

DIGITALISATION FOR ALL OF US?!

Uncovering the social imaginary of the Dutch government regarding adult digital literacy.

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Preface

In the past year of my master's degree I started to realize that not everyone can keep up with digitalisation, and that it can also have negative effects. I started to feel strongly for the people who have big trouble with digitalisation, such as illiterate people or seniors. However, I noticed that most efforts to increase digital literacy were aimed at these vulnerable groups, whilst 'regular' adults, being the majority of the working class, also experience trouble and problems. By reading up on literacy, it turned out many researches as well as policy initiatives are focused on youths; what skills do they need for their future? I feel there should be more attention for adult digital literacy, as this big group is overlooked in both academic research as in policies, but I think a lot can be gained by increasing their literacy. Therefore I wanted to write my thesis about adult digital literacy. It took me quite some time to find my subject and focus, even changing quite some bits very late in the process, but I hope to have showed with this research that adult digital literacy is something important to focus on too, and at the same time to uncover what it means to be a human in the digital era.

My process was long and hard, and I could not have done it without the tremendous support of my boyfriend Robby. Thank you so much for keeping up with my dark moods, giving me so many motivational talks when I wanted to give up and also relieving me of all chores of the household so I could focus on my thesis. You got me through this. I also like to thank all my friends and families for understanding that I had to lock myself up for quite some time. And I like to thank my graduation group for supporting me and giving me tips. You guys were right, at some point it will be done! Finally, I want to thank Mirko for being my supervisor. Thank you for appreciating my process, being a bit more flexible about the deadlines and for the good talks in the beginning that this was something I could do and could pursue.

Abstract

This thesis is about the social imaginary regarding digital literacy for adults in the Netherlands, aimed to uncover the social imaginary of the Dutch government. This is done by focussing on literacy, as literacy is always embedded with ideology. Because of digitalisation many accounts of literacy emerged, including digital literacy, all valuing different skills and embedded with different ideologies. Secondly, by focusing on literacy, the social imaginary can be uncovered as they are a part of each other. The focus is on adult literacy as there is not much academic research aimed at adult digital literacy, whilst this is a group that can benefit the most. Last year (2019), the Dutch government published a new version of their digitalisation strategy. The update to the curriculum of primary and secondary schools with more attention to digital literacy is part of this strategy. Four texts part of the Dutch digitalisation strategy have been examined to see the views of the Dutch government on adult digital literacy. They have been analysed with a mixed-method approach, by doing a content analysis with the programme 'R' to look for frequent words and correlations, and by doing a discourse analysis to provide the necessary context, as well to uncover the narratives of literacy and digitalisation, as they are a vital part of the social imaginary. In this discourse analysis there is specific focus to the common purposes to increase literacy as well as the common discourses regarding adult literacy. Unfortunately, the Dutch government did not focus on adult digital literacy at all in their strategy, and barely on digital literacy. This shows the Dutch government needs to shift their focus, as research has shown that adults can benefit more from digital literacy initiatives. The Dutch government thus has a lot of work to do as they are not paying attention to an important group of society. Their view on digitalisation and literacy in general is congruent with the dominant discourses in other policies, being 'the literacy myth', linking literacy directly with economic development and individual prosperity.

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1. Introduction

Our world is becoming more digitalized. 93 Percent of Dutch citizens deals with digital media on a daily basis (Plantinga & Kaal, 2018a). Digital technologies not only change how we communicate, but also how we work, study, shop; it changes how we live, therefore also changing us and thus changing what it means to be a human in the digital age.

Whilst these digital technologies bring joy and make life easier, digitalisation also has a flipside: not everyone can adapt to these changes and come along, resulting in a digital divide. Earlier the digital divide was only about access, nowadays the digital divide ‘deepened’ and is as much about skills and competences (Van Dijk, 2005), or in other words digital literacies. This is also the case in The Netherlands. Research from Plantinga & Kall (2018b) shows that both young people and adults lack literacy regarding new technologies. However, they also show that adults struggle the most and that adults can benefit more from increasing their literacy, thus gaining more when there are digital literacy initiatives aimed at adults.

Increasing digital literacy, by having certain skills and competences, is seen as a solution for the digital divide (Van Dijk, 2005). Literacy means “knowing how to read and write” (Cambridge dictionary, 2019), but is also more than just encoding and decoding skills. It is also “knowledge of a particular subject, or a particular type of knowledge” (Cambridge dictionary, 2019). Different types of literacy have different ideologies embedded in them of what it means to be literate, thus showing what is valuable in society (Hamilton, 2016, p.4). That makes literacy an interesting research topic.

Digitalisation and literacy are also hot topics in the Netherlands. The Dutch government published their digitalisation strategy (‘NL Digitalisation strategy 2.0’), part of the general “‘NL Digitaal’ strategy”, this year, to ‘make the digital transition of the Netherlands a success’ (2019, p.7). In this strategy the Dutch governments paints a certain picture about digitalisation and literacy and creates certain expectations and promises. Hamilton showed in her research on ‘traditional’ literacy (being reading and writing skills) that “narratives about literacy are also tightly integrated with others in adjacent areas of social life, linked for example, with views about citizenship, poverty and culture” (Hamilton, 2016, p.4).

By looking at the narratives about literacy and digitalisation within the digitalisation strategy these views and beliefs of the Dutch government can be uncovered, showing the position they have regarding digitalisation and digital literacy as well as the underlying ideology of the digitalisation strategy itself. This has led to the following main question: ‘how

is adult digital literacy represented in the Dutch digitalisation strategy?'. This question will be answered by looking at the narratives of digitalisation and digital literacy and with a specific focus on adults in the Dutch digitalisation strategy.

Looking at these literacy narratives is important as they are very powerful because of the ideologies that are always embedded in literacy: they “compound their hold over our imagination and ways of thinking. Charles Taylor (2007) refers to this as the ‘social imaginary’: an implicit map of social place and relations which forms a horizon we are virtually incapable of thinking beyond” (Hamilton, 2016, p.4). Everyone has a social imaginary that influences our doing and thinking. The social imaginary can be used to examine the relationships between ideas or ideals and policies and practices as they operate within a certain system and its host culture (O’Neill, 2016, p.1). Therefore the social imaginary can be seen as the secret building block of policy making (O’Neill, 2016, p.1).

That is why in this research there is a specific focus on uncovering the social imaginary of the Dutch government regarding adult digital literacy. Uncovering this imaginary shows the motives, views and underlying ideologies of the Dutch government in their digitalisation strategy, thus showing what they find important in the digital era for adults.

Another reason for doing this research is to provide more knowledge about adult digital literacy. This is necessary because digital literacy is commonly focused on youths; most practical initiatives or policies are aimed at children or youngsters (Grover & Pea, 2013). Even within the academic field there is a focus on youths; aimed at the skills and knowledge youths should have and how to teach them (Buckingham, 2016) or using youths to establish guidelines, policies and standardizations and even generalizing these outcomes for adults (Ito et al, 2008). No research is aimed specifically at adults and adult digital literacy, whilst research (Plantinga & Kaal, 2018b) has shown that adults benefit much more from literacy initiatives. Therefore adult digital literacy is the main focus of this research, to add much needed specific knowledge to the field.

In order to answer the main research question the concepts of social imaginary and digital literacy will be discussed in depth in the theoretical framework. In the method section the used research methods and corpus are explained, being a content analysis and a discourse analysis on four texts from the Dutch digitalisation strategy. Then the results follow, after which the main question will be answered in the conclusion. Finally, in the discussion this research will be discussed and recommendations for further research will be given.

2. Theoretical Framework

a. Social imaginary

Social imaginary is a concept from social studies and becoming very common (Strauss, 2006, p.322). It is a concept that focuses on the relationship between ideas or ideals and policies and practices. It is about ideologies and values of a certain social group, their society, and how they imagine their social whole and act upon this imagination (O'Neill, 2016).

Within media studies another imaginary is more popular: the 'technological imaginary'. Both are about (projected) ideologies, but the technological imaginary projects these onto technologies, disregarding human agency (Lister et al., 2009, pp.68-73). The social imaginary is all about human practices, therefore a good fit for a thesis about literacy, as literacy is about humans and their handling of or practices regarding (digital) technology, not about the technologies themselves.

The concept of social imaginary is also useful for my thesis for another reason: it can be used to understand 'policy and practice in a particular society at any given time' (O'Neill, 2016, p.1). As O'Neill shows in his research, the social imaginary can be used as an heuristic to "examine the material relationships between educational ideas or ideals and educational policies and practices as they operate within an educational system and its host culture" (O'Neill, 2016, p.1). Whilst O'Neill's research is focused on educational ideas, policies and practices, it also shows that the social imaginary is a concept that is very suited to apply in research about government policies focused on digital literacy (practices); exactly what this thesis is about.

As with every concept, the social imaginary is interpreted differently by different authors. Strauss (2006), tracing the historical and contemporary uses of the imaginary, focused on Taylor, Anderson, Lacan and Castoriadis. These authors are seen as the most influential (Strauss, 2006, p.322).

In this research, Taylor's view is adopted. Taylor, being inspired by Anderson, uses the term to describe the way in which people imagine and work to maintain the society in which they live. The imaginary is essentially a commonly shared moral conception of the ideal society (Taylor, 2002, pp.106-107). Therefore Taylor sees the social imaginary as 'the way we imagine our society' (2002, p.92), not what societies imagine.

His concept is often critiqued for the similarities it has with social theory. However, Taylor rather speaks of social imaginary than social theory, because he is "talking about the way ordinary people 'imagine' their social surroundings, and this is often not expressed in theoretical terms; it is carried in images, stories, and legends" (Taylor, 2002, p.106).

Furthermore, “theory is usually the possession of a small minority, whereas what is interesting in the social imaginary is that it is shared by large groups of people, if not the whole society” (Taylor, 2002, p.106). This focus on ‘the ordinary people’ and their practices that shape (and are shaped by) their social imaginary is what sets Taylor apart from the other authors, and why his conceptualisation is adopted in this research.

According to Taylor, three elements are important with the social imaginary: the ‘moral order’, practices and theory (Taylor, 2002). With moral order Taylor means “that common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy” (Taylor, 2002, p.106). An example of moral order would be the practice of voting: by voting on someone you expect them to represent you, to make your voice heard, and that they will act in your best interest. Moral order is the way we know how things go or ought to go.

Practices and theory are other important parts of the social imaginary because they both shape and influence the social imaginary, and also shape each other. Theory together with moral order is often called the background understanding. “The relation between practices and the background understanding behind them is not one-sided. If the understanding makes the practice possible, it is also true that the practice largely carries the understanding” (Taylor, 2002, p.106-107). This shows that many elements influence a social imaginary, and that they all in turn influence each other. A different theory on voting could result in a different voting practice, and thus in a different moral order. But losing faith in the democratic system (and thus changing the moral order) may result in different practices and theories (such as a revolution, not voting at all or coming up with a new system).

This emphasis on both practice and theory, showing that social imaginary is more than the background understanding that is a part of social practices, is what sets Taylor apart from other influential authors. In the following section Taylor’s conceptualisation will be related to (digital) literacy, which will further show why Taylor’s concept is the best for research on digital literacy and governmental policies.

b. Social imaginaries & literacies

Literacy always is connected or interwoven with social imaginary. Hamilton (2016), the first author that explicitly connects literacy with social imaginary, shows how they are interwoven and why applying the concept of social imaginary in literacy research can deliver great results.

Literacy and social imaginary are interwoven in the following ways:

1. Literacy is interwoven with social imaginary because ‘narratives about literacy are linked with views about citizenship, poverty and culture, compounding their hold over our imagination and ways of thinking’(Hamilton, 2016, p.4). People who cannot read are often seen as dumb or lesser members of society. ‘Because narratives have the power to organise our thinking, they also have the power to influence our social imaginary’, by influencing our moral order, background understanding and even our practices (Hamilton, 2016, p.4).
2. On the other side is literacy “significantly implicated in our contemporary social imaginary and this is reflected in the stories we currently tell one another about reading and writing” (Hamilton, 2016, p.4). This shows that views about (digital) literacy not only influence the social imaginary, but are also part of our contemporary social imaginary. In contemporary society you are expected to know how to read: even going with the train requires reading skills to see if you are in the right train. If you want to know whether your train is delayed you either have to look at digital screens on the station or look it up on your mobile phone or computer from home.

Literacy influences the social imaginary on one hand through narratives, but is also a vital part of the social imaginary itself. This double connection of literacy and social imaginary shows the importance and why it is a useful concept for doing literacy research: by researching the social imaginary you look at the influence of literacy narratives on social imaginary (how these narratives evolve and work to influence society and its imaginary) but also how society feels about literacy and acts upon that (how these narratives are anchored in society).

According to Hamilton, these narratives influencing our imaginary should be examined by studying the politics of representation (2016, p.4). The examination that Hamilton proposes has many similarities with Taylor’s theory on what transforms and penetrates the social imaginary.

Like Taylor, Hamilton puts emphasis on the history of a certain narrative. She looks at the following aspects (Hamilton, 2016, p.4-5):

1. Where it first emerged (a theory for example).
2. The actors (or groups of people like the elite).
3. The mobilisations of those actors around these theories (the practices that emerge from the theories).
4. How they are linked with other narratives (background understanding).

5. A critical reflection on the practices and changing of theory themselves.

Therefore literacy and the social imaginary are not only interwoven through narratives, but also because of the similar ways in which both concepts can be influenced and studied.

Taylor's concept of social imaginary combines well with literacy, as he puts more emphasis on both theory and practice influencing the imaginary than other authors. Hamilton also emphasizes both theory and practice influencing literacy, showing that literacy policy often starts with a certain theory that underlies policymaking, which is then transformed into certain (best) practices (based on theory) and thereby influences the social imaginary (Hamilton, 2016, pp.9-13). Hamilton shows through Taylor's conceptualisation that theory, formed in practices, influences literacy and the social imaginary. Like literacy and imaginary, theory and practice are connected to literacy in a similar two-sided matter: practices are grounded in theories, but theories are influenced by practices too.

Whilst Taylor's concept is the best fit for literacy, there needs to be caution. Applications of Taylor's concept "can only be valuable if we do not talk about 'the imaginary of a society' but of people's imaginaries", and that "this approach does not take culture to be a fixed entity assumed to be held in common by a geographically bounded or self-identified group" (Strauss, 2006, p.323). In other words, imaginaries are always of people, not of a society or culture itself, and are not universal or fixed but differ among individuals, (sub)groups and cultures.

Hamilton acknowledges this, as she argues that literacy is also not universal or fixed but depends on context. In her research she had a particular emphasis on the different narratives of different groups of people, 'showing how the meanings and effects of literacy reflect the agendas of particular interest groups such as politicians or teachers' (Hamilton, 2016, p.13). Therefore this thesis is not looking at the social imaginary of a whole society, but of a 'subsociety', being the society of 'the government', where it is looking at the social imaginary of the people that are in the government.

