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Article

Transforming Disinformation on Minorities Into a Pedagogical Resource: Towards a Critical Intercultural News Literacy

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Abstract
Intercultural competence and diversity awareness are relevant to handling "fake news" related to minorities and migrants, thus preventing "othering" and stereotyping of vulnerable populations. Teachers and schools can play a central role in preventing the spread of far-right ideologies and the dissemination of false information and hate discourse. For that, bringing together intercultural competence and news literacy, conceptualised as "critical intercultural news literacy," is needed to navigate disinformation related to minorities and their connection to polarising themes. In this article, we focus on false or misleading information published on online platforms that brings together two salient topics: the Covid-19 pandemic and minorities. We discuss the issues of concern around the transformation of such material into a didactic resource for the school context and we question whether such practice can (paradoxically) lead to reinforcing or reproducing its undesirable content, i.e., to the othering of school populations that are targeted by false or manipulative information. This leads us to discuss potential problems associated with the pedagogical use of false information by teachers and, in resonance with the theme of this thematic issue, we claim that inclusive media education should also be an education for diversity and inclusion, through the development of critical intercultural news literacy.

Keywords
critical intercultural news literacy; disinformation; intercultural competence; media literacy; news literacy

Issue
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1. Introduction

Scapegoating ethnic, linguistic, religious, and cultural minorities is not a new phenomenon, but it is regularly boosted in times of crisis, controversial debates, and, recently, the pandemic. The hypervisibility of minorities in such contexts leads to an outpouring of nationalistic discourses, swollen by hate discourse, flaming strategies, and disinformation. As we argue in this article, within the school context, the complexity of disinformation production and consumption urges a new approach that combines intercultural competence and news literacy. Disinformation is defined as false or misleading information created with the intention to cause harm. Differently from misinformation, when there is no intention to cause harm, disinformation is conceived and spread in order to confuse its receptors; also, differently from mal-information, i.e., blunt hate speech, disinformation is written and diagrammed to imitate a news or opinion piece and is often spread by public figures and shared through social networking sites and related channels (Culloty & Suiter, 2020; Wardle & Derakhshan, 2017). Because disinformation is not always quickly and clearly identifiable, this article will argue that handling disinformation requires developing critical thinking skills which furthermore should be geared toward the type of media platforms where such content spreads.

"Fake news" is not a consensual term to refer to information disorders, but it is appealing as a subject for the classroom. From an academic perspective, most

studies examine "how fake news is characterised, created, circulated, and countered" (Tandoc, 2021, p. 110), focusing on their degree of facticity and intentionality (main intentionalities being economical and ideological; Tandoc, 2021, p. 111). From a pedagogical perspective, not many scholars have dealt with this phenomenon. In our perspective, "fake news" should become a pedagogical subject and object, because of "the essentiality of empowering citizens with necessary knowledge and skills to be able to differentiate between fake and real news and to understand the significance of such differentiation and its implications" (Tejedor et al., 2020, p. 18; see also Franco Migues, 2020). "Fake news" is content that provides false or misleading information that impersonates or looks like a journalistic fact, mainly spreading through social media (Himma-Kadakas, 2017). Or, according to Tandoc (2021, p. 111), "falsehoods packaged to look like news to deceive people." Taking into account students' consumption habits of information and social media (Melo-Pfeifer & Dedecek Gertz, in press), several pedagogical arguments can be made to include "fake news" as a subject (theme) and as an object (a document) in the classroom:

- They are part of students' daily lives, engaging and provoking emotional responses;
- If "fake news" mimic journalistic practices and "look like news," the strategies to mimic those practices can be analysed and deconstructed;
- Students are exposed to racist and hateful discourses and are manipulated by the use of their preferred media outlets: Research has shown that online media tends to portray immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers more often as threats than print media does (Blumell et al., 2020).

