, capable of influencing and shaping their environment (Weise, 2021). Furthermore, it has resulted in educational institutions being held accountable for promoting democratic values and practices. In accordance with the guidelines set by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (KMK), educational institutions are required to introduce students to the fundamental principles of democratic governance and social order at an early age (KMK, 2018). Moreover, the federal states have already incorporated education towards a democratic attitude as a binding educational objective within the curricula of elementary school (vbw, 2020). It is not only political education that is of consequence here; political education is a constitutional matter and is integrated into all subjects on an interdisciplinary basis. This is also the case with regard to German classes. In the context of German classes, students are taught to become responsible individuals and learn about democratic values. Furthermore, the curriculum includes an emphasis on human rights education, political education, and education for a digital and sustainable world. Democratic and political education is facilitated through the utilization of diverse textual resources and discourse, encompassing both conventional and digital/social media platforms (MSB NRW, 2021).

This approach is consistent with the principles for early childhood education in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), which place an emphasis on the role of both analogue and digital media in the teaching of democratic values to children aged between 0 and 10 years old. The educational guidelines highlight the importance of instilling in children an understanding of democratic structures and practices at an early age, coupled with engagement with democratic and social ways of life. This approach is believed to foster the development of responsible, active and critical thinking skills in children, which are essential for their future growth and well-being. This also affords them the opportunity to gain insight into themselves and others, develop a sense of self and identity, and comprehend that they can and should assert their rights while respecting the rights of others. This understanding serves as the foundation for democratic understanding and social cohesion (MFKJKS, 2016).

Furthermore, the preschool education plans of the federal states posit that daycare centers should already be places of democratic experience (MFKJKS, 2016). Consequently, the role of media in the definition proposed by Pross (1972) should not be underestimated. In this context, the term "media" is not understood in the narrow sense of mass media, but rather encompasses four distinct categories. These include (1) primary media, which are characterised by verbal communication, gestures and facial expressions. Subsequently, there are (2) the secondary media, which employ technology (such as the use of a pen and paper) by the producers, and (3) the tertiary media, which include radio and television, for example (Pross, 1972). Furthermore, the category of digital technologies encompasses (4) the quaternary media, including computers, tablets, and smartphones, which necessitate an internet connection (Dittmar, 2009).

In addition to these technical aspects of media, it is also necessary to consider the cultural dimension. In this context, the work of Heinz Bonfadelli (2002) is particularly relevant. In light of his findings, our research project is grounded in the concept of media, which has been developed based on his work. Accordingly, we view media as instruments of mass communication that can be utilized to effectively convey messages to a large audience.

Moreover, media serve as information channels through which news and information are distributed, exerting an influence on society and thus acting as significant transmitters of knowledge. Additionally, media also function as journalistic institutions in which established organizations engage in professional journalism, thereby also playing an important role in society. This comprehensive understanding of media enables us to look beyond the technical aspects and view their role in society from a cultural perspective.

In light of these considerations, we sought to examine, from the perspective of German/media education, the extent to which media exert an influence on children's political knowledge acquisition. To gain a deeper understanding of this complex issue, it is essential to move beyond the mere classification of media types and consider their social function. In order to examine the impact of the social environment on human development, we have drawn on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecosystemic model, which divides the social environment into different levels: the micro, meso, and macro levels. The exo level has been excluded from this model on the basis that the media representing this level now permeate every area of life and exert a direct impact on even the narrowest areas of a child's world. Bronfenbrenner argues that all levels of life are influenced by the respective environment, and that it is the social factors that determine our ways of thinking and feeling (Epp, 2018). In our analysis, we have therefore focused on the levels mentioned above. The micro level pertains to direct interaction within the child's immediate environment, including familial relationships and interactions with close caregivers such as grandparents or siblings. The meso level represents connections between micro level environments, such as the relationship between family and daycare center. The macro level reflects broader cultural and societal contexts, including media and social norms.