Whilst Hamilton only focused on 'traditional' literacy (meaning reading and writing), her connection of literacy and social imaginary is a fruitful one and can also be used for other types of literacy, in this case digital literacy. Therefore the different conceptualisations of digital literacy that are out there will be discussed now, providing clarity about the definition of digital literacy that will be used in this research.

c. Literacy as a concept

In the introduction the two definitions of literacy were already mentioned: “knowing how to read and write” and “knowledge of a particular subject, or a particular type of knowledge” (Cambridge dictionary, 2020).

In media studies, the most widely accepted definition of literacy is Street’s (1984), where literacy is conceived as “social practices and conceptions of reading and writing”. Street came up with this definition as he criticized the older, more autonomous and monolithic model of literacy, and this was called ‘the social turn’ of literacy.

Street’s definition emphasizes that social practices are also a vital part of literacy, thus viewing literacy as more than simply knowing how to encode and decode and in a more sociocultural way (Livingstone, 2004). These social practices not only result in contestations over power and authority to access, interpret and produce texts (Livingstone, 2004), but also play a part in acquiring literacy. ‘Engaging in these situated practices (where we make meaning by relating texts to larger ways of doing and being) is engaging in literacy – or more accurately, literacies (as we are all apprenticed to more than one) (Lankshear & Knobel, 2008, p.7). This again shows why social imaginary is so useful to link with literacy: both are influenced by social practices.

Besides social practices, two other things are important parts of literacy: context and ideology. Literacy is always contextual, depending on the background (culture) as well as the type of text: each type of text requires different background knowledge and different skills (Gee, Hull & Lankshear, 1996, pp.1-2). Writing a book is different than writing a research report for example. This is important, as this means multiple literacies exist, there is not ‘one literacy that rules them all’ (Lankshear & Knobel, 2008, p.4), just as there is not ‘one social imaginary’.

As mentioned before in the introduction, literacy is also always ideological. Both Scribner & Cole (1981) and Gee, Hull & Lankshear (1996) argue that “texts are parts of lived, talked, enacted, value-and-belief-laden practices carried out in specific places and at specific times” (Gee, Hull & Lankshear, 1996, p.3). Especially these value-and-belief laden practices show that literacy has always been ideological. In the middle ages for example, reading and writing was something only for the elite, so being literate meant you were part of the higher class of society (Britannica, 2019). Or as Hamilton puts it: “there is always an underlying idea or ideology of what it means to be literate, thus showing what is valuable in society” (2016, p.4).

Hamilton shows this underlying ideology clearly in her research (2016) on traditional literacy (reading and writing). ‘Because of the human resources view of the centrality of skills and training to prosperity’ (2016, p.4), a certain ‘literacy myth’ is strongly inscribed in policy initiatives. This myth views literacy as ‘a stable set of information processing competences exercised within different contexts’ (2016, p.5), linking literacy “directly with economic development, individual prosperity and vocational achievement” (2016, p.5). In this human resources view of literacy, “the ‘good’ literacy learner is constructed as a responsible citizen contributing to global prosperity” (2016, p.6). Not only does Hamilton show the importance of context here (the dominant human resources view that influences how literacy is seen), she also shows the ideology that accompanies this view of literacy (being literate equals prosperity and economic growth, so the ideal citizen is a ‘good’ literacy learner that contributes to this). Therefore in this research extra attention will be paid to what the Dutch government sees as a ‘good’ literacy learner or as a ‘good’ citizen to uncover the underlying ideology and social imaginary.

When studying literacy it is important to look at the three vital parts of literacy, being social practices, context and ideology. As literacy is dependent on these three factors, different discourses and different purposes for trying to achieve a higher level of literacy exist.

d. Purposes & discourses

In the above Hamilton (2016) showed that the purpose for increasing literacy and thus for setting up literacy initiatives is an economic purpose; the idea is that increasing literacy leads to an increase in economic developments and thus in prosperity. In addition, Livingstone, Van Couvering and Thumin (2005) show in their research that the academic literature on media literacy identifies three other broad purposes that are evident in driving the policy debates concerned with media literacy:

1. *Democracy, participation and active citizenship.* This purpose sees media literacy as a way to support a sophisticated, critical and inclusive public sphere, where a media-literate individual is more able to gain an informed opinion, and able to express their opinion individually and collectively in public, civic and political domains (Livingstone, Van Couvering and Thumin, 2005, p.7).
2. *Knowledge economy, competitiveness and choice.* This purpose sees media literacy as a way to achieve a society that is innovative and competitive, where a media-literate individual is likely to have more to offer and so achieve at a higher level in the

workplace as the economy is increasingly based on information (often in a complex and mediated form) (Livingstone, Van Couvering and Thumin, 2005, p.7).

3. *Lifelong learning, cultural expression and personal fulfilment*. This purpose sees media literacy as a contribution to the critical and expressive skills that support a full and meaningful life, and to an informed, creative and ethical society (Livingstone, Van Couvering & Thumin, 2005, pp.7-8).

Lin et al (2013) showed that these three purposes can also be found globally, not only in academic literature: they show that similar emphases on the role of media literacy are also advocated in media literacy documents and standards of the US (National Association for Media Literacy Education, 2007), UK (Ofcom, 2004), Singapore (Lin, 2011; National Institute of Education, 2009), and Taiwan (Lin, 2009; Ministry of Education, 2002) (Lin et al, 2013, p.161).

These four purposes also resonate in the common discourses surrounding literacy. The most common discourses are a deficit discourse, a social exclusion discourse and an 'economistic' or human capital discourse. However, it is important to realise that these discourses have some overlap and similarities.

In the deficit discourse, people perceived as having low numeracy or literacy skills are often seen by policy-makers, and the general public, as being in deficit: they are to blame for their own problems, and they are an economic burden on the society in which they live (Coben, 2001; Papen, 2005; Yasukawa & Black 2016). This is a problematic view because deficit and functional discourses 'directly link people with 'low literacy skills' with national prosperity in a simple cause and effect relationship' (Hamilton & Pitt, 2011, p.17). It is also problematic as people with literacy needs are often positioned as an 'underclass' (Welshman, 2006; Hamilton & Pitt, 2011, p.6). They are often treated differently and are positioned as 'others' (Papen, 2005).

Another prominent discourse is the discourse of social exclusion, focussed primarily on economic activity (Hamilton & Pitt, 2011, p.6). In the discourse of social exclusion, the notion of 'literacy as a right' (UNESCO, 2006) is transformed into literacy learning as "an 'entitlement' conditional on fulfilment of 'duties', also changing the agency of the adult learner as citizen. This discourse is a well-established part of wider discourses of neo-liberalism which currently frame national and international policy" (Hamilton and Pitt, 2011, p.6). This discourse is more functional, focused on work and social practices, where literate people can obtain better jobs, and thus benefit more than people with low literacy. It also has a social aspect, regarding social practices: if you cannot read you would not know easily

which train to take, or not knowing how to use a mobile phone for texting excludes you as well.

Recently there has been a rise in the ‘economistic’ or human capital view of adult skills. In this discourse, “literacy and numeracy are now perceived primarily in terms of human capital, variously expressed as ‘core’, ‘foundation’, ‘essential’ or ‘functional’ skills that enable individuals, enterprises and nations to become more productive and competitive in the globalised economy” (Yasukawa & Black, 2016, ix). Within this discourse, they position adults assessed as having low skills as ‘other’ from the reader and society, being out-of-touch, disengaged, and not contributing sufficiently to the economy. Learning is seen merely as ‘the acquisition of skills by the workforce’ (Yasukawa & Black, 2016, ix). Other authors also argue that similar policy discourses appeared in many developed countries over the last decade (Papen 2005; Oughton 2007; Evans 2013; Hamilton 2016). This discourse has some overlap with the ‘deficit’ discourse, both arguing that low literate people influence the competitiveness of the country the world economy, either by dragging them down as they need more help, funding and care (deficit) or because a lack of skills lowers production (economistic).

The three purposes and the mentioned discourses are the big focus points in this research. A certain purpose or motivation for pushing literacy can inform a certain discourse and thus influence the social imaginary, and as Taylor showed dominant discourses can also affect the social imaginary and vice versa. These purposes and discourses thus show what is important and with that the ideology that is embedded in literacy. From now on they will be referred to as the democratic purpose (1), economic purpose (2) and social/ethical purpose (3) and the deficit, social exclusion and economic discourses.

e. Different literacies

Not only are there different purposes and discourses regarding literacy, there are also different types of literacy that exist nowadays. This is because of the changes in the media landscape and in society. New or different types of texts came into existence, and therefore new types of literacy became necessary. Many scholars therefore argue that in contemporary society there are multiple literacies, with varying social contexts and conditions (Lankshear & Knobel, 2008; Koltay, 2011).

The most common ‘types’ of literacy nowadays in media studies are media literacy, new media literacy, information literacy and digital literacy (Koltay, 2011). All these different literacy concepts show what different kinds of skills, practices or mindsets are viewed as important in contemporary society. Whilst these other literacies also can provide valuable

information about what it means to be literate today, in this thesis the term digital literacy will be used as it refers to all that is needed in the current digital era. Therefore only digital literacy will be discussed more in depth now.

f. Digital Literacy

According to Koltay (2011), digital literacy in its present understanding was first introduced by Paul Gilster (1997). Gilster explained digital literacy as an ability to understand and to use information from a variety of digital sources without the concern for different competence lists.

Like Gilster, Jones & Flannigan (2006), using Eshet-Alkalai's (2004) terminology, describe digital literacy also as "a person's ability to perform tasks effectively in a digital environment". However, they also include some essential abilities in their definition: "the ability to read and interpret media, to reproduce data and images through digital manipulation, and to evaluate and apply new knowledge gained from digital environments" (Jones & Flannigan, 2006, p.5). Similar to traditional literacy, this definition also shows that digital literacy is more than just encoding and decoding in a digital environment.

Digital literacy is more about the practices than the understanding of digital technologies. Frau-Meigs compares it to driving a car: in order to know how to drive and handle a car you do not need to know how the engine works (Frau-Meigs, 2012, p.19).

However, digital literacy is not only about practices and skills (having proficiency in operating computer programs): it is "a special mindset, a special kind of thinking: a new, very elaborate and flexible way of thinking, typical for digitally literate learners" (Eshet-Alkalai, 2004, p.2).

In the digital era this mindset is necessary as there are more literacies out there than ever before. Even digital literacy consists of multiple other literacies. Building forth on Eshet-Alkalai, Jones & Flannigan argue that digital literacy consists of four other literacies: *photo-visual literacy* (reading instructions from graphic interfaces), *reproduction literacy* (the ability to copy and paste, 'using the computer's digital reproduction capability, to form genuine-creative products'), *lateral literacy* ('flexibility of thinking that enables learners to construct knowledge from hypertextual, non-linear navigation through knowledge domains') and *information literacy* (the ability to critically evaluate and assess the quality of digital information, 'acting as a filter') (Jones & Flannigan, 2006, pp.5-6). These different literacies that are a part of digital literacy all show the need for certain practices, a special mindset and specific learning abilities.

The four literacies of digital literacy from Eshet-Alkalai (2004) also come back in the work of other authors: the competencies of Bawden (2008) (content evaluation, hypertext navigation and knowledge assembly) and the qualities that a ‘digitally literate’ person has of Koltay (2011). These qualities are:

1. Searching for information coupled with critical thinking;
2. Knowing how to publish and communicate information, not just the reception of it;
3. Having awareness of the value of traditional tools “in conjunction with networked media and social networks”;
4. The ability to collect reliable information from diverse sources (‘knowledge assembly’) (Koltay, 2011, pp.216-217).

These qualities of Koltay are very similar to the qualities of information literacy, but the difference here is the emphasis on knowing how to publish and communicate that information, while information literacy is more about knowing how to find (the right) information and assessing its quality by critical thinking.

All these different practices, mindsets and abilities all influence the ways we make meaning of digital texts. Whilst Gilster, Jones & Flannigan and Eshet-Alkalai emphasize the importance of mindset in making meaning of texts, Lankshear & Knobel (2008) and Martin (2006) emphasize the importance of social practices. Both argue that a more sociocultural perspective of literacy can be extended to digital literacy as well, seeing digital literacy “as shorthand for the myriad social practices and conceptions of engaging in meaning making mediated by texts that are produced, received, distributed, exchanged etc. via digital codification” (Lankshear & Knobel, 2008, p.5). Like traditional literacy, digital literacy also experienced ‘a social turn’.

This emphasis on social practices is important because it shows that people can have the same mindsets or abilities but still can interpret texts differently. This is because many types of digital texts will themselves take multiple forms (different purposes for blogging for example; commercial, memory, mocking etc.), and ‘different people reading the same texts in different ways make sense of them differently’ (Lankshear & Knobel, 2008, p.6). An example of this would be photoshopped images: some see that it is photoshopped and consider it fake, others see it and consider it art, others do not see it and think it is real. This shows why the social practices are such an important part of digital literacy.

All these different conceptualisations share the same purpose: they try to show what kind of skills, competencies, mindsets and knowledge a person is expected to have in contemporary society. Therefore digital literacy, like any literacy, shows what is deemed

important in today's society, how you should behave, and what skills are necessary to thrive in the current era, thus reflecting certain ideologies.

In this thesis, the term 'digital literacy' from now on will be used to refer to (all) the literacies that are necessary (or perceived as necessary) in the current digital era. Therefore it is not a strict set in stone concept to be followed and searched for, but a more fluid one. In the end it is all about certain skills, ways of working and ways of thinking that are being seen as necessary, important or even essential for this time or for contemporary society, so whether these skills, ways of working and ways of thinking fit into a certain box is not important.

4. Method

In order to be able to answer the main research question, and therefore uncover the social imaginary of the Dutch government regarding digital literacy for adults, four texts will be examined: the Dutch strategy regarding digitalization of the Netherlands, '*Nederlandse Digitaliseringsstrategie 2.0*' (Ministerie van Economische Zaken en Klimaat, 2019), the special programme '*Digitale Inclusie*' (digital inclusion) (Knops, 2018) and two texts of the *NL DIGIbeter programme* (focused on making the Netherlands 'digitally better'), one from 2018 and one from 2019, both by Overheidsbrede Beleidsoverleg Digitale Overheid. These texts are all part of the overarching 'NL Digitaal strategy'.

The schema (attachment 1, p.37) shows the different priorities of the NL Digitaal strategy. As the schema shows, the 'NL DIGIbeter' programme is part of the priority 'digitale overheid' (digital government). Out of these six priorities, 'digital inclusion and skill' is expected to be the most related to literacy. From this priority the 'Digital Inclusion' programme came forth, specifically aimed at making sure everyone is included and can participate in the digital society and with an explicit focus on improving digital skills and increasing digital awareness (Ministerie van Economische Zaken en Klimaat, 2019, p.21).