We have begun to tackle the issue of "information disorder" (Wardle & Derakhshan, 2017) in a previous study carried out in Germany (Melo-Pfeifer & Dedecek Gertz, in press), based on secondary students' answers to a questionnaire about whether and how they would like to learn about this phenomenon. In our results, 45% of the students said that "fake news" articles would be one of the best resources for learning about disinformation. In the context of the project CoMMITTEd (Covid, Migrants, and Minorities in Teacher Education: A Fake News Observatory to Promote Critical Thinking and Digital Literacy in Times of Crisis), the team was already able to reconstruct how migrants are portrayed in misleading information about the origins and spreading of the pandemic. However, the notion of bringing examples of "fake news" into the classroom, if analysed under the lens of media and intercultural education, might seem paradoxical: How could "fake news" be transformed into pedagogical resources to foster students' news literacy and intercultural competence, without at the same time increasing the risks of their content being amplified? The question can also be asked as follows: How to make students aware of the processes of othering and scapegoating migrants and minorities without reproducing and reinforcing the content of those documents without contributing further to the stereotyping of victims of disinformation? This is a pressing question as disinformation coupled with hate discourse and negative stereotyping of minorities and migrants is becoming increasingly frequent.

One of the problems that have been acknowledged in dealing with false or misleading information, alongside their definition and even the identification of misleading content, is that there is no easy way to debunk or make people aware of its false content. Jones et al. (2021, p. 183) refer to this issue as the "backfire effect": "pointing out to people that something they have accepted as true is actually false is likely to make them believe it even more." They claim that "fact-checking fake news stories is rarely an effective way to debunk them. Rather, it usually just serves to spread the fake news even more widely and harden the beliefs of those who have accepted it as true" (Jones et al., 2021, p. 183; see also Schwarz & Jalbert, 2021). That position is shared by other researchers in the field: Wodak (2021, p. xii) contends that "parallel worlds and truth now exist alongside each other; unequivocal fact checks find little resonance among viewers and readers." Additionally:

> While a piece of fake news can be categorized as a form of disinformation—intentionally created with the main purpose of deceiving others either for profit or for propaganda—based on the intention behind its production, its subsequent spread through social media users might be unintentional. (Tandoc, 2021, p. 112)

Hence, the spread of false information is based on beliefs that are not quickly formed, but rather a collection of formative experiences through socialisation. As we argue in this article, schools have a central role in these socialisation processes, and thus they can also serve as an early-stage tool to halt the spread of false information.

We are faced with a paradox between students' willingness to learn about disinformation through analysis of "fake news," and the "backfire effect," whereby discussing such materials can lead to spreading or entrenching disinformation. We discuss paths and issues surrounding the transformation of "fake news" into pedagogical resources by developing critical intercultural news literacy, an approach that we see as combining the ability to deconstruct othering strategies, recognising "news" as a discursive ensemble (Schwarzenegger & Wagner, 2018), and actively engaging with sources and facts. We first discuss how disinformation targets vulnerable populations, making them victims of stereotyping and dehumanising discursive and multimodal processes, and the consequent need to develop a context-sensitive media literacy programme in schools (Section 2). Then, we give an overview of different pedagogical proposals

intending to foster intercultural learning and diversity awareness in school settings (Section 3). Other methodologies and resources (such as the discussion of intercultural "critical incidents," the analysis of literary excerpts dealing with stereotyping processes, or even the images present in textbooks) also present the danger of leaving stereotypes uncovered or, even more problematically, creating new stereotypes and/or substituting some stereotypes with others (Melo-Pfeifer, in press). We, therefore, argue that intercultural awareness could be a solution to the paradox of the "backfire effect" in the classroom.

Another issue reported by some literature refers to a distinction between disinformation labelled as "news," implying a factual dimension, and other resources perceived as fictional or pedagogical resources, "created" for the school context: "The news format functions as a heuristic that affects online readers' credibility assessments" (Tandoc, 2021, p. 112). This can influence students' perception while working with those documents, making them, consciously or unconsciously, more reluctant to challenge the content of "news." Our proposal challenges this distinction (and its corollary) by proposing turning "fake news" into pedagogical resources and bringing them to be discussed in the classroom. We argue that the same critical discussions and the same kind of analysis aiming at deconstructing and critically challenging stereotyping processes of the other are not just possible, but increasingly necessary. Such work, we claim, can be based on careful linguistic, discursive, and multimodal analysis of the "news" artefact, among other strategies that make "fake news" specific as a source. Bearing this in mind, we present and discuss the pedagogical implications of the use of "fake news" in the classroom, in particular for working on disinformation (Section 4). Ultimately, we argue that it is possible and desirable to anticipate the most pressing pitfalls of bringing "fake news" into the classroom that could hinder the pedagogical gains and the potential added value of working with "fake news" as ways to gain resilience against manipulation (Culloty et al., 2021).