The following chapter will demonstrate the extent to which media contribute to children's knowledge acquisition within the primary family and non-family socialization instances. For this purpose, a total of 26 interviews with children aged four to six years will be evaluated.
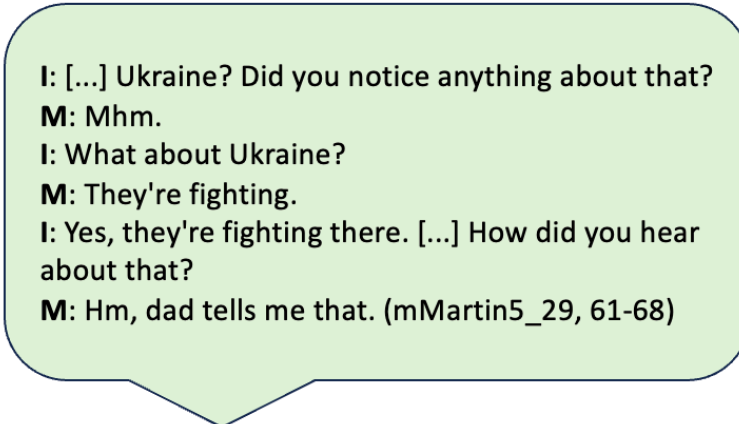
Findings on Early Political Socialization and Media's Role in Knowledge Acquisition

The PoJoMeC research and development project at TU Dortmund University, which is jointly supported by the departments of didactics of social and political science, journalism studies, and German/media education, brings together the interdisciplinary expertise of the respective departments in joint research on primary political socialization with a special focus on journalism and media. The project is funded by the Federal Agency for Civic Education and initiated in November 2021 with a kick-off conference. The initial survey phase began in January 2023 and concluded in October of the same year. During this period, a total of 53 children from eight different daycare centers were interviewed—27 girls and 26 boys between the ages of three and five. Following this initial phase, the interviews were reviewed and a total of 23 were selected for further discussion. The selection of these interviews was based on the quality of the responses and the insights they provided. The first phase of the survey focused on preschool children and, in particular, on the information they obtain through the media. Given the focus on children's identity formation and the development of their values, it was also important to include their perspectives on politics, journalism, and the media.

The research design was based on qualitative interviews conducted on an impulse basis. The interview guide, which was developed by all three disciplines, was divided into four key modules. The first module investigated the concept of majority voting, while the second

module examined the consumption of news and media content, as well as the means by which children obtain information. The third module addressed children's comprehension of the role of journalists in society, whereas the fourth module focused on media usage practices and examined the rules for engagement with media, as well as how children learn through media. To elicit the most candid responses, a diverse array of visual prompts, including images and videos, was employed to stimulate ideas from the children. Subsequently, the results were subjected to analysis using MAXQDA and Kuckartz and Rädiker's (2022) qualitative content analysis method.

From the field of German and Media Studies, primary media were examined first. The analysis of the interviews revealed that conversations with parents, siblings and friends constitute an important source of information for the majority of children. Upon inquiry regarding the source of their knowledge, the majority of children indicated that they had acquired it from their parents. A notable recurring theme was the Ukraine conflict, which the children had learned about through conversations with family members. Interestingly, those who stated that they had heard about it from a family member often identified their father as the source. When asked how they would obtain further information on a topic if they desired to do so, the children responded that they would inquire with their parents.

I: [...] Ukraine? Did you notice anything about that?
M: Mhm.
I: What about Ukraine?
M: They're fighting.
I: Yes, they're fighting there. [...] How did you hear about that?
M: Hm, dad tells me that. (mMartin5_29, 61-68)

Figure 1: Interview Excerpt Martin, 5 Years Old

Additionally, children gain insight into environmental matters such as waste and pollution through discourse. For example, the father of five-year-old Jana elucidated the significance of refraining from littering during a stroll, while Carla (also five years of age) acquired insight into waste from her sister, who had observed pertinent news on television at their grandmother's residence. Friends at school constituted another prevalent source of knowledge, as evidenced by the example quote below. Evidently, communication at the micro-level serves as a pivotal conduit for knowledge acquisition among children.