That is why the Digital Inclusion programme and the NL DIGIbeter texts are chosen to analyse, as they are explicitly focused on the human side of digitalization, thus are expected to address digital literacy for adults. From now on, the texts will be referred to as Strat (Digital Strategy), DI (Digital Inclusion), Dig18 (DIGIbeter 2018) and Dig19 (DIGIbeter 2019).

As argued in the theoretical framework, literacy is always dependent on context. Therefore many different literacies exist, as well as many different conceptualisations. This means there cannot be searched for the one exact definition of literacy that the Dutch government uses. However, within every account of literacy certain things are seen as important; certain skills, mindsets and practices for example. That is why in the analysis there will be searched for what the Dutch government thinks is important for adults who live in the digital age. The focus therefore is not only on literacy but also on the conceptions of the Dutch government regarding digitalisation in general.

To analyse these texts and see what is important for the Dutch government, two methods will be used: a content analysis and a discourse analysis. The content analysis is an objective method to analyse (media)texts, counting how often certain phenomena occur (Long & Wall, 2012, pp.122-123). In this research words are being counted to see what words or topics are used most frequently, thus showing what is important to the Dutch government before reading the texts, to keep the discourse analysis as objective as possible.

The content analysis will be done with the text mining programme 'R' (R Core Team, 2018), as it shows the most frequent words, can visualise it by making a wordcloud and show correlations between words. This is done using the packages "tm" for text mining (Feinerer & Hornik, 2018), "SnowballC" (Bouchet-Valat, 2019) for text stemming, "wordcloud" (Fellows, 2018) for generating wordclouds and "RColorBrewer"(Neuwirth, 2014) for giving it color. The exact steps can be found in attachment 2 (pp.38-39).

To find correlations, 'R' needs certain words to look out for. The chosen words are 'geletterdheid' (literacy), to see what literacy correlates with, 'digital' to see how they look at digitalisation and digital technologies, 'kansen' (opportunities) as this is a common way to look at digitalisation and literacy, 'waarden' (values) to see which are important to the government, 'burger' (citizen) to see how humans/citizens are seen in the digital age, 'nodig' (necessary) to see what the government perceives as necessary for this time, 'tijd' (time) to see what is specific for this time and 'data' as that also says something about digitalisation.

However, correlations of words only show that there is a connection with certain other words, not what this connection is exactly. This is why discourse analysis is needed, to take a closer look at the texts and give context to the results of the content analysis.

Discourse analysis (Foucault, 1972) analyses what social representations are dominant (Matheson, 2005, p.1). The concept 'discourse' is from Foucault (1972), he saw discourse as a system of representation (in Hall, 1992: 291). Foucault says discourse is more than just language (more than what is being said about a certain topic): (social) practices and power relations also shape a discourse. A discourse is always set in a certain historical context or timeframe, therefore a discourse (and thus meaning) is not fixed but changes over time.

According to Foucault, things (both objects and actions) only get meaning within a discourse. By analysing the discourse it is possible to find out how a certain subject is being talked about in texts, and thus how that subject, in this case digital literacy for adults, is being represented.

In order to look at the representation of digital literacy for adults in the texts of the Dutch government, the focus needs to be on what the government finds important for adults (for example what skills, practices, mindsets, values etc.) and how they describe this. This will be done by looking at the following aspects: (1) the context of the chosen keywords for the correlation, (2) the narratives about adult literacy, (3) the narratives of digitalisation and (4) the purposes or motivations behind it (referring back to Livingstone, Van Couvering & Thumin, 2005).

Hamilton (2016), who looked at the social imaginary regarding traditional literacy, also used a discourse analysis for her analysis. She focused on (1) the important actors, (2) the implementation of theories, (3) specific targeting of groups and social labelling, (4) numbers and statistics and their visualisation and (5) adopted language and tone (catastrophic? Positive? Statements like ‘illiteracy is dependence?’), therefore these things will also be looked at in this research.

To ensure a good research procedure, the discourse analysis will be done by filling in the tables with these elements (see attachment 3, p.40) for each text, after which they will be compared. In the results section there will also be references to the theoretical framework regarding the purposes of improving digital literacy.

5. Results

a. Content analysis

i. Frequencies

For an overview of all the frequencies, their relative positions and the correlations, see attachment 4 (pp.41-43). For an overview of the discourse analysis see attachment 6 (pp.45-54), for short summaries of all texts, see attachment 5 (p.44).

In general the most frequent words found are often about the parties involved such as cabinet ('kamer', 'kabinet'), people ('mensen') and government ('overheid'), or the topics and goals of the different programmes, such as inclusion ('inclusie') and services ('dienstverlening'). Interestingly there are no frequent words related to literacy, not even in the digital inclusion text that exists of four tracks of which two are directly related to literacy (digital skills & self-reliance and digital awareness), and one indirect (digital accessibility). Only in the digital strategy text is skills ('vaardigheden') a frequent word, but only being the 29th most frequent word out of 30.

The most frequent words and thus the focus points of each text can easily be determined by looking at the wordclouds (see attachment 7, p.55). Digital(isation) and government ('overheid') are central in all clouds. The digital inclusion cloud shows a centralization of people ('mensen') as well as having frequent terms such as everyone ('iedereen') and participation ('meedoen'). These do not appear in other texts, and suggest that the DI text is more human centred. In the NL DIGIbeter texts government ('overheid'), their services ('dienstverlening') and civilians ('burger') are central. Both are confirmed by the discourse analysis, as their goals are to include everyone (DI) and to improve the government services to serve the civilians (DIGIbeter).

ii. Correlations

These words and correlations alone only make suggestions, so the results of the discourse analysis were necessary to find the contexts of these words, the narratives they are used in and the discourses they are part of. The context of literacy will be discussed in the 'narratives of literacy' part of the discourse analysis.

Two correlations were found in all texts, being the keywords opportunities ('kansen') and values ('waarden'). Opportunities were seen in all texts as something to be 'utilized', brought forth by digitalisation. In the strategy text they argue that digitalisation can have multiple positive effects: 'digitalisation offers opportunities for wealth and welfare (Strat, p.7) as well as profit for economic growth and fighting societal problems' (Strat, p.7). Also in the digital inclusion text the goal is that the Netherlands is 'capable to utilize the economic and

societal opportunities of digitalisation' (DI, p.18), again seeing digitalisation as beneficial for society and economy, which also showed in the correlation. However, all texts (except for the Dig18 text) also pay some attention to the risks, saying that as there are opportunities there are also risks, which was also visible in the correlation.

As seen in the content analysis, values has high correlation with 'public' in all texts. In all texts they argue that public values are important, being a main focus point as the government feels these values need to be protected as they can be jeopardized by digitalisation. Except for the digital inclusion text they all explicitly mention some important values as well; free and open internet and ethics as a value for The Netherlands (Strat, p.27), privacy, self-reliance and equality (Dig18, p.7) and democracy (Dig19, p.24).

The keywords 'willen' and 'belangrijk' are important too. 'Want' ('willen') shows the desires of the government: digital inclusion (Strat, p.19-21), a breakthrough regarding life-long learning (Strat, p.21) and to make the Netherlands more digitally safe and secure (Strat, p.24), to create a positive and strong education culture (DI, p.19), and 'a society where everyone can participate and that puts human dignity up front, also better service to civilians and entrepreneurs by the government' (Dig18, p.53). In Dig19 they want to improve their information and services (Dig19, p.9), but the government also wants 'to optimally use the possibilities of digitalisation' (Dig19, p.24).

Finally, important ('belangrijk') shows what the government finds important. In the strategy text this is 'protection of safety, fundamental rights and public values' (Strat, p.7), also emphasizing that it is internationally important to 'protect an equal playing field and take a stance for the important values of The Netherlands in a digitalising world, being free and open internet as well as ethic protection, honest and competitive markets, innovation, trust, privacy and ethics' (Strat, p.27).

In the digital inclusion text their top priority is that everyone can participate in the (digital) society (DI, p.3) with priority to accessibility and comprehensible information from the government (p.4). They find digitalisation 'as important as reading, writing and calculating' (p.5). They also argue it is important that everyone understands that we cannot live in our society without technology and that they know the consequences of this (DI, p.6).

Interestingly, the Dig18 text did not mention 'belangrijk' anywhere. The Dig19 text did. One of the most important things is that 'everyone can (and stays able to) participate' (Dig19, p.89), along with the importance of a basic infrastructure as a precondition for a digital society (pp.63-64). They also mentioned democracy as an important value that

digitalisation can impact a lot (p.24) and that digital identity and governance over data were important subjects last year and stay important priorities this year (Dig19, p.35).

b. Discourse analysis

Because literacy was not explicitly mentioned, at least not frequent enough to appear in the content analysis, it was necessary to carefully ‘read between the lines’ with the discourse analysis in order to uncover the narratives of literacy, as well as the narratives of digitalisation and the purposes of the programmes. See the attachment 5 (p.44) for a short summary of each text, and attachment 6 (pp.45-54) for the results of the discourse analysis. Unfortunately, it became clear that in none of the texts adult digital literacy was mentioned, and no explicit targeting or mentioning of adults occurred except in the DIG18 text. Therefore the focus was shifted to literacy in general.

i. Literacy narratives

Literacy was not mentioned much, only in combination with ‘Tel mee met Taal’ programme (Strat, DI, DIG19), where it was seen as traditional literacy (reading and writing). In the DI text they mentioned it twice, as they want governmental services to be accessible for people with low literacy (DI, p.4) and that they want to learn from low-literacy people to improve their services (DI, p.4, p.8). Digital literacy only got explicitly mentioned in the context of the new curriculum for primary and secondary schools: ‘more attention will be paid to digital literacy and digital skills to better equip students for the future’ (Strat, p.34; Dig18, p.35).

Digital skills was mentioned more often, but as seen in the theoretical framework literacy is more than skills. They do mention digital awareness (Strat, p.22; Dig19), but only in the DIG19 text it is prioritized as it is a part of one of their pillars.

According to the strategy text, increasing digital skills is necessary for multiple reasons: as a fundament for successful digital transition of The Netherlands (Strat, p.6), as a means for digital inclusion and as a necessity because of the ‘changes digitalisation brings to the job market and the future (curriculum)’ (Strat, p.21). They do not specify these skills. They also see digital skills as a part of their LLO (life-long learning) ambition, as ‘technologic developments of the future cannot be predicted’ (Strat, p.19). In addition, they are changing the curriculum for primary and secondary schools to have more attention for digital skills (Strat, p.20), to better connect to the job market and to better equip students for the future (Strat, p.21). All three purposes of Livingstone, Van Couvering & Thumin (2005) are there: economic, for a better job market and the future, democratic, for participation and inclusion, and social/ethical for life-long learning.

In the digital inclusion text skills are not explicitly mentioned, they are more focused on awareness of digitalisation. To prevent exclusion, awareness and experience with digitalisation and its technologies (both awareness and skills) is necessary, as well as access (to government services, and access in terms of understandable languages). Digital experience (skills) and awareness are also necessary for a democratic purpose; for good citizenship (technologic citizenship) and for trust and knowledge of their own rights so civilians can stand up and participate (DI, p.13). They argue that for civilians to have digital awareness (knowing the possibilities and dangers of the digital world) they need knowledge and experience. They emphasize that the government has to do this but civilians themselves too (DI, p.13). They call this ‘technologic citizenship’; ‘the collection of duties and rights that makes it possible for citizens to profit from the blessings of technologies and protect them against the risks of it’ (DI, p.13). So the narrative here is that skills are important, but there is more emphasis on awareness/knowledge. The main purpose is preventing exclusion, but also a bit for good citizenship and democratic strength of civilians so they can benefit from technologies (democratic and social/ethical purpose).

The narrative in the DIGibeter 2018 text is that people need to be aware that digital skills and digital resilience are important (Dig18, p.35), and that the government is there for people who have difficulties with digital technologies, digital skills and digitalisation in general. This is a narrative of deficit. They also refer to the increased attention to digitalisation in the new curriculum to ‘better equip students for the future’ (Dig18, p.35) like the strategy text did. Digital skills are being mentioned so that ‘everyone can participate’ and can handle the digital world, thus being a narrative of inclusion (or to prevent exclusion). However, they are mostly focused on making the government services better accessible (easier to access, understand and for everyone) rather than focusing on improving the skills of civilians.

In the DIGibeter 2019 text they expand their narrative from first being only about access and a bit of skills to now being about access, skills and awareness. There is also more focus on improving the digital skills of civilians. When they talk about digital inclusion, in order ‘to prevent people to be excluded it is necessary that the digital services of the government are accessible and comprehensible for everyone (digitally-accessible), that work is being done to improve the digital skills of people (digitally-skilled) and that people understand what the opportunities and risks are of digitalisation (digital-awareness)’ (Dig19, p.36). Whilst the narrative of the 2018 text was also to improve the accessibility of government services, and that people needed more skills and awareness, it wasn’t made this

explicit, especially not in combination with combatting exclusion. In this text it is clear that, even although they do not mention literacy explicitly, literacy is expanded and seen as a prerequisite for digital inclusion.

Generally the narrative of literacy is mostly about improving skills, even although in the digital inclusion text the main focus is about awareness and in the DIGIbeter 2019 text the notion of literacy has expanded (skills, access and awareness). Improvement of digital skills /digital literacy is seen as necessary to prevent exclusion, and must be done by both the government and the civilians. Another recurring narrative is that paying attention to literacy is necessary to be better equipped for the future as digitalisation changes the job market, the economy and society as a whole (economic purpose and economic view of literacy).

ii. Groups/social labelling

Overall, all texts are mainly about civilians and the government. Low literate people ('laaggeletterden') are mentioned a few times in the strategy and DIGIbeter 2018 texts. However, in all texts they prefer to use phrases like 'people who have trouble or difficulties with digitalisation' (DIG19, p.40), people who have 'low(er) or limited digital skills' (Strat, p.34; DIGI18, p.39; DIGI19, p.40) and people with a 'digital lag' (Strat, p.34). In the digital inclusion text they also refer to low literate people as 'people who have difficulties with reading and writing' (Strat, p.14).

In the strategy text and the DIGIbeter2019 they both mention that vulnerable groups need more attention and help (Strat, p.21; Dig19, p.40). However, they do not define what these vulnerable groups are. In the digital inclusion and DIGIbeter 2018 text they make a distinction between adults and youths (DI, p.14) and parents and youths (Dig18, p.34). In the digital inclusion text they say that youths are very skilled (with social media), but do not think of the consequences, whereas adults are skilled in a few things (online banking) but have problems with new technologies (DI, p.14). These different problems need different types of courses (DI, p.14). In the DIGIbeter2018 text, regarding digital skills, they say that 'in order to provide equal opportunities for kids, attention is also necessary for the parents' (Dig18, p.34). They essentially say that parents often lag behind a lot, therefore are not able to help their kids and are putting them behind too.