2. Disinformation About Migrant Others and Media Literacy

Migrants have been used in discourses circulating in the media as scapegoats for different social problems, from lack of housing in urban centres to dropping international school rankings and "lack of social cohesion." This is not new but has reached wider proportions through the capillarity of digital communication: If previously hate speech and disinformation about migrants circulated "marginalised on fringe far-right websites—where people had to actively seek them out—[they] now reach a wider audience on popular social media platforms" (Culloty & Suiter, 2020, p. 315). Such racist narratives based on nationalist and nativist perspectives also extrapolate culturalist discourses based on stereotypes. In addition, they can merge with alleged health concerns, as seen in disinformation spread about Covid-19 associated with Chinese and Muslim migrants (Cabañes, 2022; Culloty et al., 2021). A recurring theme accuses immigrants of defying isolation measures to reinforce the nativist narrative that migrants do not belong in the nation (Culloty & Suiter, 2021, p. 222).

If disinformation circulates widely in the media, a pedagogical perspective that addresses othering and racist discourses about migrants must account for that. From a pedagogical perspective, it would thus be important to develop "media literacy" in the curriculum and in subject contents. We understand media literacy to be the ability to be critical and self-determined towards one's own media consumption and to have a diverse media repertoire (Trültzsch-Wijnen, 2020, Chapter 2). Such ability requires a continuum of different aspects to be developed (cultural, cognitive, emotional, moral, and aesthetic), hence it is not a dichotomous measure (Potter, 2016, p. 27). Apart from these abilities, media literacy is influenced by a socioeconomic variable. In order to have access to a diverse media repertoire, families and individuals must have financial possibilities to do so, as such diversification implies paying for subscriptions, buying books and magazines, going to the cinema, etc. Furthermore, individuals still need free time to consume such diversified content, which is more attainable the less time one spends, e.g., commuting and in paid or unpaid work. A final material aspect that influences media literacy is formal educational attainment, as higher formal education levels are associated with higher levels of self-awareness and critical thinking in general (Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2019, Chapter 2). Still, as "fake news" have an affective component, there are psychological aspects that go beyond socioeconomic classes, making all individuals more or less prone to fall for such forms of disinformation (Armitage & Vaccari, 2021). Media literacy thus has a multidimensional continuum of (self-)awareness, abilities, and attitudes, combined with material conditions of access to a diverse media repertoire.

As an empirical application of media literacy, news pieces themselves can be embedded in pedagogical practices. In that sense, we work with the concept of "news literacy." Concretely, we define it as "the ability to use critical thinking skills to judge the reliability and credibility of news reports from all media: print, TV, radio or the web" (Center for News Literacy, 2016; Tully, 2021). While media literacy encompasses broader aspects relating to culture, cognition, emotion, morals, and aesthetics (Potter, 2016), news literacy is grounded in the application of such competencies to analyse news pieces circulating across media platforms and outlets.

In this article, we focus on the cultural contexts of media literacy, specifically how teachers can work with "fake news" to foster pupils' awareness of othering and stereotyping. Such an approach does not relate to a purely functional aspect (e.g., operating ICTs) but

rather to the ability to critically evaluate the content and be aware of the conditions of media production (Buckingham, 2006; Neag et al., in press). If racist and anti-immigration discourses circulate on social networking sites and if people have access to such content already at an early age, schools should also be involved in developing curricula adapted to this situation. Our survey of German secondary school students (Melo-Pfeifer & Dedecek Gertz, in press) shows that such an adaptation could be successful, as students want to learn more about disinformation; they want to do so with their teachers (i.e., teachers are seen as more trustworthy than peers or family) and they want to use real examples as pedagogical resources. As reports show that even students at the university level have difficulties in identifying information disorders (Sakamoto, 2020), addressing the issue early enough and from a context-sensitive perspective seems like a relevant measure in the context of increasing digitalisation.