> **I:** What, for example? What are you talking about?
> **A:** For example, that um -- if you throw a banana peel into the dirt now, it can sink into the ground here for a few days.
> **I:** Okay.
> **A:** And that you don't just throw garbage away. For example, it's better to buy tomatoes completely free or in a bag. (wAnja5_4, pos. 78-83)

Figure 2: Interview Excerpt Anja, 4 Years Old

The results concerning the role of secondary media, including books, magazines, and newspapers, in children's knowledge acquisition were rather disheartening. Fewer than 50% of the children were even familiar with newspapers. Only two respondents indicated that books were a source of information. For instance, Nina stated that newspapers are intended for adults, whereas books are designed for children. Three children perceived newspapers as mere advertising brochures for toys or food, as exemplified by Jane's quote.
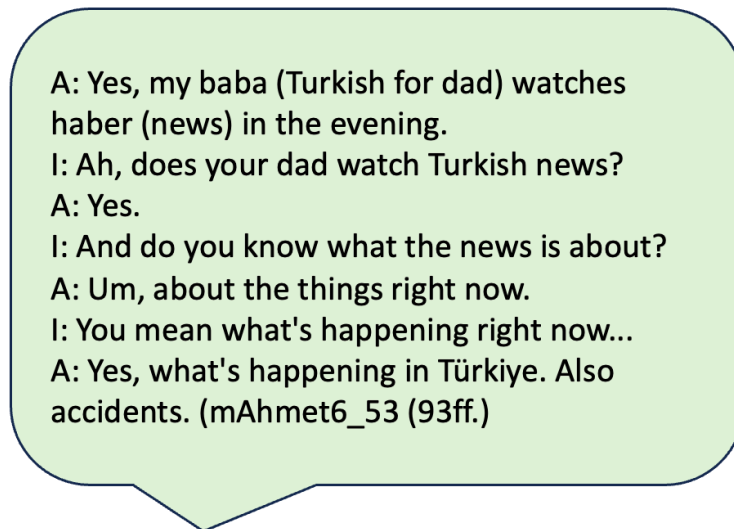
> **I:** Ah, you also have a newspaper at home.
> **J:** Yes, and I always look there to see what delicious food is there (wJane5_13).

Figure 3: Interview Excerpt From Jane, 5 Years Old

Nevertheless, some children associated newspapers with factual information. Three children identified newspapers as a source of information for their grandparents. Rabea, for instance, noted that her grandparents read newspapers, whereas at home, newspapers are only used for peeling potatoes. However, Anja stated that her father is employed by a newspaper, yet the publication is used primarily at home for the purpose of arts and crafts. It is noteworthy that two children associated newspapers with the fictional journalist Karla Kolumna, a character from a German children's television program. This observation illustrates the impact of children's series on knowledge acquisition. This connection leads us to tertiary media.

The findings concerning tertiary media indicate that over two-thirds (65%) of the children surveyed reported that they obtain information from television. This makes tertiary media, particularly television, the most significant source of (political) knowledge acquisition for children. Political topics that are currently of interest to the children include environmental issues, the war in Ukraine, and the recent earthquake in Turkey, as Ahmet mentioned.

A: Yes, my baba (Turkish for dad) watches haber (news) in the evening.
I: Ah, does your dad watch Turkish news?
A: Yes.
I: And do you know what the news is about?
A: Um, about the things right now.
I: You mean what's happening right now...
A: Yes, what's happening in Türkiye. Also accidents. (mAhmet6_53 (93ff.)

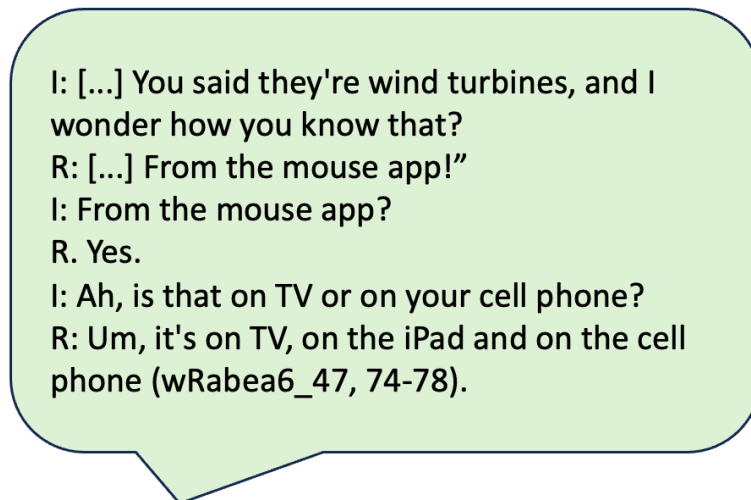Figure 4: Interview Excerpt From Ahmet, 6 Years Old

Additionally, a considerable number of children express interest in educational programs that encompass a variety of subjects, including animal-related topics.