Overall they separate low literate people (with limited digital skills or difficulties with digitalisation) from other civilians, arguing they need extra attention and help, similar to 'the underclass' as Hamilton & Pitt (2011) showed, being a discourse of 'deficit'. Additionally, in they suggest in all texts that low literate people need to step up their game, otherwise they will be left out, being a discourse of exclusion.

iii. Actors, theories and numbers

The writers of the texts are the important actors, all from different ministries (see attachment 6, p.50). Theories about literacy or digitalisation were not used or referred to. In the DI text they used two numbers to show there are many people who have difficulties: ‘2.5 million Dutch citizens have difficulties in working with digital devices such as a computer, smartphone or tablet and 1.2 million Dutch citizens have never used the internet’ (DI, p.2). They also gave an overview of the funds for the digital inclusion programme (DI, p.20) showing the main priority now is to improve digital access.

iv. Language and tone

The texts all have a different language. The strategy text has the most formal and distant tone, speaking on behalf of the ministry. The digital inclusion text is more friendly and personal, with easier language as they made it together with a language ambassador and talking from a ‘we’ perspective. The DIGibeter texts are in between, with the 2018 being more friendly than the 2019 text, which is more dry, formal and distant.

In the strategy text they talk about literacy (skills) in three different areas: education, jobs and vulnerable groups. They argue that for everyone to come along and participate in the digital world, the job market and in society as a whole it is essential for everyone to learn the basics early, that people keep learning and developing for the changing jobs and that vulnerable groups get enough support (Strat, p.19). The change in the curriculum is to ‘better prepare students for the future’ (p.34) so that youths have ‘good ICT basic skills, information skills and are media literate’ (p.34). They frame literacy as a necessity to be included, as well as a means to be able to profit of digitalisation. All three discourses are apparent in the strategy text.

In the digital inclusion text they discuss digitalisation and digital skills in an interesting way: they frame it as something difficult, not only by using numbers to show how many people have difficulties (DI, p.2), but also because they use many phrases like ‘people who find digitalisation difficult’, ‘have trouble with digital technologies’, and ‘need extra help’, as well as the explicit action of ‘asking startups to think of ways to make people feel that digitalisation is fun, not scary’ (DI, p.12). They also frame digital skills as something that is necessary for inclusion and democratic participation, therefore adopting a discourse of exclusion and deficit.

In the DIGibeter2018 text they do not mention literacy explicitly. The focus is mostly on improving the government and its services. They do mention that literacy/skills is an

important manner to them, as it is also a part of the digital inclusion programme, but do not dive in deeper.

In the DIGIbeter 2019 text they expanded their notion of digital inclusion: from skills they now also focus on accessibility and creating digital awareness (to understand and be aware of the risks and opportunities of digitalisation) (Dig19, p.36). Literacy and skills are again coupled with ‘everybody must be able to participate’, again setting a tone of literacy as something that needs to be acted upon now, or you will be excluded in the future, again a discourse of social exclusion.

v. Digitalisation narratives

In the strategy text they say that ‘everywhere the awareness increased that digitalisation has a fundamental impact on society, economy and government. There is also the realisation that digitalisation offers opportunities for wealth and welfare, but also that it is accompanied with challenges’ (Strat, p.7). The narrative of digitalisation is that it provides opportunities to make life better (more wealth, stronger economic position, etc (p.7)), but it also comes with risks; it influences jobs, asking for new skills and knowledge (p.19), can impact out important values and can jeopardize economic security (p.7)). Basically, the Netherlands (and thus the government) needs to make work of digitalisation for its own benefits (economic), therefore civilians need to work too (for the welfare, wealth and security of whole society/country).

In the digital inclusion text they also emphasize that “in society we cannot live without technology. It is important that **everyone understands that**” (bold not mine) (DI, p.6). The narrative of digitalisation in this text is similar to the strategy text: that digitalisation offers opportunities, but also risks. Therefore people need to keep learning about digitalisation (DI, p.6); the whole society needs to think about the importance and effects of digitalisation (DI, p.13) as it affects us all. They do emphasize the negative side of digitalisation more by mentioning cyber criminals as well as the fact that many people have difficulties with it and can be left out. They also want more people to ‘develop trust in digitalisation, as well as trust in the digital services of the government, so they can better stand up for their rights and participate in discussions about the effects and consequences of digitalisation’ (DI, p.13). Interestingly they also explicitly mention that they want people to ‘not think of digitalisation as something scary but of something fun’ (DI, p.11). However, whilst they mention the opportunities, they mainly frame digitalisation as something difficult (as so many have problems with it and need extra help), if you don’t adapt or learn it you will be excluded, and as something scary.

In the DIG18 text they mainly see digitalisation as something that offers opportunities to improve government services, which results in a better relationship with the citizens and an improvement of their lives. However, they also emphasize that digitalisation can also jeopardize important public values such as equality and democracy (Dig18, p.7). Therefore the narrative is that innovation and adapting to digitalisation is important, but with these values in mind to make sure they are protected. Like the inclusion text, they also mention once that digitalisation can be hard for some people to handle (Dig18, p.32).

The DIG19 text has a similar narrative as 2018, that digitalisation is something that affects the government-civilian relationship (Dig19, p.24), affects society and can have big effects on public values (for example democracy) and laws (pp.23-24). But digitalisation also offers many opportunities and innovations to improve services and lives of civilians (p.24, p.13). It is still framed as something that can improve the government and ultimately improves the lives of civilians. However, compared to Dig18 this text has much more emphasis on the justifications of the innovations of the government; they give more examples for improvement and positive outcomes and also frame it as a solution: ‘digitalisation makes it possible to work on societal challenges in an innovative way’ (Dig19, p.13).

Overall, the narrative of digitalisation is that it mostly brings opportunities, but also brings risks (for the economy and security but mostly for public values). In all texts it is emphasized that innovations and adapting to digitalisation are necessary, both on a national level (if not The Netherlands loses its competitiveness and economic position (Strat)) and on a societal and personal level (civilians will get excluded, are not ready for the future/new jobs). If the government or civilians do not innovate or improve their skills, they cannot utilize the opportunities of digitalisation and do not benefit from it.

6. Conclusion

The main question of this research was ‘how is adult digital literacy represented in the Dutch digitalisation strategy?’. To answer this question I looked at the social imaginary of the Dutch government in the digitalisation strategy. As seen in the theoretical framework the social imaginary is important as it is an essential force that drives policy making (O’Neill, 2016) and goes deeper than discourse. The social imaginary is also linked in two ways with literacy, implicated in the imaginary and narratives that are influencing the imaginary (Hamilton, 2016). The social imaginary could be analysed by looking at the narratives of digitalisation and literacy.

Besides that I also looked at the different discourses of literacy that exist (deficit discourse, social exclusion discourse and economic discourse (Hamilton & Pitt, 2011; Yasukawa & Black, 2016)) and the purposes for improving literacy (democratic purpose, economic purpose, social/ethical purpose (Livingstone, Van Couvering & Thumin, 2005; Lin et al., 2013)) to uncover the views, motivations and ideologies of the Dutch government in their Dutch digitalisation strategy. This was done by doing a content analysis and a discourse analysis to interpret these results.

From the content analysis it quickly became clear that literacy was not a frequently used word in the texts. After the discourse analysis it turned out that literacy was not mentioned much in the texts, and that digital literacy was only mentioned in the context of the new curriculum for primary and secondary schools (Strat, p.34, Dig18, p.35). Furthermore, only two times there was a distinction between adults and youths, but they did acknowledge that adults have different problems and needs than youths (DI, p.14, Dig18, p.34).

Therefore no explicit narratives were found for adult digital literacy, but narratives for literacy in general have been found. Literacy is mostly seen as (digital) skills by the Dutch government, where the narrative is that these skills need to be improved. In the DI text awareness was mentioned, and only in the Dig19 text the notion of literacy has expanded to fit the definition from the theoretical framework (skills, access and awareness).

In all texts improvement of digital skills /digital literacy is seen as necessary to prevent exclusion, and must be done by both the government and the civilians. Another recurring narrative in the texts is that paying attention to literacy is necessary to be better equipped for the future as digitalisation changes the job market, the economy and society as a whole, being an economic purpose to improve literacy. Additionally, low literate people are separated from other civilians, similar to the underclass from Hamilton & Pitt

(2011), showing a discourse of deficit. Therefore the general narrative of literacy is economic, along with a social exclusion discourse (Hamilton & Pitt, 2011; Yasukawa & Black, 2016).

The overall narrative of digitalisation is that it mostly brings opportunities, but also brings risks (for the economy and security but mostly for public values). In all texts it is emphasized that innovations and adapting to digitalisation are necessary, both on a national level (Strat) and on a societal and personal level (civilians will get excluded, are not ready for the future/new jobs). If the government or civilians do not innovate or improve their skills, they cannot utilize the opportunities of digitalisation and do not benefit from it. This shows the economic discourse is dominant, but the social exclusion discourse is also apparent.

Overall it became clear that in these Dutch digitalisation strategy texts the economic discourse is the dominant discourse, together with the social exclusion discourse. This shows in the dominant narratives of digitalisation (opportunities that needs to be utilized) and the emphasis on inclusion. Throughout all texts and narratives, literacy is a means to handle digitalisation, prevent exclusion and thus to make sure that the whole country can benefit from digitalisation and utilize the (economic) opportunities that digitalisation brings.

Together with the rest of the analysis it became clear that the Dutch government sees literacy as a prerequisite for a good economy, thus showing that the underlying purpose of their digitalisation strategy is an economic purpose. This shows that the view of the Dutch government regarding digitalisation and literacy is congruent with the literacy myth or human resources view on literacy, linking literacy “directly with economic development, individual prosperity and vocational achievement” (Hamilton, 2016, p.5). This is also the dominant view for other international policy makers.

Both the economic discourse and the social exclusion discourse show that prosperity of the country is important. Therefore it is remarkable that there are initiatives to increase the literacy of youths (changing the curriculum (Strat, p.34, Dig18, p.35), but that there are no initiatives (planned) for adults, whilst the government acknowledges that adults have different problems than youths and need other courses for these problems (DI, p.14).

A government who wants to get the most out of digitization needs to focus on adults. Now adults are forgotten, even though they are the biggest part of the labour force. If we think along the lines of their dominant discourse (the economic / literacy myth) this is the group that could provide more economic prosperity by increasing literacy, one of the goals of the digital strategy. Furthermore, research has shown that adults can benefit the most from increasing digital literacy (Plantinga & Kaal, 2018b). Therefore it is odd that the government does not make a distinction in digital literacy for adults in this important strategy, and that

they did not set up a separate strategy, lessons or plans for adults: the efforts of the government are small for adults. Hopefully this means that the Dutch government just has not yet realised the importance of digital literacy for adults and that this research wakes them up so they can change their policy and digitalisation strategy accordingly.

7. Discussion

Unfortunately there was a real lack of focus on adult literacy in the texts. This could have been prevented by reading the texts beforehand, but that could have compromised the discourse analysis as the arguments and views would already have been ‘implanted’ in the head of the researcher. The aim was to be as neutral as possible, but a quick scanning or word search could have prevented this.

With the content analysis, stemming had to be done to clean up the texts. As the programme was English based this resulted in some funny cut-off words. The keywords for the correlation should also have been tested beforehand, as literacy (‘geletterdheid’) hardly appeared in any texts and thus did not give any correlations, whilst skills (‘vaardigheden’) appeared more often in the texts but was not chosen as a keyword.

The digital inclusion text and the two NL DIGIbeter texts were chosen for in depth analysis in addition to the general strategy text as it was presumed they would be the texts most likely to discuss literacy. As there was not much found regarding adult literacy in these texts, it would be interesting to look at other documents and media related to these programmes. What news messages do they showcase on their website? What narratives do they use in letters to the Chamber? And what views on literacy and digitalisation can be found in other documents they refer to, such as the summary of the conference on digitalisation in the Netherlands?

Furthermore, it would also be interesting to look at the other parts of the NL Digitalisation Strategy. By looking at all parts of the strategy a more complete picture could have been made of the entire strategy and thus the entire social imaginary of the Dutch government regarding digitalisation instead of focusing on two aspects of it.

Another recommendation for further research would be to look at how this strategy and these views on literacy are experienced and carried out in practice, for example by looking at the ‘Tel mee met Taal’ programme or the RADIO (courses for people working for the government on digital skills).

In general this research shows that there is a lack of attention regarding digital literacy for adults. More attention and research on this topic is necessary. As it can be argued the majority of the civilians of the Netherlands are adults and are thus inexplicitly included in this policy, and multiple researches (Plantinga & Kaal, 2018a; Plantinga & Kaal, 2018b) as well as the government itself acknowledge that adults have different needs, skills and difficulties in the digital era than youths (DI, p.14). Therefore specific policies, initiatives and research solely aimed at adults are necessary. A good start would be to do ethnographic research on

adults to make an inventory of the needs, problems and current state of digital literacy. From there on different policies, strategies and initiatives can be set up.