3. Disinformation as Pedagogical Resource for Intercultural Learning and Diversity Awareness?

In this section, we argue that schools can foster awareness of the circulation of disinformation about migrants and migration through the development of intercultural competence. In this section, we first define intercultural learning, reviewing the most common approaches to foster it in the school context and refer to some of the problems reported in the literature regarding the use of authentic documents to support it. We finish with some arguments on why working pedagogically with examples of "fake news" that circulate on digital platforms could be a powerful resource to enhance intercultural learning.

We understand intercultural learning to be the process of developing intercultural competence, i.e., the ability to cope with what might be perceived as different cultures and different group affiliations. Such processes develop students' self-awareness and can occur in all contexts of our daily life, from work to playful activities and schooling. In educational settings, intercultural learning refers to the introduction "of students to other worlds and the experience of otherness" (Byram, 1997, p. 3). Intercultural learning is thus related to critical thinking and the ability to decentre and show empathy and politeness, which can occur through different languages and other semiotic resources, such as mimicry, gaze, postures, etc. This means that intercultural learning can occur across the curriculum, in school subjects such as foreign languages, politics, history, geography, religion, etc. Interestingly, in our survey (Melo-Pfeifer & Dedecek Gertz, in press), these are also the subject areas students in Germany identified as suitable to learn more about fake news, a parallel we will return to.

The outcome of intercultural learning is the development of intercultural competence, a competence that encompasses "the acknowledgment of complexity, the recognition of a plurality of perspectives and the promotion of an 'ecology of knowledges' " (Guilherme, 2017, p. 347). Byram (1997) defined intercultural competence around the development of five dimensions (or *savoirs*): knowledge of self and other and of how the interaction unfolds across cultures (*savoirs*), attitudes of relativizing self and valuing other (*savoir être*), skills of interpreting and relating (*savoir comprendre*), skills of discovering and/or interaction (*savoir apprendre/faire*), and finally, the political education and critical cultural awareness (*savoir s'engager*).

Intercultural competence has become established as a transversal outcome to be acquired, namely in the field of foreign language education. Despite the complexity and multi-layered nature of intercultural competence, at least in the domain of foreign language learning, the focus has remained on the acquisition of declarative knowledge (*savoir*) about a supposed target culture. Although knowledge is essential for intercultural competence (namely knowledge of one's own multiple affiliations, awareness that knowledge might be conscious or unconscious and taken for granted), we claim that it is not enough to build supportive intercultural communication and competence. Further attempts have been made targeting the other dimensions of intercultural competence as well, such as the comparison of multiple norms and traditions or the comparison of perspectives and points of view, potentially leading to a change of perspectives and to the comprehension of the impact of one's socialisation process on attitudes and reasonings.

To foster the development of these intercultural dimensions, work with authentic texts and documents from the so-called target language has been seen as offering promising results (Byram et al., 2001; Matos & Melo-Pfeifer, 2020). Literary fiction, more specifically, has been advocated as a tool to foster intercultural learning, as it potentially leads to identification with characters that go through other socialisation processes and inhabit other cultural milieus, with their thoughts and emotions, thus increasing empathy towards otherness (Bredella, 2017). Also in the field of intercultural education, discussions around intercultural critical incidents have gained track in pedagogy and intercultural learning (Knapp, 2019; Tran et al., 2019). Critical incidents as a teaching method consist of "examples of situational clashes—situations where unexpected behaviour occurs" (Tran et al., 2019, p. 621) that are presented to students as a starting point for discussion. The basic idea of this method is that problems and clashes happen during intercultural encounters and that we can analyse, interpret, and even reconstruct the features leading to those clashes, learning from them. Through the discussion of intercultural critical incidents, the focus is placed on analysis and interpretation of the (at least) two sides of the incident, trying to put oneself in different shoes and grasp the same situation from multiple perspectives: the student's own, and two potential other perspectives.