The content analyses of the interviews also indicated that fictional series, such as "Paw Patrol", play a significant role in children's comprehension of civic responsibilities. Approximately 73% of the young participants associated the role of a mayor with the television series "Paw Patrol", where they observed that mayors assign responsibilities or make important decisions—a concept that some could relate to real-life roles.

Further children's programs, including "Logo", "Checker Tobi", and "Die Sendung mit der Maus", were also identified as valuable sources of learning. For example, Rabea stated that she had acquired knowledge about the distinction between beneficial and detrimental bacteria from "Checker Tobi", while Lea said that "Die Sendung mit der Maus" had taught her the process of popcorn production. Anja described Woozle Goozle as an engaging method for acquiring new knowledge.

Furthermore, it was interesting to observe that meteorological information is also a subject of interest for children, who rely on television or car radio to ascertain appropriate clothing for the weather. In this regard, the interviews revealed that children perceive news from both radio and television as a source of intriguing information on fires, criminals, storms, accidents, and even international cuisines.

However, some children initially associated the term "news" with messages sent via WhatsApp or letters, indicating a lack of consensus regarding the definition of the term. In light of these insights, an analysis of quaternary media will be presented. The analysis confirmed the findings of previous studies indicating that even the youngest children are immersed in a media-saturated environment and frequently possess their own devices (Feierabend et al., 2022, 2024). The interviews revealed that when children use quaternary media independently, they predominantly engage with YouTube or play games on tablets. Only three children mentioned using educational apps on their iPads, while another child mentioned using his grandparents' iPad to show his grandfather how to operate it.

I: [...] You said they're wind turbines, and I wonder how you know that?
R: [...] From the mouse app!"
I: From the mouse app?
R. Yes.
I: Ah, is that on TV or on your cell phone?
R: Um, it's on TV, on the iPad and on the cell phone (wRabea6_47, 74-78).

Figure 5: Interview Excerpt From Rabea, 6 Years Old

Only three children mentioned using educational apps on their iPads, while another child mentioned using his grandparents' iPad to show his grandfather how to operate it. However, in contrast to tertiary media, quaternary media are not primarily viewed or used by children as information sources. Additionally, there are significantly more restrictions around the use of quaternary media, especially with cell phones, which children are typically only allowed to use with parental permission and under supervision.

Conclusion

In analyzing the interview data, several additional insights emerged: Many children are not even aware of where their knowledge about certain topics comes from, often saying they "just know" things. We also noticed, that Grandparents play an important role in children's media experiences, particularly with traditional media like newspapers and radio, which are often owned and used by grandparents.

However, based on the research results presented, the following conclusions can be drawn regarding the role of media in children's early political socialization and knowledge acquisition:
1. The primary socialization through the family is fundamental. Family interactions, especially conversations with parents, are an important source of early political and social knowledge for children. This underscores the crucial role of the micro-level environment in shaping children's understanding of current events and societal norms. Fathers, in particular, were frequently identified as the primary informants, indicating gendered dynamics in how political knowledge is shared within families.
2. Traditional media have limited reach among young children. Even though, research states that books still play an important role for children (Kieninger et al. 2020, 2023), the results of the interviews show that secondary media, such as books and newspapers, are not widely used by children for knowledge acquisition. This highlights a generational shift away from traditional print media, with many children perceiving them as irrelevant or associating them with adults or specific uses (e.g., crafts). One the one hand, this finding suggests a need to modernize educational strategies to engage young learners effectively. On the other hand, is raises significant concerns, particularly when considering the foundational role these media play in developing essential literacy skills. Literacy is not only critical for reading and writing but also serves as a gateway to

informed political participation as children grow into young adults and adults. Also, the absence of books and newspapers in the children's mentions of kindergarten suggests that educators may not be actively integrating these traditional media into early childhood learning environments. This omission represents a missed opportunity to foster foundational literacy skills and critical engagement with informational texts at a crucial developmental stage. Introducing books and newspapers in kindergarten settings could play a pivotal role in bridging the gap between early literacy development and later political and civic participation. Re-establishing the role of books and other traditional media in children's lives is not about resisting technological progress but about creating a balanced foundation for lifelong learning and participation. By fostering strong literacy skills through engagement with books and newspapers, society can prepare children not only for academic success but also for active, informed citizenship. Traditional media offer unique advantages in promoting sustained attention, critical thinking, and the ability to engage deeply with complex texts—all of which are indispensable for meaningful political and social participation as young adults and beyond.