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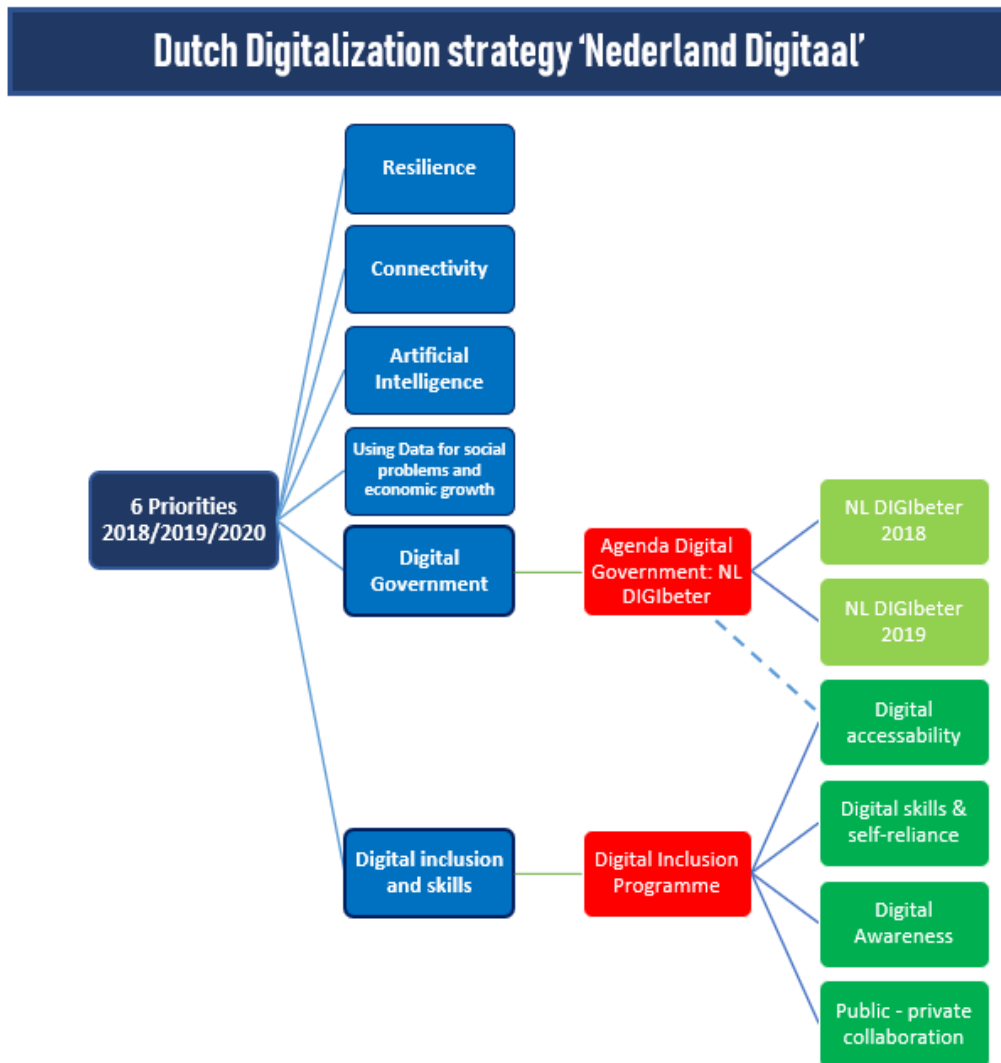
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9. Attachments

8.1. Scheme of government priorities in the Dutch digitalisation strategy 2.0



8.2. Steps for text mining in 'R'

1. Create .txt file

2. Install & load the required packages:

- a. `install.packages("tm")` # for text mining
- b. `install.packages("SnowballC")` # for text stemming
- c. `install.packages("wordcloud")` # word-cloud generator
- d. `install.packages("RColorBrewer")` # color palettes

Load:

- e. `library("tm")`
- f. `library("SnowballC")`
- g. `library("wordcloud")`
- h. `library("RColorBrewer")`

3. Loading the text in R:

```
text <- readLines(file.choose())
```

Load the data as a corpus

```
docs <- Corpus(VectorSource(text))
```

4. Inspect the content of document:

```
inspect(docs)
```

5. Transform the text using `tm_map()` functions to replace special characters:

```
toSpace <- content_transformer(function(x, pattern) gsub(pattern, " ", x))
docs <- tm_map(docs, toSpace, "/" )
docs <- tm_map(docs, toSpace, "@")
docs <- tm_map(docs, toSpace, "\\|")
docs <- tm_map(docs, toSpace, "•")
docs <- tm_map(docs, toSpace, "—")
```

6. Cleaning the text using `tm_map()` function for removing numbers, punctuation, make all text lowercase and for stemming

```
# Convert the text to lower case
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(tolower))
# Remove numbers
docs <- tm_map(docs, removeNumbers)
# Remove english common stopwords
```

```
docs <- tm_map(docs, removeWords, stopwords("dutch"))

# Remove punctuations
docs <- tm_map(docs, removePunctuation)
# Eliminate extra white spaces
docs <- tm_map(docs, stripWhitespace)
# Text stemming
docs <- tm_map(docs, stemDocument)

#Remove own stopwords
# specify your stopwords as a character vector
docs <- tm_map(docs, removeWords, c("•"))
```

7. Build a term-document matrix containing frequency of words:

```
dtm <- TermDocumentMatrix(docs)
m <- as.matrix(dtm)
v <- sort(rowSums(m),decreasing=TRUE)
d <- data.frame(word = names(v),freq=v)
head(d, 10)
```

8. Generate wordcloud

```
set.seed(1234)
wordcloud(words = d$word, freq = d$freq, min.freq = 1, max.words=200,
random.order=FALSE, rot.per=0.35, colors=brewer.pal(8, "Dark2"))
```

9. Plot word frequency (first 10 frequent words):

```
barplot(d[1:10,]$freq, las = 2, names.arg = d[1:10,]$word, col = "lightblue", main =
"Most frequent words", ylab = "Word frequencies")
```

10. **Word correlations:**

a. Finding frequent terms that occur at least 4 times

```
findFreqTerms(dtm, lowfreq = 4)
```

b. Analyse association between frequent terms:

```
findFreqTerms(dtm, lowfreq = 4)
findAssocs(dtm, terms = "digital", corlimit = 0.3)
findAssocs(dtm, terms = "kansen", corlimit = 0.3)
findAssocs(dtm, terms = "waarden", corlimit = 0.3)
findAssocs(dtm, terms = "burger", corlimit = 0.3)
findAssocs(dtm, terms = "nodig", corlimit = 0.3)
findAssocs(dtm, terms = "tijd", corlimit = 0.3)
findAssocs(dtm, terms = "data", corlimit = 0.3)
```

c. Frequency table of words:

```
head(d, 10)
```


8.3. Empty discourse tables to fill in

1. Context of keywords

Keywords	NL Digitaal Strategy	Digitale Inclusie	NL Digibeter 2018	NL Digibeter 2019
Literacy				
Digital Literacy				
Digital				
Kansen				
Waarden				
Burger				
Nodig				
Tijd				
Data				
Moeten				
Willen				
Kunnen				
Belangrijk				

2. Discourse, narratives & purposes

	NL Digitaal Strategy	Digitale Inclusie	NL Digibeter 2018	NL Digibeter 2019
General narrative				
Literacy narratives				
Actors				
Theories				
Groups targeting/ social labeling				
Numbers & visualisation				
Adopted language and tone				
Digitalisation narratives				
Purpose / motivations / discourses				
General/ summary				

8.4. Results of the content analysis

Frequency tables for the Digital inclusion programma & Digital Strategy NL Digitaal

Searchterm	NL Digitaal strategy relative position	Digital Inclusion Programme relative position	Relative difference in position	NL Digitaal strategy absolute frequency	Digital Inclusion Programme Absolute frequency
Digital(e)	1	2	-1	165	75
Digitalis(eren/ering)	12	3	+9	42	55
Overheid	7	6	+1	59	35
Gaan	22	7	+15	35	35
Nieuw	10	16	-6	48	22
Nederland	2	22	-20	115	16
Bedrijven	14	30	-16	40	14

Unique words:

NL Digitaal strategy			Digital Inclusion programme		
Words	Relative position	Absolute frequency	Words	Relative position	Absolute frequency
Fieldlab	3	110	Mensen	1	83
Data	4	98	Iedereen	4	45
Kabinet	5	95	Inclusi(e/ef)	5	26
Digita(le)	6	89	Meedoen	8	30
Acti(e(s))	8	53	Organisatie	10	26
Smart	9	50	Programma	11	25
Ondernem(er(s)/ing(en))	13	41	Helpen	13	23
Industrie(e/eën)	15	39	Moeten	15	22
Kamer	17	37	Diensten	17	19
Samenwerk	11	43	Samen	18	19
Agenda	18	36	Verbeteren	19	18
Jaar	20	35	Willen	20	17
Europes(e)	21	35	Beter	21	17
Publiek	24	32	Weten	23	16
EZK	25	32	Hulp	24	15
Maatschappelijk	26	30	Samenlev(ing/en)	25	15
Ontwikkel(ing(en))	27	30	Verskillend	26	15
Vaardigheden	29	29	Moeite	27	15
Onderzoek	30	29	Schrijven	28	15
			Werken	29	14

Frequency Tables NL Digibeter 2018 & 2019
Words DIGibeter Agenda 2018 & 2019

Words	2018 relative position	2019 relative position	Relative difference in position	2018 Frequency	2019 frequency	Absolute frequency difference
Digital(e)	2	1	+1	80	129	+49
Agenda	6	5	+1	48	50	+2
Gegeven(s)	8	4	+4	44	54	+10
Gebruik	11	7	+4	34	44	+10
Digibet(er)	16	9	+7	23	41	+18
Waarden	23	19	+4	19	30	+11
Digita(le/al)	28	20	+8	18	30	+12

Down in position:

Overheid	1	2	-1	96	119	+23
Ondernem(er(s)/ing(en))	4	8	-4	61	43	-18
Dienstverlen(ing/en)	9	10	-1	37	39	+2
Nieuw	10	13	-3	34	36	+2
Digitalis(eren/ering)	14	18	-4	27	31	+4
Werken	15	17	-2	25	32	+7
Mijnoverheid	17	30	-13	22	24	+2

Same:

Burger	3	3	0	64	85	+21
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Disappeared and new words NL Digibeter 2018 & 2019:

Disappeared words (NL DIGibeter 2018)			New words (NL DIGibeter 2019)		
Word	Position	Frequency	Word	Position	Frequency
Gaan	5	52	Publiek	11	36
Data	12	31	Actielijn	15	33
Willen	13	28	Samen	16	32
Mensen	19	22	Kamer	22	28
Bedrijven	20	20	Belangrijk	25	27
Onderzoek	22	20	Plan	27	26
Persoonlijk	24	19	Maatschappelijk	28	25
Iedereen	26	18			
Kabinetsperiod(e)	29	18			

Correlation table for all:

Searchterm	NL Digitaal strategy	Score	Digital Inclusion Programme	score	NL DIGibeter 2018	score	NL DIGibeter 2019	score
Literacy	Not found		Not found		Not found		Not found	
Digital	Not found		Inclusi(e/ef)	0.66	Digibet(er)	0.46	Bijlag(e(n))	0.37
			Meedoen	0.42	Agenda	0.41	Overheid	0.35
			Iedereen	0.36	Identiteit	0.32	Agenda	0.31
			Diensten	0.36				
Kansen	Economisch	0.30	Biedt	0.50	Gelijk	0.41	Risico	0.60
			Ontwikkelingen	0.50	Uitdagingen	0.35	Liggen	0.60
			Snel	0.50	Benutten	0.33	Biedt	0.54
			Criminelen	0.50			Vijfal	0.43
			Economisch	0.50			Erg	0.30
			Risico	0.44			Tijdperk	0.30
			Erg	0.35				
			blijven	0.35				
			Geef	0.35				
Waarden	Publiek	0.57	Publiek	0.82	Publiek	0.54	Publiek	0.73
	Mensenrechten	0.51	Borgen	0.71	Rechten	0.39	Beschermen	0.42
	Beleidsplan	0.35	Opwaarderen	0.71	Beschermen	0.37	Grondrechten	0.32
	Voorbeeldprojecten	0.35	Dialog	0.71				
Burger	Bedrijven	0.33	Allebei	0.45	Ondernem(er(s))	0.50	Not found	
			Profiteren	0.45				
			Zegeningen	0.45				
			Best	0.33				
Nodig	Not found		Hulp	0.46	Top	0.33	Aanpassingen	0.36
			Familie	0.39	Werkvloer	0.33		
					Aangepast	0.33		
					Aanvul(lend/ing)	0.33		
					Belangen	0.33		
					Internetverbinding	0.33		
					Betalen	0.33		
					Ouders	0.33		
					Uitvalt	0.33		
Tijd	Not found		Uitdag(ing(en)/en(d))	0.58	Aansluit(en/ing)	0.41	Plusser (50)	0.50
			Ontdekten	0.58	Begon	0.41	Beslag	0.50
			Spraken	0.58	Computercursus	0.41	Gang	0.50
			Burgerschap	0.51	Internetbankieren	0.41	Komend	0.35
			Afgelopen	0.33			Gezet	0.35
			Komend	0.33				
			Technologisch	0.33				
Data	Big	0.33	Not found		Open	0.33	Beschrijf	0.44
					Big	0.33	Gereedgekomen	0.44

8.5. Summaries of each text

NL Digitaliserings strategy:

It is an actualisation of the NL Digitaliseringsstrategie from 2018, they have called it 'NL Digitaliseringsstrategie 2.0'. It opens with an infographic with the goals per sector for the digital Netherlands, showing on what 5 fundamentals these goals are based (groundbreaking research and innovation; different jobs, new skills and life-long learning; a dynamic digital economy; strengthening resilience from citizens and organisations, and; fundamental rights and ethics in the digital era) (p.6). The NL Digitaal strategy is a strategy meant for the entire Dutch government, with ambitions and goals formulated regarding digitalization, in order to succeed the digital transition of the Netherlands (p.7). Their ambition consists of three parts: (1), the Dutch government wants to become the digital leader of Europe, in order to benefit as much as possible from the opportunities that digitalization offers for economic growth and the tackling of societal issues; (2) everyone should be able to participate, both in the labor market and in society as a whole. Therefore efforts need to be made in the following areas: basic skills, digital inclusion, sustainable employability and LLO (life-long 'ontwikkelen'; life-long learning), including retraining and further training for the skills and jobs of the future, and (3) a good basis of trust is necessary for the digital economy, the government and for society: protection of privacy, guarding digital security and the careful application of new technologies, with clear agreements on sharing data, is the so-called 'guardrail for digital transformation' (p.7).

They first discuss the results of last year, showing the different actions and initiatives that have been set up that are all being part of this bigger strategy. As this is an actualisation of the strategy, they also lay out new priorities for the future. The government decided to prioritize the following themes: Artificial Intelligence, utilizing data for social tasks and economic growth, digital inclusion and skills and digital connectivity and resilience. With each theme they make clear what they want to achieve, what has been achieved already and what will be done the coming year (actions, innovations, etc). They also place emphasis on international collaborations in a separate chapter. In the attachment is an overview of the current state of affairs regarding the actions of this strategy, divided in two parts (utilizing the social and economic opportunities (and speeding it up) and reinforcing the fundament (basic conditions)). These are then sorted by each of the five fundamentals/domains from the infographic, which are in turn sorted under specific ambitions (for example a safe digital society). The second attachment is an overview of the financial resources for the digital economy.

Digital Inclusion:

Digitalisation has influence on everyone and happens quickly. However, not everyone can participate. Therefore two plans have been made to ensure digital inclusion: the overarching NL Digitaliseringsstrategie (Digitalisation strategy) and Agenda Digitale Overheid (agenda digital government): NL DIGibeter. The goal is that "everyone can participate in the (digital) society, which is called digital inclusion" (p.3). They want to prevent exclusion, therefore safe digital services are necessary, as well as people knowing they are safe so they have trust in them. They also want the digital services to better match the user and their needs. Improving digital inclusion is a challenge, therefore different parties and plans need to collaborate. To ensure this, and thus to improve digital inclusion, they have determined 4 major goals: (1) making digital services easier for everyone, (2) help people to handle digitalisation, (3) explain what the consequences and effects are of digitalisation and (4) work together with companies and other organisations. In the following pages they explain why they chose this goals and what needs to be done. In the attachment they discuss the actions that they will implement, ordered per goal. They also show the measures, programmes and the costs of each track and their corresponding actions.

NL DIGibeter 2018:

NL DIGibeter is the name for the Agenda Digitale Overheid (programme digital government). They start by explaining the program and the underlying motivations. The main motivation is that the government wants to utilize the opportunities that digitalisation offers (p.6). However, they think it is important to respect the autonomy of citizens at the same time. Therefore this Agenda is about the utilization of opportunities and securing rights. They aim to do so through 5 different pillars: (1) we invest in innovation (new ways of working, doing experiments and having money for innovation) (2) the protection of fundamental rights and public values (the governments wants to be the leader with using new digital technologies, but they also want to protect the rights of all civilians and entrepreneurs when these are pressurized, (3) accessible, comprehensible and for everyone, meaning that everyone should be able to use governmental services, they need to be easier to use as well take into account less digital savvy people, (4) making our services more personal, which can happen thanks to digitalisation: one government, safety of data and the user central principle, and (5) ready for the future (this agenda is a starting document as the developments happen very quickly). Their goal, as a government, is that they can utilize the opportunities of digitalisation, can offer safe and quick services the coming years and tackle societal problems but with continuous attention to fundamental rights and public values (p.11). The main focus is on improving the governmental services themselves. They try to do so through different actions that belong to each pillar, which can be found in the attachments of the document.

NL DIGibeter 2019:

This text is an actualisation of the agenda of 2018. The measures of last year were aimed to make the Dutch government more accessible, comprehensible and personal for everyone. But it lacked focus, therefore they formulated the 5 pillars of DIGibeter, being (1) innovation, (2) data, (3) inclusion, (4) digital identity and (5) control of data. They still have the same 5 steps as last year, but filled in a bit differently. (1) investing in innovation through collaboration and acquiring more knowledge and skills, (2) the protection of fundamental rights and public values, now with special attention to the role of data, (3) accessible, comprehensible and for everyone, (4) making our services more personal and (5) ready for the future. The goal is to further improve the information and services of the government. They focus even more on concrete value for civilians and entrepreneurs and limit the amount of actionlines (p.8). At the end of the document they present an overview of the actions and measures that have been done, what their plan is, the results and what the future plan is.

8.6. Results of discourse analysis

1. Context of keywords

Keywords	NL Digitaal Strategy	Digitale Inclusie	NL Digibeter 2018	NL Digibeter 2019
Literacy	Only mentioned in combination with 'Tel mee met Taal' Programme.	Governmental services need to accessible for people with issues with reading and writing and literacy (laaggeletterden) (p.4) Learning from low-literacy people to improve services (p.4) by talking to them (p.8) Tel mee met Taal programme to prevent and combat low literacy (p.17)	Indirect: actively engage people with difficulties with reading and writing (p.38)	Government thinks it is important everyone can participate, therefore actionplan for digital inclusion: 03/2019 Alliance Digital Cohabitation & plan low literacy 2020-2024 published. Start 2019 'Tel mee met Taal' programme expended, July 2019 first 15 information points Digital Government openend (p.88)
Digital Literacy	Mentioned as one of the education areas for the new education curriculum for primary and secondary education (p.21). "In the curriculum for primary and secondary education there will be attention for digital literacy and practical skills to better equip students for the future" (p.34). Also as a societal question; the mapping of people who have low digital literacy (p.22). They almost only talk about this in context of the new curriculum, which is focused on students/youths, not adults.	One of the 4 tracks for this programme (others being digital accessibility, digital awareness and public-private collaboration) (p.20) Alliance Digitaal Vaardig Nederland (collaboration between different parties (p.15) Adult education programme: "municipalities buy courses basic skills (including digital skills) for their citizens" (p.17)	Improving current courses for helping people in digital world with their digital skills (p.35) In new curriculum for primary and secondary education there will be more attention for digital literacy and practical skills to better equip students for the future" (p.35) Making people aware that gaining digital skills and resilience are important (p.35) Stimulating products and services that ask little digiskills (p.38)	RADIO (state academy for digitalisation and information of government) started, courses regarding impact of digitalisation, additions to classic basic courses (p.16). Pillar digital inclusion: "to prevent people to be excluded it is necessary that the digital services of the government are accessible and comprehensible for everyone (digitally-accessible), that work is being done to improve the digital skills of people (digitally-skilled) and that people understand what the opportunities and risks of digitalisation are (digital-awareness)' (p.36). Imprving skills happens with volunteers, now collaborations (p.36). Via Tel mee met Taal efforts to improve digital skills of low literate people (p.36).
Digital	Mentioned in different contexts: Digital transition (can only succeed by collaboration, p.7), digital platforms (indispensable in our society (p.19)), initiatives to improve digital skills (LLO, and by different organisations (p.19), fieldlabs (p.20), more work is done by universities and graduate schools to better connect to the job market (p.21)), digital inclusion (with Alliance Digital cohabitation (p.19), the actionplan Digitale Inclusie (p.21)), digital connectivity (better investments lets us better exploit the benefits, which is better for the competitiveness of the Netherlands (p.23): "we need to invest highly on strengthening our competitiveness and digitalisation plays a crucial role in this. The protection of our security, fundamental rights and public values are important starting points (p.7). Ambitions: more transparent and accessible digital government (p.30), adequate level of basic digital skills so everyone can	More digital communication everywhere (p.2) Government needs to improve their digital services so people have more trust (p.3) Everyone should be able to participate in the digital society (p.3) To improve digital inclusion 4 main goals: making digital services easier for everyone, help people handling digitalisation (p.4, p.7), explain effects of digitalisation and collaboration with other companies and organisations (p.4). Digitalisation offers opportunities and challenges, people need to trust in digitalisation and keep learning about it (p.6).	Everyone has right on access to digital information and digital services (p.38) Stimulating user friendly digital products (p.38). Focus on digital identity (p.41), digital authorization (p.42) and quality of digital correspondence (p.49). Everyone has right on digital services (p.32). Kabinet provides before the end of 2018 a coherent actionplan for digital inclusion (p.35)	Everyone should be able to participate, therefore we need to invest in accessible and comprehensible communication and improving digital skills. (...) Digital identity and direction over data were important subjects and stay important (p.35). Pillars digital inclusion (p.36), digital identity (personal data (p.37), autonomy in digital world for civilian, direction over data (p.37), digital authorization (p.38))

	participate in the digital society (p.34) (done by better digital government, education of people with limited digital skills and alliance of public and private companies p.34)) and competitive markets so the digital economy stays an honest and competitive (p.37).			
Kansen	Digitalisation offers opportunities for wealth and welfare, but also comes with challenges (p.7) Opportunities and challenges , maximum profit of the opportunities of digitalisation for economic growth and fighting societal problems (p.7). In different areas: digitalisation in general (p.7, 27), (social) opportunities of digital society (p.22), and in relation to public values (p.23).	“Technology makes the country ready for the future, also offers opportunities” (p.2). Digitalisation offers opportunities but also risks (p.13) Goal: NL is capable to utilize the economic and societal opportunities of digitalisation (p.18)	Digitalisation offers opportunities to do things smarter (p.7) We as a government want to utilize the opportunities (p.7) Technologies that offer opportunities “Governments, companies and organisations invest in new technical possibilities because they see opportunities to improve their tasks, services or products” (p.7) “In order to give kids equal opportunities, attention is needed for the parents too” (p.34)	to prevent exclusion it is necessary “that people understand what the opportunities and risks of digitalisation are (digital-awareness)’ (p.36). “ Digitalisation offers opportunities and challenges , also when it is about rights and values” (p.65). Government wants to optimally use the possibilities of digitalisation and show civilians what opportunities digitalisation has to offer (for example personal services and supporting democracy) (p.24) “ Government needs to be aware of opportunities and risks for public values and for futureproof laws” (p.23)
Waarden	Public values Need to be protected: Invest in digitalisation but protecting our safety, fundamental rights and values are important starting points (p.7). Could/will be jeopardized by digitalisation (p.15), by AI (p.23) Important values of the Netherlands: free and open internet and ethics (p.27), Need to be respected and protected (done with the development and use of data and algorithms (p.44) and innovations (p.22). New dialogue about the effects of new technologies on public values (p.44).	Dialogues about influence of technology on society; ‘societal dialogue on public values’ (p.14)	“Fundamental rights and forthcoming public values as privacy, selfreliance and equality are essential to protect , especially with the continue digitalization (p.7) They want to improve services and tackle societal challenges with continuous focus on fundamental rights and public values (p.11). Sometimes different values conflict within these ambitions (optimal service vs privacy), technology can be a solution as well as laws (p.25). New rules and regulations needed to protect public interests and values (like democratic decisionmaking and secureness of law) (p.29) Big data (p.28), AI (p.26) and new technologies (p.26) related to public values.	“Government needs to be aware of opportunities and risks for public values and for futureproof laws” (p.23) “Digitalisation offers opportunities and challenges , also when it is about rights and values” (p.65). Government centralizes public values and respects fundamental laws (p.8). ‘Account for public values and fundamental rights in the design process’ (p.9) Research on impact of AI on public values (p.24). Democracy is an important value that digitalisation can impact a lot (p.24). Quick technological developments ask for sustainable protection of public values in laws (p.25). Attention to public values: invest in societal dialogues, government letters and summerschools for digital democracy (p.30)
Burger	Civilians; Government wants to improve privacy between civilians themselves as well as companies (p.4) Entrepreneurs DTC: center to help entrepreneurs with cyberthreats (p.38) Both: Trust, Need to be able to use digital technologies and services in a safe way with trust (& entrepreneurs) (p.24). Cybersafety campaigns for	Collaboration between government, companies and organisations necessary in digital society to help and make it easier for the civilians (p.7) Both government and civilians need to put in effort (p.13) Technologic citizenship: attention to the importance of technology, it helps people if they learn how to handle technology. (p.13)	They want to respect the autonomy of the civilian (p.7, p.31) and make it stronger (also for entrepreneurs) (p.10, p.42). Central in this Agenda the needs and rights of civilians (p.8, p.30) “Civilians must be able to trust organisations” (p.45,p.46). More attention to quality of digital correspondence between government and civilians (p.49). & Entrepreneurs: Government wants to protect all civilians and entrepreneurs and	“ Digitalisation impacts the relationship between civilian and government. Government wants to optimally use the possibilities of digitalisation and show civilians what opportunities digitalisation has to offer (for example personal services and supporting democracy). At the same time civilian must be able to trust government in using data safely (p.24) Civilian centered work of government (p.39)

	concrete actions and change of behaviour (p.26) Resilience; need to be improved (p.39). By improving awareness for example (p.41) (of privacy (p.41), shopping online (p.42)		their rights when these are pressurized by new developments (p.24) Civilians & entrepreneurs have a right for digital services (p.32-33; p.49). Thanks to digitalisation we can make our services more userfriendly, personal and proactive, from the view of citizens and entrepreneurs (p.44).	To strengthen information position of civilians they run tests, how digital services adhere to the (digital) skills of overall vulnerable target groups is an important starting point (p.40). &Entrepreneurs Make a positive change for civilians and entrepreneurs (p.14) Government services need to be human centered, focus on important life events of civilians and entrepreneurs (p.49).
Nodig	New skills Digitalisation has impact on our jobs and the knowledge and skills we need, therefore everyone needs to know the basics and need to keep learning and developing, as well as supporting the vulnerable groups (p.19). More insights and grip on digital resilience and vital processes in The Netherlands (p.25) A good foundation of trust for the digital economy, government and society (p.7).	Extra help needed for people who cannot or have trouble with participation (p.2), needed from the government (p.5)	No results	“In our society everyone must be able to participate , therefore we need to invest in accessible and comprehensible communication and improving digital skills ” (p.35) ;; in order to prevent exclusion (p.36)
Tijd	Saving time by using data (p.18) Separate domain ‘fundamental rights and ethics in the digital era’ (p.44). Nothing about ‘the current time’	Improving digital inclusion costs time (p.3).	“We want a society where everyone can participate and that puts human dignity up front, also better serving civilians and entrepreneurs by the government. With this we are a government that ‘goes with her time’. This way we make The Netherlands ready for the future. Nederland DIGIbeter” (p.53). We can’t do all in once and need to keep up with our time (p.11)	We live in an era where information needs to be available quickly (p.28).
Data	Responsible use (agreements on sharing data (p.7); few principles for doing so (p.17), Necessary for digital transition (availability and use of (p.17) Government and data: (3 pillars: high bar for data governance, datadriven work and safe and familiar sharing of data between government, companies and civilians (open data) (p.17)) Ambition: NL a flourishing data economy (p.38) Problems with entrepreneurs: have no awareness about the importance and possibilities of sharing data as well as lack of trust (p.38) NL DIGIbeter agenda for digital government.	Not mentioned	More data available as companies, institutions and governments invest in using new technologies. Results in massive amounts of data , but also asks for attention to rights and values (p.25). Handling data well (government) (p.28). Utilize opportunities of big data (p.28) & use open data (p.28). Making data collection of government available as open data (p.42).	Datadriven working (p.18) NL DIGITAAL data agenda describes how data can further improve policymaking and solving societal problems by the government (p.26). Collaborations (smart cities) working on datadriven solutions to improve liveability, quality and competitiveness of the city (p.26) “We optimize collaboration and choose, where possible, for datadriven policy , always centralizing humans (p.63). 1 of the 5 pillars Last year dialogue about public values and rights, special attention to the important role of data in this (p.23). Trust that the government safely uses data (p.24)
Moeten	We need to invest highly to strengthen our competitiveness and digitalisation plays a crucial role (p. 7). 3 ambitions of government, 1 of them that everyone must be able to participate (p.7) Action plan Digital Inclusion must prevent people from being excluded (p.21).	Digital inclusion: everyone must be able to participate (p. 1,2,3, frontpage) In order to help everyone whole society must make efforts (p.5) and think about the importance and consequences of digitalisation (p.7) Government must put in effort as well as civilians themselves (p.6)	Everyone must be able to communicate with the government in a safe and comprehensible manner (p.32). Everyone must be able to participate (together with other companies) (p.34) To make the services more personal and better, governmental organisations need	In our society everyone must be able to participate (p.35) Civilians must be able to trust that the government safely uses data (p.24) “Together we do not only think about what we must do to offer benefits for society, but also how we must do this (p.63)

		<p>People need to keep learning about digitalisation p.6)</p> <p>Everyone must be able to understand government communications (p.8)</p> <p>Government must provide suitable help, especially those with extra difficulties (p.9)</p>	<p>to exchange more data, whereby attention must be paid to security of information, privacy and other rights (p.45).</p> <p>“Civilians must be able to trust organisations” (p.45,p.46).</p>	
Willen	<p>Digital inclusion (p.19, p.21)</p> <p>Breakthrough regarding life long learning (p.21)</p> <p>NL Digitally safer; civilians and companies can use digital technologies and services in a safe and familiar way (p.24).</p>	<p>With LLO (life long learning) government wants to create a positive and strong education culture (p.19)</p> <p>Want to use more language ambassadors (p.11), more knowledge of others ((p.7), startups (p.12)).</p>	<p>“We want a society where everyone can participate and that puts human dignity up front, also better serving civilians and entrepreneurs by the government. With this we are a government that ‘goes with her time’. This way we make The Netherlands ready for the future. Nederland DIGibeter” (p.53).</p>	<p>Want to optimally use the possibilities of digitalisation (p24)</p> <p>Want to improve their information and services (p.9) and want to learn quickly and experiment (p.8).</p>
Kunnen	Nothing of interest	<p>Digital inclusion: “everyone must be able to participate in the (digital) society (p.3). People can think along about role digitalisation (p.6)</p>	<p>Everyone must be able to communicate with the government in a safe and comprehensible manner (p.32).</p> <p>“Civilians must be able to trust organisations” (p.45,p.46).</p>	<p>Digital inclusion: everyone should be able to participate (p.9, (in our society) p.53)</p> <p>Citizens should trust government safe data (p.24)</p> <p>Digitalisation should make direction over data for civilians more easy (p.38).</p> <p>“We direct ourselves at the future and maintain room to redirect our course. Only then can we cope with social challenges and live up to the confidence of civilians and entrepreneurs in the government (p.65).</p>
Belangrijk	<p>Protection of safety, fundamental rights and public values (p.7)</p> <p>AI: transparency and explanation of algorithms and inclusion (p.15)</p> <p>essential for successful digital transition: availability of data and using them in a responsible way, as well as data sharing (p.17)</p> <p>Digital literacy important place in the curriculum (p.20)</p> <p>Datacenters (without them digital highway standstill, essential role in digital economy and society (p.23))</p> <p>Internationally important to protect an equal playing field and take a stance for the important values of The Netherlands in a digitalising world; free and open internet as well as ethic protection (p.27); honest and competitive markets, innovation, trust, privacy and ethics (p.27).</p>	<p>Goal: that everyone can participate in the (digital) society (p.3)</p> <p>That people can communicate with the government themselves (accessibility and comprehensible information (p.4))</p> <p>Handling digitalisation is as important as reading, writing and calculating (p.5)</p> <p>In our society we cannot live without technology, important that everyone understands that and knows the effects/consequences (p.6)</p> <p>People should be digitally aware (knowing the possibilities and dangers of digital world) (p.13)</p> <p>Keep learning (digitalisation provides opportunities and risks, influence of tech is hard to predict (p.13)</p> <p>That people know when communication is from the government (p.14; fake news?)</p>	No results	<p>Role of data (p.23)</p> <p>Democracy is an important value that digitalisation can impact a lot (p.24)</p> <p>Digital identity and direction over data were important subjects last year and stay important pillars (p.35)</p> <p>More human-centered services: they will focus on important life-events for civilians and entrepreneurs (p.49)</p> <p>For a digital society the basic infrastructure is an important precondition (p.63); for governmental services important things as identification, findability of services, authorisations and re-use of data can only be realised by government wide building of a digital basic infrastructure (p.64).</p> <p>RADIO trainings important theme’s: commissioning, use of data and algorithms, privacy and ethics and application of new technologies (p.16, p.72).</p> <p>Important that everyone can (and stays able to) participate (p.89)</p>

2. Discourse narratives & purposes

	NL Digitaal Strategy	Digitale Inclusie	NL Digibeter 2018	NL Digibeter 2019
General narrative	<p>For the benefit of everyone, to make sure everyone can participate (now and in the future) and for our own safety we need to invest in digitalization. The digitalisation of The Netherlands need to become a success (p.7) 'By combining our forces we can utilize the opportunities and effects of digitalization', as well as preventing ourselves from falling behind with the development of key technologies, and finally for our own economic security. 'Digitalisation plays a crucial role in the strengthening of our competitiveness whereby the protection of our security, fundamental rights and public values are important starting points. (p.7)</p>	<p>General narrative is that as digitalisation happens fast and influences everyone, not everyone can come along. The government wants everyone to be able to participate in the (digital) society, that everyone is included. They also want people to have trust in the public services and their security. Improving digital inclusion is a challenge, therefore they have four main goals: (1) making digital services easier for everyone, (2) help people to handle digitalisation, (3) explain what the consequences and effects are of digitalisation and (4) work together with companies and other organisations.</p>	<p>Digitalisation offers opportunities that the government wants to seize/utilize, but with respect to the civilians (their autonomy and rights). Focused on 5 pillars: 1) we invest in innovation, (2) the protection of fundamental rights and public values, (3) accessible, comprehensible and for everyone, (4) making our services more personal and (5) ready for the future. Their goal, as a government, is that they can utilize the opportunities of digitalisation, can offer safe and quick services the coming years and tackle societal problems but with continuous attention to fundamental rights and public values (p.11). However, the main focus is on improving the governmental services themselves, aimed at 'for the civilian', but not much attention for the civilian itself (their skills etc). The government is in service of the civilian. Important: they are not afraid to take risks or experiment with new technologies.</p>	<p>This is more a reflection on the past year and past agenda, less explanations about the reasons why. It is about the policies in general and the policy of 2018; how that went, where they are now and how to go further. It is still aimed at the relation between the government and civilians, but less explicit. It is really clearly aimed at improving the government, their technologies and processes, in the end still for the benefit of the civilians, but also for other motives (tackling social challenges and issues, to modernise the government itself in order to stay relevant). Overall there is more awareness about the risks (also in regards to public values). The main emphasis is on the improvement of the government and its services, to "make the digital government ready for the future" (p.62), where the end slogan first was 'together DIGibeter'.</p>
Literacy narratives	<p>Whilst digital skills is one of the fundamentals as well as goals of the strategy (infographic, p.6), they do not mention literacy much. Digital inclusion is one of their three ambitions (p.7) and that's where digital skills are of main importance. It is mainly mentioned in a way that new skills are necessary as digitalisation changes our jobs and the knowledge and skills necessary (p.19). It is also coupled with LLO (life long learning) ambitions. Main focus is on the change of the curriculum; that there is increased attention for digital skills for primary and secondary schools (p.20-21), as they need to better connect to the job market and to better equip students for the future (p.21). They also want to help people who have trouble handling digitalisation by improving their digital skills (p.21). With their priority 'digital government' they want to work on 'increasing the digital skills of people (digitally-skilled), and that people understand the opportunities and risks of</p>	<p>General literacy narratives: mostly about awareness of digitalisation, less about the skills. Skills not explicitly mentioned. A part of the prevention of exclusion is awareness and experience with digitalisation and it's technologies (awareness and skills; digital literacy), also a part is access (to government services, access in terms of understandable languages). Focus mainly on improvement of digital skills and awareness for the prevention of exclusion (p.3), but also for a democratic purpose; good citizenship (technologic citizenship) and trust and knowledge of their own rights so they can stand up and participate (p.13). xx Important that civilians have digital awareness (know the possibilities and dangers of digital world), therefore they need knowledge and experience. Government has to do this but civilians themselves too (p.13).</p>	<p>General literacy: Narrative of people having difficulties with digital technologies, digital skills and digitalisation in general. These will be helped by the government as well as by other parties. In the new curriculum there is attention for digital literacy and practical skills to equip students better for the future (p.35). They want to make people aware that digital skills and digital resilience are important (p.35). They stimulate the development of userfriendly digital products that require little digital skills to make it as easy as possible for people (p.38). They do make a difference, in an example that parents often have more difficulties with digitalisation than their children (p.8). Only focused on their plans to improve digital skills to help people with troubles in the digital world.</p>	<p>General literacy narratives: When talked about digital inclusion, in order 'to prevent people to be excluded it is necessary that the digital services of the government are accessible and comprehensible for everyone (digitally-accessible), that work is being done to improve the digital skills of people (digitally-skilled) and that people understand what the opportunities and risks are of digitalisation (digital-awareness)' (p.36). Whilst the narrative of the 2018 text was also to improve the accessibility of government services, and that people needed more skills and awareness, it wasn't made this explicit, especially not in combination for combatting exclusion. Therefore the narrative of literacy is expended from first being about access and a bit about skills to being about access, skills and awareness. More emphasis on the improvement of digital skills.</p>

	<p>digitalisation (digital awareness) (p.22). With the programme 'Tel mee met Taal' they work on improving skills of low literate people (p.22).</p> <p>The only narrative about literacy is that they work on improving the skills of low literate people with 'Tel mee met Taal' programme (p.22).</p> <p>They prioritize digital skills, and with that indirectly some part of digital literacy. But as seen in theoretical framework literacy is more than just skills, however they do mention digital awareness once (p.22) but do not further prioritize it. Increasing digital skills is necessary for multiple reasons: as a fundament for successful digital transitions of The Netherlands (infographic, p.6), as a means for digital inclusion and as a necessity because of the changes digitalisation brings to the job market and the future (curriculum). They do not make clear what these skills entail exactly.</p>	<p>People need to learn how to deal with technologies, they call it technologic citizenship (Rathenau institute describes this as 'the collection of duties and right that makes it possible for citizens to profit from the blessings of technologies and protect them against the risks of it') (p.13).</p> <p>They also want civilians to be aware of the opportunities of digitalisation but also of the risks. Influence of technology is hard to predict so therefore it is important to keep learning. (LLO) (p.13)</p> <p>They also talk about 'splinterskills', as some people can only handle a certain aspect of digitalisation well, therefore different courses are on offer. (p.14)</p>	<p>Digital skills for the future, are important.</p>	<p>Different actions have been implemented to improve skills and help people with less digital skills (Tel mee met Taal programme, informationpoints in libraries, Alliance living together digitally).</p> <p>They continue the plans and proposed actions as made in the digital inclusion document (p.42).</p> <p>Literacy is important to prevent exclusion is what they argue.</p>
<p>Actors</p>	<p>Written by ministry of Economic business and climate (EZK) in July, 2019. other actors that contributed (according to the attachments) are: BZK (ministry of internal affairs and kingdom relations), JenV (ministry of justice and security), OCW (ministry of education, culture and science) , SZW (ministry of social affairs and employment opportunities), VWS (ministry of public health, welfare and sport).</p>	<p>Written by 'De staatssecretaris van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, drs. R.W. Knops' (The State Secretary for the Interior and Kingdom Relations, R.W. Knops), together with a 'language ambassador' (p.4). Published in December 2018.</p> <p>Other actors are different part from different ministries: EZK: made the NL Digitaliserings strategy J&V (justice and safety) is part of the programme 'social domain'; where the State and municipalities work together with professionals for better help for (vulnerable) people OCW (education, culture and science): part of the 'Tel mee met Taal' programme, a nationwide programme based on preventing and combatting low literacy, as well as Mediawijzer.net, their goal being to stimulate a network approach to make as much Dutch citizens media literate as possible or at least activate them to become that. So they can move easier and more secure in a society where (online) media have an increasing bigger role. Also plays a role in adult education, where municipalities</p>	<p>This document came into existence with the 'Overheidsbreed Beleidsoverleg Digitale Overheid' (government-wide policy consultation digital government) , published in July 2018</p> <p>This policy is government wide. The following parties are represented in this consultation: : CIO-Rijk Interprovinciaal Overleg Ministerie van Binnenlandse zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties Ministerie van Economische Zaken en Klimaat Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat Ministerie van Justitie en Veiligheid Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport Programmeringsraad Logius Unie van Waterschappen Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten</p>	<p>This document came into existence with the 'Overheidsbreed Beleidsoverleg Digitale Overheid' (government-wide policy consultation digital government) , published in July 2019</p> <p>This policy is government wide. The following parties are represented in this consultation: : CIO-Rijk Interprovinciaal Overleg Ministerie van Binnenlandse zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties Ministerie van Economische Zaken en Klimaat Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat Ministerie van Justitie en Veiligheid Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport Programmeringsraad Logius Unie van Waterschappen Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten Same as 2018.</p> <p>In text more emphasis on companies to help out, a lot more emphasis on collaboration than last year.</p>

		<p>buy courses basic skills (including digital skills) for their citizens (p.18)</p> <p>SZW & OCW (social affairs and job opportunities) play a role in the LLO (life long development). The aim of the government is to create a positive and strong education culture.</p> <p>Techniekpact is there for a better fit between education and the job market in the technical sectors, as well as reducing the shortage of technical employees..</p> <p>VWS (public health, welfare and sports) is part of 'onbeperkt meedoen' (unlimited participation); a programme for the implementation of the VN treaty regarding the rights of people with a handicap. Goal of the programme is that people with a handicap can participate more and according to their own wishes and abilities in society (p.19).</p>		
Theories	<p>General refer to ongoing researches, but nothing linked with literacy/digital skills.</p>	<p>They refer to researches that supports their argument, for example from the Rhatenau institute, as well as government documents.</p> <p>It is also clear that it is part of the bigger/general NL Digitalisation strategy, and that NL DIGibeter Agenda Digitale Overheid also is included in that.</p> <p>Especially numbers about digital skill and the combatting of low literacy (p.2) are referred to)</p>	<p>They refer to the fundamental rights, as well as referring to some other parties to strengthen their argument: "Not only us, the government, but also WRR, Nationale Ombudsman and the Rathenau Institute have advised about this, seeing fundamental rights and public values as essential to protect. (p.7). No other theories used.</p> <p>Nothing explicitly about literacy.</p>	<p>Completed researches are being mentioned, but no reference list.</p>
Groups targeting/ social labeling	<p>Main groups that are being talked about are civilians, entrepreneurs and organisations.</p> <p>Only in the part about the 'Startup in Residence' programme they called people with low literacy 'laaggeletterd' (low literate), in another part they call them 'people with limited digital skills' (p.34) or people with a 'digital lag' (digitale achterstand). No label attached.</p> <p>They do specifically talk about the increasing of digital skills for vulnerable groups (p.21), but do not define what these vulnerable groups are.</p> <p>They do also talk about people who have difficulties with digitalisation that these need extra help.</p> <p>However, they seem to suggest that low literate people need to step up their game, otherwise they will be left out, and, combined with the narrative of digitalisation (opportunities that need to be utilized otherwise the Netherlands will lose its economic safety and competitiveness, which is bad for whole country) indirectly steer to</p>	<p>Text written as information for the government, but due to language aimed at citizens.</p> <p>Main focus is on the group of people that cannot keep up with the speedy developments of digitalisation. They use handicapped people in an example, saying they need extra resources to use a website, and that the government pages often do not have these aids for them (p.3).</p> <p>Special attention to 'people who have difficulties with reading and writing' (not 'laaggeletterden'/low literate people).</p> <p>They do make a distinction between adults and youths at one point, when talking about 'splinter skills' (p.14): 'youths are very skilled in using social media, but often do not think about the effects or consequences of a message or photo on social media. Adults are often skilled in internet banking, but they often have problems using new technologies. What is easy for one person, is difficult for the</p>	<p>Aimed at civilians. Also a bit at entrepreneurs.</p> <p>They do make some distinctions between people with 'less' digital literacy, as they need more help. They also make a distinction between people with low and high literacy in the examples they use; having a 'low literate' person telling what they find difficult, what troubles they experience.</p> <p>They also talk about parents vs youths in another example: 'in order to provide equal opportunities for kids, attention is also necessary for the parents' (p.34), as they often lag behind a lot, not able to help their kids and thus putting them behind too.</p>	<p>Focused on civilians, but also on entrepreneurs. Also more emphasis on companies to help out, lot of emphasis on collaboration.</p> <p>They mention that 'the way governmental services can fit the (digital) skills from the often vulnerable target audiences is an important point' (p.40).</p> <p>They call low literate people as 'having trouble or difficulties with digitalisation', low digital skills. Also mentioning more attention for 'the vulnerable group and their skills' and how the services can fit that (p.40). Do not mention who these vulnerable groups are (but lot of pictures/photos of seniors)</p>

	a sentiment that these low literate people could threaten the wealth and welfare of the entire country.	other. Therefore different types of courses are on offer". Regarding literacy they talk about low skilled/literate people who need extra help.		
Numbers & visualisation	<p>‘European countries, especially the Netherlands, have become digitally ‘awake’’ (p.7). The Netherlands raised to a 3rd place on the digital economy and society index (DESI), the ranking for digital economies in Europe (p.7).</p> <p>No explicit numbers regarding literacy.</p>	<p>2, ,5 milion Dutch citizens have difficulties in working with digital devices such as a computer, smartphone or tablet. 1,2 Dutch citizens have never used the internet. Used to show that there are many people who have difficulties.</p> <p>They also have numbers on the costs of the Digital Inclusion programme (p.20). (SEE BELOW)</p> <p>Most money in 2019 is for goal 1: digital accessibility (the improvement of government services; the NL DIGIbeter programme). After that digital skills and self-reliance (goal 2). The funds for digital accessibility will be reduced over the years, while digital skills will receive the highest amount of funding from 2020 onwards. Digital awareness will go up in funding, collaboration will go down and the funding for research stays the same.</p> <p>This shows they first want to improve digital access, after that (next year) most attention to digital skills and self-reliance.</p>	They have a few infographics about the overview and use of services of civilians and entrepreneurs, but nothing related to literacy.	No numbers, infographics or statistics
Adopted language and tone	<p>In general speaking on behalf of the ministry (lot of ‘the Netherlands’, ‘the government’, no ‘we’ or ‘us’). Formal and distant tone. Emphasis on economic interests/opportunities as well as risks and competitive position.</p> <p>They talk about the increase of digital skills for different areas: education, jobs and vulnerable groups.</p> <p>They argue that for everyone to come along and participate in the digital world, the job market and society as a whole it is essential for everyone to learn the basics early, that people keep learning and developing for the changing jobs and that vulnerable groups get enough support (p.19).</p> <p>The change in the curriculum is to ‘better prepare students for the future’ (p.34) so that youths have ‘good ICT basic skills, information skills and are media literate’ (p.34).</p> <p>They want an ‘adequate level of basic digital skills for the entire society, so everyone can participate’ (p.34).</p>	<p>Lots of images in tekst, simple language and short sentences. This is because they made it together with a ‘Language Ambassador’, a person who was illiterate but did some courses regarding digitalisation, therefore being experienced to tell where the problems are and how the text could be more readable.</p> <p>They use short sentences, clear language and stay away from difficult words.</p> <p>Helping the people and improving the services, programme’s, accessibility, skills and understanding is central (4 main goals).</p> <p>Talk from a ‘we’ perspective, very personal and close. Quite informal.</p> <p>Everyone should be able to participate, we as a government will help you</p> <p>On literacy/skills: Not much, it is part of the 4 tracks of the programme but not mentioned much in this text. Literacy is coupled with an approach/plan to combat low literacy.</p>	<p>Tone is friendly, framing the government as ‘being there for you’.</p> <p>Regarding literacy, not much is explicitly said about it. It is just another thing to pay some attention to, not too important. Focus is mostly on improving the government and its services.</p> <p>They do discuss literacy/skills as it is an important manner to them (as well as part of the digital inclusion programme) but not dive in deeper.</p> <p>Literacy thus linked to exclusion again</p>	<p>General: Less friendly than 2018, more dry, formal and distant. The document is also a lot bigger (57 pages versus 35).</p> <p>Tone is more reflective and more about plans.</p> <p>Overall it is a more general text, informative and not really activating.</p> <p>Literacy: Digital inclusion got expanded, from skills now also focused on accessibility and creating digital awareness under civilians (understand and be aware of the risks and opportunities of digitalisation) (p.36) Coupled again with ‘everybody must be able to participate’..</p> <p>Tone of literacy is of something that needs to be acted upon now, or you will be excluded in the future.</p>

	<p>Tone is mostly about the what has been done and will be done in the future. They emphasize that they want everyone to be able to participate a lot.</p> <p>They see digital skills (and thus literacy) as a necessity in today's society (inclusion, jobs, future).</p>	<p>However, digitalisation and digital skills as framed as something difficult, not only seen by the used numbers but also because of the many uses of 'people who find digitalisation difficult', 'have trouble with digital technologies', and 'need extra help', as well as 'asking startups to think of ways to make people feel that digitalisation is fun, not scary' (p.12).</p>		
Digitalisation narratives	<p>The digital transition in the Netherlands can only succeed through collaboration (p.7), therefore this strategy. 'Everywhere the awareness increased that digitalisation has a fundamental impact on society, economy and government. There is also the realisation that digitalisation offers opportunities for wealth and welfare, but also is accompanied with challenges' (p.7). Digitalisation has no boundaries (like countries, sectors etc) (p.7). 'Technology gets increasingly entangled with our economic security, therefore we need to strengthen our competitiveness and digitalisation plays a crucial role in this. The protection of our security, fundamental rights and public values are important (p.7). Digitalisation has influences on jobs, therefore ned skills and knowledge is needed (p.19). Digitalisation is also dangerous: 'Cyberthreats develop fast, thanks to the ongoing digitalisation the balance between security, freedom and economic growth can be jeopardized (p.24). Also that digitalisation can improve and better lives, but not digital is not self-reliant: 'digitalisation to improve quality of life; the Netherlands profits from the opportunities of digital opportunities to improve the quality of life, stay healthy and self-reliant as long as possible and to be able to decide over the necessary care (p.30). In general: digitalisation provides opportunities to make life better (wealth, economic, etc), but also risks (jobs, economic security). It has a fundamental impact on society, economy and the government. Netherlands needs to make work of digitalisation for its own benefits (economic), therefore civilians need to work too (for the welfare, wealth and security of whole society/country).</p>	<p>"In society we cannot live without technology. It is important that everyone understands that" (bold not mine) (p.6). 'Digitalisation offers opportunities, but also risks. Therefore people need to keep learning about digitalisation. Not only on schools but also in other places. The challenges of digitalisation can be very different" (p.6). Same on (p.13); criminals use internet for digital burglary. Not only in schools, "but in the entire society there needs to be thought about the importance and effects of digitalisation" (p.13). "Asking startups to think of ways so people do not think of digitalisation as something scary but of something fun" (p.11) They started a campaign so more people develop trust in digitalisation, as well as trust in the digital services of the government. Then they can better stand up for their rights and participate in discussions about the effects and consequences of digitalisation(p.13).</p> <p>Opportunities, important, need to be learned about, is something of the entire society and influences and affects us all. People need to see it not as scary but fun, and need to trust in it as well as digital government services.</p>	<p>Digitalisation does not confine itself to borders, therefore a close collaboration with other European countries is necessary' (p.8). They want everyone in the government to have the right knowledge of digitalisation, from workplace to management (p.9). They implemented a programme 'Sate academy for governmental digitalisation and computerisation', providing general basicknowledge modules for civil servants. They want every servant of the state to have an absolute minimum of knowledge on this area. Especially reagarding safe and functional use of ICT and internet in their own workplace' (p.22). Also seeing digitalisation as something that can be hard for some people to handle (p.32). Main narrative is that digitalisation offers opportunities to improve government services and thus the relationship with and the lives of citizens, but digitalisation can also jeopardize important public values as equality and democracy (p.7). Innovation and going with it is important, but with these values in mind.</p>	<p>"Digitalisation affects the relationship between civilian and government. We as a government want to make optimum use of the opportunities of digitalisation and show the civilians what opportunities and chances digitalisation offers (for example opportunities for personalizing services and supporting democracy)' (p.24) "Digitalisation offers opportunities and challenges, also when it is about rights and public values" (p.65). Only then we can tackle societal challenges. 'Digitalisation makes it possible to work on societal challenges in an innovative way (p.13). 'The government needs to be aware of the effects and consequences of digitalisation for society, whereby it is about the opportunities and risks for public values and futureproof laws' (p.23) "Democracy is an important value that digitalisation can have a big effect on" (p.24).</p> <p>Digitalisation is something that affects the relationship of government-civilian (p.24), affects society and can have big effects on public values (for example Democracy) and laws (p.23, p.24). But it also offers many opportunities and innovations to improve services and lives of civilians (p.24, p.13).</p>

<p>Purpose / motivations / discourses</p>	<p>Motivation is economic (making the digital transition a success, necessary for economy (security and competitiveness of NL), for keeping the balance and security. But also social/ethical; preventing exclusion. They also suggest that if you don't improve your digital skills, you cannot utilize the opportunities of digitalisation.</p>	<p>The main goal of the two plans (NL Digitaliserings strategy and Agenda Digitale Overheid: NL DIGIbeter) is that 'everyone can participate in the (digital) society' (p.3); digital inclusion. This is a democratic purpose. Their aim to prevent exclusion and have safe digital services so that the people have trust in digitalisation and digital technologies is both a democratic and ethical purpose. The four main goals they have for improving digital inclusion all have slightly different purposes. The four goals are 1) making digital services easier for everyone, (2) help people to handle digitalisation, (3) explain what the consequences and effects are of digitalisation and (4) work together with companies and other organisations.. 1 = skills (focuses on access and skills) 2 = skills & democracy 3 = ethic/social (aimed at awareness) 4 = economic / not really</p>	<p>Their main goal is to be able to utilize the opportunities of digitalisation, while also having attention to civilians, in order to improve their services. This is partly a democratic purpose, for an inclusive public sphere and supporting citizens in their lives, but also a social/ethical one (supporting a meaningful life and an informed, creative and ethical society) as they aim to make the life events of civilians leading in how they work, but mostly as they have such a big emphasis on the values and rights of the citizens, respecting those and the autonomy of the civilians. The government in service of the civilian. Literacy/skills is all part of digital inclusion, so an exclusion/social/ethical purpose for doing that. But probably also if the government innovates, citizens need to be able to use these new innovations too.</p>	<p>More focus on the improvement of governmental services, to provide more value (to the citizens, entrepreneurs). Regarding literacy, they want to improve the services of the government to grant access to everyone (to prevent exclusion), which is democratic as well as social/ethical. They also aim to improve the digital skills of citizens and finally, they want to improve the digital awareness. These two get no explanation why they need to be improved, but as part of the prevention of exclusion (p.36). But whilst this is the obvious description, throughout the whole text it is also important to notice that by improving the government (their technologies and processes) they frame it as benefitting the civilians, but it is also because of other motives (to be able to tackle societal challenges, to modernise the government itself to keep up). So concerning literacy the stated motive is to prevent exclusion. But as government innovates, citizens must understand/do so too, and develop trust.</p>
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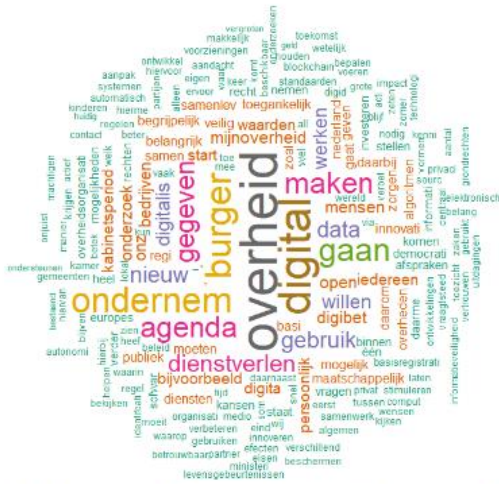
Funding of digital inclusion programme:

X 1000€

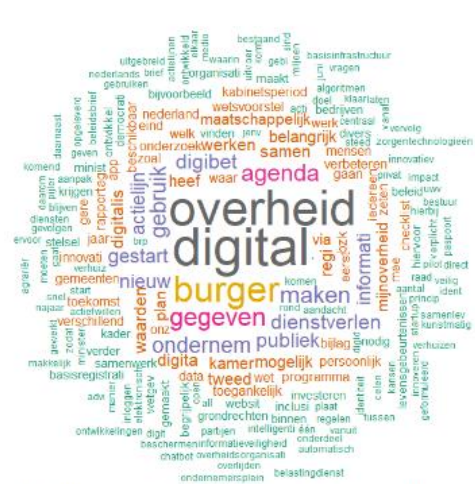
	2019	2020	2021	Struc.
Spoor 1: Digitale toegankelijkheid	2100	1300	1200	900
Spoor 2: Digitale vaardigheden en zelfredzaamheid				
– Bijdrage Tel mee Taal	1500	2500	2500	2500
– Challenge digitale inclusie				
– Aanvullend cursusaanbod				
Spoor 3: Digitaal bewustzijn	500	1000	1000	1000
– Publiekscampagne				
Spoor 4: Publiek-private samenwerking	1000	500	500	500
– Implementatietraject				
Onderzoek/ experimenten				
– Nulmeting	500	500	500	500
– Burgeronderzoek				
– Proeftuin				
Totaal	5600	5800	5700	5400

(DI, p.20).

8.7. Wordclouds



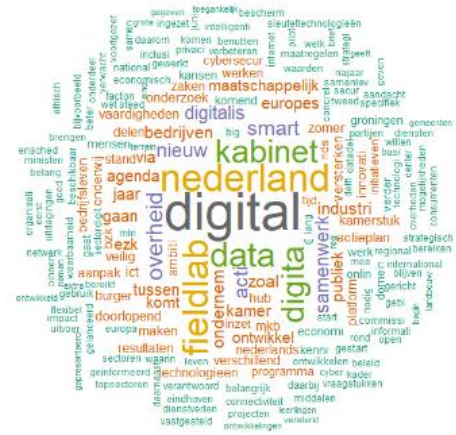
NL DIGIbeter Agenda Digitale Overheid 2018 Wordcloud



NL DIGIbeter Agenda Digitale Overheid 2019 Wordcloud



Programme Digitale Inclusie wordcloud



NL Digitaliseringsstrategie 'NL Digitaal' wordcloud