By engaging with authentic texts, students also develop the ability to interpret documents and clashes,

developing the ability to understand frames of knowledge, specific behaviours, expectations, allusions, and connotations associated with particular linguistic, discursive, pragmatic, multimodal, or contextual features. As Byram (1997, p. 37) puts it, if students can compare documents from several cultural milieus, they "will discover both common ground, easily translated concepts and connotations, and lacunae…or dysfunctions, including mutually contradictory meaning." Such an ability is important in the field of media literacy as well, since reading and interpreting information and news is also dependent on the critical regard of the reader and their own awareness of personal knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and biases (Schwarz & Jalbert, 2021, on how people evaluate true, in general, and "compatibility" with one owns beliefs, as a more particular criterion).

The two mentioned methodologies to enhance intercultural competence and diversity awareness at school (work with literary texts and intercultural critical incidents) are both dialogical and largely dependent on classroom interaction. Despite the apparent safety of classroom-dependent dialogical activities, these methodologies do not come without danger, as we already announced in the introduction: Through contact with these critical incidents, in the form of documents or situations which might be more or less fictional, a great deal of attention should be placed on the dialogical processes leading to uncovering stereotypes, relativizing one's own perspective, challenging assumptions, perspectives, and knowledge taken for granted. The temptation of substituting one perspective for another, without uncovering underlying ideologies and principles, can lead to students feeling disoriented. It can also inadvertently lead to linguistic and cultural profiling and subsequent discrimination (Baugh, 2017), i.e., to the subjective evaluation of "foreignness" in discriminatory ways, based on (new) stereotypes. Another problem that might occur is the transmission of the idea that deconstruction of stereotypes all depends on students' subjectivities, and that it is not possible to distinguish fact from fiction, objectivity from subjectivity, between accuracy and lack thereof. These are the same problems the research points out when referring to the paradox of discussing "fake news" to uncover fake content.

4. Critical Intercultural News Literacy: Pedagogical Consideration for Teachers

Schools have an important role in educating to cope with "fake news" and develop resilience toward information disorders. Culloty et al. (2021, p. 2), referring to ways to counter exposition to disinformation, name three areas of countermeasures:

> Technological approaches that aim to automate the evaluation of online content and behaviour; audience approaches that aim to upskill the public and build resilience to manipulation; and regulatory and policy approaches that aim to increase transparency and accountability in the digital environment.

We consider that the school and formal education are scenarios where audience approaches can take place. Following our discussion in the previous sections, we now describe how we envisage pedagogical work with "fake news" at school.

Using "fake news" as a critical thematic subject and as a resource, namely those "fake news" that take vulnerable and migrant populations as a target, can have two potential gains in the classroom: developing students' intercultural competence and their media literacy. Taking one or the other lenses of analysis, both intercultural learning and media literacy aim at fostering abilities of critical and multimodal discourse analysis, critical thinking, and argumentative skills—all transversal competencies—which are best achieved in the school context through dialogic pedagogical approaches, integrating students' personal experiences in the learning process (Franco Migues, 2020). Responsive pedagogical approaches to fake news (Franco Migues, 2020) may then lead to a responsible news experience (Tejedor et al., 2020, p. 20), i.e., being able to reflect on one's own consumption of (fake) news patterns and on their consequences for society. Our proposal (Figure 1) is to merge both strands into a "critical intercultural news literacy" (following Cooke, 2021), a pedagogical perspective that bridges the gap between information and its consumption, providing "additional worlds of context that facilitate new perspectives and increased understanding. It takes a little extra legwork and openness to be uncomfortable with said context, but the rewards of amplified insight far surpass that discomfort" (Cooke, 2021, p. 495).