3. The interviews showed that television is a pivotal informational medium for young children. Tertiary media, particularly television, play a central role in providing children with information about politics, civic responsibilities, and social issues. Educational programs such as *"Logo"* and *"Checker Tobi"* serve as valuable tools for imparting knowledge, blending entertainment with learning. Television's visual and accessible format appears well-suited to capturing children's attention and delivering meaningful content.

4. In fact, media's role in shaping civic understanding is multifaceted. As the results demonstrated, fictional content, such as *"Paw Patrol,"* demonstrates that entertainment media can contribute to children's comprehension of societal roles, such as leadership and civic responsibilities. This finding indicates the potential of media narratives to influence children's understanding of governance and decision-making in society.

5. The analyses showed that quaternary media are ubiquitous but primarily recreational. While children are exposed to digital technologies and often possess their own devices, their usage tends to be recreational rather than informational. The reliance on platforms like YouTube or gaming apps highlights the entertainment-oriented nature of digital engagement. However, the restrictive and supervised usage of quaternary media underscores concerns about content suitability and safety.

Overall, the interviews not only provided important insights into the acquisition of political knowledge by children of pre-school and kindergarten age and showed that political knowledge is already acquired between the ages of 4 and 6. The findings also suggest that early childhood education should prioritize equipping children with the skills to critically engage with diverse media formats while leveraging the strengths of existing media, such as educational TV programs, to promote civic knowledge. Furthermore, there is a need for parents and educators to collaborate in creating environments that encourage meaningful conversations about societal issues, supported by age-appropriate media content. Addressing the gap between children's media consumption habits and their use of media for educational purposes will be key to fostering informed, socially responsible individuals from an early age.

Acknowledgments

References

Abendschön, S. (2022). Politische Sozialisation von Kindern im Vor- und Grundschulalter. In I. Baumgardt, & D. Lange (Eds.), *Young citizens: Handbuch politische Bildung in der Grundschule* (pp. 60-68). Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung.

Belwe, K. (2005). Sozialisation von Kindern. Editorial. *APuZ: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 2.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design.* Cambridge/MA: Harvard University Press.

Butschi, C., & Hedderich, I. (2021). Kindergerecht forschen. Ein Überblick. In C. Butschi & J. Reppin (Eds.), *Perspektiven auf Vielfalt in der frühen Kindheit. Mit Kindern Diversität erforschen* (pp. 101–119). Bad Heilbrunn: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt.

Dittmar, J. F. (2009). *Grundlagen der Medienwissenschaft.* Berlin: Verlag der TU Berlin.

Endeward, D., Köberer, N., & Schattenschneider, J. (2016). Schnittstellen. Wo Medienbildung zur Politische Bildung wird. *Computer + Unterricht*, 103, 4–8.

Epp, A. (2018). Das ökosystemische Entwicklungsmodell als theoretisches Sensibilisierungs- und Betrachtungsraster für empirische Phänomene. *Forum qualitative Sozialforschung*,1 (19), 17–196.

Fischer, Chr. & Reinhardt, S. (2022). Demokratie von Anfang an. Herausforderungen und Möglichkeiten. In F. Weber-Stein, St. Albers, & B. Blank (Eds.), *Bildung und Demokratisierung.* Itdb Inter- und transdisziplinäre Bildung, pp. 4-20. https://itdb.ch/index.php/itdb/article/view/1277/1161

Goll, Th. (2020). *Politische Konzepte junger Kinder – Ergebnisse einer explorativen Teilstudie.* DOI:10.13140/RG.2.2.32302.13129

Husmann, W. (2020). *Der politische Dämon*, https://www.zeit.de/kultur/2021-09/kinder-wahlkampf-armin-laschet-interview-enkelkinderbriefe-klimaschutz?utm_referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F

Kenner, St., & Lange, D. (2022). Young Citizens – Das Politische an der politischen Bildung. In I. Baumgardt, & D. Lange (Eds), *Young Citizens. Handbuch politische Bildung in der Grundschule* (pp. 18–28). Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, pp. 18-28.