This perspective is challenging both for students and teachers. It requires, from an intercultural perspective, the ability to reflect on one's own knowledge, beliefs, and skills to relate to other languages and cultures. From a news literacy perspective, it implies reflecting on one's own patterns of news consumption (sources, frequency, themes) and the ability to deal with, compare, and contrast multiple sources of information. As in any modelling of the concept of "literacy" (Breuer et al., 2021), critical intercultural news literacy would imply three dimensions: an attitudinal dimension, related to the willingness to engage with such discourses and challenge discourses that scapegoat minorities; a knowledge dimension, related to acquiring trustful information, from diverse sources, on the events being reported; and an actional dimension, related to the ability to analyse "fake news" as a discourse and dismantle them through constructing valid counter-discourses.

From the merging of both approaches, it is possible to ask critical questions that address not only the *how* but also the *why* beyond the "fake," placing the questioning in broader narratives of exclusion and inequality. Such an approach recognises that deconstructing the

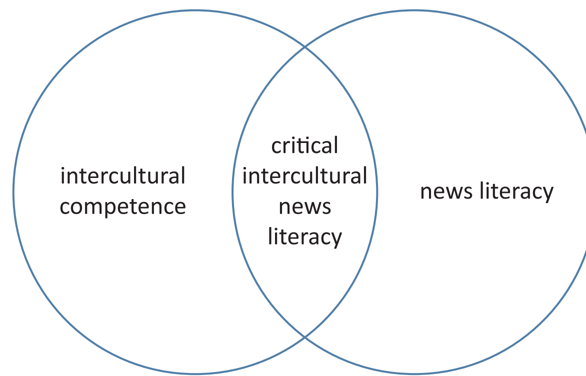

Figure 1. A pedagogical perspective on the use of "fake news" in the classroom.

discursive mechanisms of a "fake news" piece is important but not enough to understand the reasons beyond the targeting of specific minorities in a given context: while the *how* makes the identification of "fake news" easier (and might prevent their sharing), it is not enough to explain the systematic misleading treatment of minorities by some media outlets. But, if an actional dimension is indeed needed to dismantle gaslighting discourses targeting minorities, knowledge of history (and the history of the relationship between minorities and majorities), politics, and religious issues, for example, is important to see a "fake news" piece from different lenses and through different scales: Analysing the materiality of disinformation allows a microanalysis of a specific discourse (at a micro level); analysing its historicity brings the conditions of its production, circulation (and acceptance) to the forefront (at a macro level). In pedagogical terms, it would imply a double discussion in the classroom: First, "how do you know this piece of information is false or misleading?" and, second, "why do you think someone would write this piece of false or misleading information about these people?" While both moments are clearly interrelated, the first is rather descriptive and the second rather interpretative.

In the case of "fake news" about migrants and minorities, for example, we could ask from an intercultural perspective which groups are being misrepresented or reduced to some (identity) traits and which linguistic and multimedia features are being used to achieve it (how is a difference being created?). We can double-check our own interpretation by analysing our own beliefs, asking if we have sufficient knowledge to interpret the piece of information correctly and how our own socialisation processes influence our interpretation, thus analysing our own bias and making it transparent in the discussion.

From a news literacy angle, we can discuss the structural presentation of the so-called "news" (for example, around the common wh-questions), the trustworthiness of the source, the ideologies and agendas of the media outlet, and the very way it is written: Is the supposed information being recounted objectively, i.e., without adjectives and adverbs tending to present migrants and minorities from a biased perspective? Is an ethos of "us against them" being created and presented in a stark manner? Do the "news" pieces transmit facts or are they intending to trigger an emotional reaction from the audience?

From a critical intercultural news literacy perspective, teachers and students could analyse patterns of representation of migrants and minorities in "news," comparing the portraits of different minorities, nationalities, origins, etc., and relating them to broader national and international historical narratives and strategies of minority profiling (portraying them systematically from a denigrated and dehumanising viewpoint). It could be eye-opening to discover that powerholders in different countries construct different narratives around the same groups:

> At the country level, identity narratives were most prevalent in Germany, Netherlands, and Slovakia while security narratives dominated in Hungary, Poland, Estonia, and Austria. Identity and security narratives also subverted discussions of humanitarianism. For example, in France, the humanitarian narrative was undermined by those questioning whether refugees were genuinely in need of assistance while in Spain, the humanitarian narrative was subverted by concerns that left-wing politicians would prioritise the needs of migrants over Spaniards. Consequently, those advocating humanitarianism were characterised as a threat to the welfare of European countries (Bakamo Social, 2018). Within the national security narrative, anti-immigrant attitudes and disinformation are entangled in broader arguments about multiculturalism and the supposed decline of national identity. (Culloty & Suiter, 2021, p. 225)

From this critical stance, students and teachers can ask why this happens (why is the difference being created?), what makes minorities and migrants so prone to being victims of "fake news" and who is gaining from the others' suffering: This is a discussion that creates discomfort and outrage instead of leaving students and teachers in the comfort zone of comparing "us" and the "others" as if this comparison was neutral and

anodyne. Such comparisons can inadvertently embolden solid affiliations that foster nativist ideologies ("me as a German, a Portuguese, etc.," for example), instead of the recognition of multiple and dynamic affiliations. Guilherme (2017, p. 347), in a similar stance, called such an ethos "intercultural responsibility," "a social, relational, civic and ethical component of…IC [intercultural competence] with a commitment to social justice and an active involvement in matters of individual dignity and collective interest.''

5. Conclusion

In this article, we proposed a pedagogical use for "fake news," stressing how it can foster both intercultural competence and news literacy. Against the "backfire effect" argument and the danger of normalisation of malevolent discourses and bias against minorities, we defend the pedagogical use of "fake news" as a specific situated discourse that can be deconstructed. We assert the need to develop a critical intercultural news literacy that would lead students and teachers to challenge and criticise the mechanisms skewing the presentation of otherness in "fake news" and thus build up resilience against disinformation. Intercultural education and the development of intercultural competence or news literacy per se are valuable. However, for dealing with "fake news" on migrants and minorities in the classroom, the nature of the documents, their ideological underpinnings, and the broader narratives they are addressing must be brought explicitly into the interaction in an interconnected, ecological way. We, therefore, claim that "fake news" can renew and foster the treatment of both intercultural competence and news literacy at school, both across the curriculum and in specific school subjects (such as foreign languages, history, geography, or religion).

The presented approach was named critical intercultural news literacy, bringing together aspects of intercultural competence and news literacy. While we agree that "there is no magic bullet to counter anti-immigrant disinformation" (Culloty & Suiter, 2020, p. 323), we see the school as a scenario coordinating top-down and bottom-up approaches to cope with the problem, countering the lack of public policy to restrain racist and discriminatory speech about migration and migrants. Coping with anti-immigration discourses "requires a 'whole of society' approach that engages top-down approaches to regulating and monitoring the information and security environments as well as bottom-up approaches to everyday media practices at organisational and individual levels" (Culloty & Suiter, 2020, p. 323). The school can be seen as a hinging space because it is regulated by states and their educational policies (at a macro level) and can take students' and teachers' beliefs and everyday media practices as starting points for classroom discussions (at a micro-level). Macro and micro levels can mutually inform each other: The macro-level could collaborate with schools on monitoring the consumption of "fake news" by students and teachers and on helping design secure information environments at school; on the micro-level, individuals' habits and experiences could be turned into grassroots to address the dangers and harmfulness of negative discourses against minorities and migrants. Together, these approaches could foster students' and teachers' emotional response to fake news analysis, raising critical awareness of manipulation and othering processes, minority profiling, and one's personal vulnerabilities to become a direct victim of "fake news" (whether as a believer or a direct subject). These approaches would also stress the need to stay vigilant against recurrent narratives that tend to be exacerbated during crises and against mainstream media itself, as it might accentuate racist discourses either by fuelling them or by doing nothing against them. As put forward by Tejedor et al. (2020, p. 23):

> Citizens need to reconnect with feelings linked to universal values such as solidarity, justice, respect, freedom and equality, which potentially reinforces the sense of responsibility. The individual news experience needs to be reflected on through awareness of how personal experience (news behaviour, commenting, sharing, etc.) affects others and the values that individual actions promote.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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