Kieninger, J. et al. (2020). *miniKIM-Studie 2020. Kleinkinder und Medien. Basisuntersuchung zum Medienumgang 2- bis 5-jähriger in Deutschland.* Stuttgart: Medienpädagogischer Forschungsverband Südwest (mpfs).

Kieninger, J. et al. (2023). *miniKIM-Studie 2020. Kleinkinder und Medien. Basisuntersuchung zum Medienumgang 2- bis 5-jähriger in Deutschland.* Stuttgart: Medienpädagogischer Forschungsverband Südwest (mpfs).

Körberer, N. (2022). Medienethik praktisch. (Digitale) Mündigkeit als Bildungsziel". In Berndt et al. (Eds.), *Ethik in pädagogischen Beziehungen* (pp. 201–212). Bad Heilbrunn: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt.

Kuckarzt, U., & Rädinger, St. (2022). *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Methoden, Praxis, Computerunterstützung*. München: Verlag C.H.Beck.

Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK). (2012). *Medienbildung in der Schule (Beschluss der Kultusministerkonferenz vom 08.03.2012)*. https://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/veroeffentlichungen_beschluesse/2012/2012_03_08_Medienbildung.pdf

Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK). (2018). *Demokratie als Ziel, Gegenstand und Praxis historisch-politischer Bildung und Erziehung in der Schule (Beschluss der Kultusministerkonferenz vom 06.03.2009, i. d. F. vom 11.10.2018)*. Bonn 2018, S. 5. https://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/Dateien/pdf/PresseUndAktuelles/2018/Beschluss_Demokratieerziehung.pdf

Marci-Boehncke, G., Rath, M., & Tkotzyk, R. (2022). Media language an dtheir impact on the development of young children's political awareness – thoughts and preliminary research results of an interdisciplinary research project. In M. Carmo (Ed.), *Education Applications & Developments VIII. Advances in Education & Educational Trends Series* (pp. 419-433). Lissabon: inSciencePress.

Massing, P. (2020). Politische Bildung. In S. Achour et al. (Eds.), *Wörterbuch Politikunterricht*. (pp. 173–176). Frankfurt am Main: Wochenschau Verlag.

MFKJKS (Ministerium für Kinder, Familie, Flüchtlinge und Integration des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen). (2018). *Bildungsgrundsätze für Kinder von 0 bis 10 Jahren in Kindertagesbetreuung und Schulen in Nordrhein-Westfalen*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder Verlag.

Ministerium für Schule und Bildung des Landes NRW. (2021). Lehrpläne für die Primarstufe in Nordrhein-Westfalen. https://www.schulentwicklung.nrw.de/lehrplaene/upload/klp_PS/ps_lp_sammelband_2021_08_02.pdf

Negt, O. (2010). *Der politische Mensch. Demokratie als Lebensform*. Göttingen: Steidl.

Pross, H. (1972). *Medienforschung. Film, Funk, Presse, Fernsehen*. Darmstadt: Carl Habel Verlagsbuchhandlung.

Rath, M. (2000). Kann denn empirische Forschung Sünde sein? Zum Empiriebedarf der normativen Ethik". In: M. Rath et al. (Eds.), *Medienethik und Medienwirkungsforschung* (pp. 63–87). Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Stark, B., Magin, M., & Geiß, St. (2022). Meinungsbildung in und mit sozialen Medien. In: J.-H. Schmidt, & M. Taddicken (Eds.): *Handbuch Soziale Medien*. (pp. 213–231), Wiesbaden: Springer.

Tkotzyk, R., & Marci-Boehncke, G. (2022). Research with young children. Do picture concept maps work as interview tool in early childhood research? INTED 2022 Proceedings, pp. 7258–7267.

vbw (Vereinigung der Bayrischen Wirtschaft e.V.). (2020). *Bildung zu demokratischer Kompetenz. Gutachten*. Münster: Waxmann.

Weise, M. (2021). Es ist noch jemand mit uns hier. Puppet-Interviews in der Forschung mit Kindern. In I. Hedderich, J. Reppin, & C. Butschi (Eds.), *Perspektiven auf Vielfalt in der frühen Kindheit. Mit Kindern Diversität erforschen* (pp. 158–171). Bad Heilbrunn: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt.