1. Introduction

Many commentators have made the case that the internet tends to reinforce social inequalities rather than acting as a leveller (e.g. Golding 1996; Norris 2001; Wei and Hindman 2011). While there is no single conception of the term 'digital divide', the majority of definitions consider some or all of the following themes: attitudes towards technology, access, skills and types of usage. Historically, basic access was seen as the key measure of inequality (e.g. Benton Foundation 1998; Strover 1999). Over time, however, interest has moved away from access concerns to consider skills and the nature of internet use among different groups (e.g. DiMaggio and Hargittai 2001; Zillien and Hargittai 2009; Van Duersen and Van Dijk 2014). As Schradie (2011) argues, 'digital inequality scholarship has expanded from a divide based simply on computer ownership to a range of inequalities in access and use of various digital technologies' (146).

Although a variety of social indicators, including gender, age and ethnicity have been studied in relation to digital inequality issues, socio-economic status indicators are seen as one of the key predictors of internet usage. Several authors (e.g. Zillien and Hargittai 2009; DiMaggio et al 2004) have argued that factors such as educational level, employment status and income have a significant impact on internet use, as people with higher socio-economic status tend to employ the internet more productively and to greater economic gain, even if they do not have better access than less privileged users. For example, Hargittai and Hinnant (2008) found that those with higher levels of education were more likely to use the internet for 'capital enhancing' activities such as seeking political or governmental information; exploring career opportunities; and accessing information about financial and health services. On the other hand, Van Deursen and Van Dijk (2014) found that, among users in the Netherlands, those with lower levels of education tended focus their internet use on social interaction and gaming.

Research focussing on young people has identified similar patterns. Hargittai and Walejko (2008) report that, in the UK and US, children from higher socio-economic backgrounds are more likely to experience educational gains from home computer and internet access. The authors suggest this is due to the fact that 'exposure to experiences that increase participatory culture and digital literacy are unequally available to individuals regardless of

their access to digital media' (241). For example, students with at least one parent with a graduate degree are significantly more likely to create content than those without (247-8).

Naturally, commentators have attempted to form explanations for these observed differences. For example, DiMaggio et al (2004) emphasise the importance of social networks and cultural capital in relation to internet use. In this context, social capital can affect the extent to which people are exposed to new technologies and get assistance from friends and family to use them. Robinson (2009) coined the term 'information habitus' to describe how those who have less control over their internet access develop a 'taste for the necessary', whist those with greater freedom develop more playful or creative approaches.

1.1 Digital inequalities and social media

As well as research into internet usage in broad terms, there have also been studies of differences in the use made of social media, which can be defined as 'Internet-based applications that…allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content' (Kaplan and Haelein 2010: 61). Blogging is one of the most heavily researched forms of social media. Hindman (2009) indicates links between blogging and socio-economic class, for example, reporting that the majority of the most widely read blogs in the political arena are run by people who have attended an elite institution of higher education. At a more mundane level, Schradie (2011) found that high school educated Americans were less likely to blog than their college-educated counterparts. She identified a 'digital production gap', which means 'elite voices still dominate in the new digital commons' (145). However, evidence regarding the links between social media and social class is not clear-cut. For instance, although they found gender and cultural differences, Davidson and Martellozzo (2013) reported little difference in the use of social media across social classes. Similarly, Chou et al (2009) found no substantial educational divides between bloggers and non-bloggers.

Considering social media as a whole may be misleading; it is possible that some social networking services (SNSs) are more closely associated with social class than others. For example, a survey in 2014 found that LinkedIn and Twitter were particularly popular among college-educated users and those with higher levels of household income, but this pattern was not seen for other sites including Facebook and Instagram (Duncan et al, 2014). Drawing on Bourdieu's ideas boyd (2014) describes how teenagers differentiate sites such

as MySpace and Facebook according to 'taste', identifying them as 'distinct cultural spaces and associating different types of people with each site' (170). This is an important consideration; as Hargittai (2007) cautions, 'researchers should tread lightly when generalising from studies about the use of one SNS to the use of another such service because, whilst there are similarities between services, they can attract different populations and may encourage different types of use' (122).

1.1 Social media use in Chile

Social media are undoubtedly popular in Latin American countries; in June 2011, it was estimated that 114.5 million people in Latin America visited an SNS, representing 96% of the entire online population in the region (Seguic 2011). It is estimated that Chile has 10.6 million active social media users and the social media penetration rate of 61% is the highest in the Americas (We Are Social, 2014). Seguic (2011) calculated that the average number of hours users spent on SNSs was 8.7 among Chileans, compared to a global average of 5.4 hours. Among young adults (18-29 year olds), an estimated 94% are registered Facebook users and more than three-quarters visit the site at least one a day (School of Journalism UDP, 2013). Interestingly, Correa (2015) reports that young adults with lower levels of education use Facebook most frequently. While the impact of social media on political behaviour (e.g. Valenzuela, 2013) and amongst university students (e.g. Crespo et al, 2009) in Chile have been reported elsewhere, there has been little consideration of the use of social media among school students in Chile for information purposes.

Thanks to the Enlaces programme[1], which has been running since the early 1990s, technology is more widely available in Chilean schools than is the case in most South American countries. For example, in 2010, 92% of Chilean schools had internet access compared to only 58% in Argentina and 44% in Brazil (OCDE, 2010). At 17.49, the average number of PCs with internet access in schools in Chile is considerably higher than the average for the continent of 11.0. Furthermore, around half of Chilean students have access to a PC in their home compared to the average for Latin America of just over one-third (Román and Murillo, 2014). However, divides still exist: while 42.3% of Chilean students reported using a PC in school at least once a week, 27.1% never did so. Furthermore, in

[1] http://www.enlaces.cl

Chile, as is the case elsewhere in Latin America, students in private schools and those in urban areas are most likely to have access to a PC (Román and Murillo, 2014).

1.2 Inequality in the Chilean educational system

The inequality that exists within the Chilean education system has been widely reported. As the OECD (2013) recognises, although levels of attainment have greatly improved over recent years, 'equity remains an issue, particularly for socio-economically disadvantaged students' (4) as more than 23% of the difference in student performance can be attributed to socio-economic status. This compares to an average of 15% across OECD countries. The OECD identifies school choice as one of the main factors hindering greater progress. PISA statistics from 2009 show that a 15 year old in Chile is less likely than their peers in other OECD countries to be in a school with students of different socio-economic status and academic performance (OECD, 2013).

1.2.1 School funding in Chile

Mujica (2012) describes the 'quasi-market in Chilean education' (148) which developed during the 1980s as changes in the financing of schools was introduced, resulting in a new type of school: the 'particular subvencionado'. These semi-private schools receive funding from the state, but are run by private entities and have greater autonomy than 'municipal' schools, which are also state-funded, but run by local municipalities. In addition to these two types of state-funded schools, there are also private 'particular pagado' schools that receive their funding from private sources. It is widely acknowledged that the type of funding arrangement of a school (its 'dependencia') is highly correlated with the socio-economic status of its students. As Mujica (2012) describes, students in private schools are generally from the upper middle classes; those attending semi-private schools are from the lower middle classes; and students in municipal schools tend to be from working class families. Elacqua et al (2006) report data from 2003 indicating that around 80% of students from the two lowest socio-economic groups were enrolled in municipal schools. In contrast 94% of students from the highest socio-economic group attended private schools. Furthermore, most parents only considered schools with similar student demographics for their children.

1.2.2 Academic and vocational schools

In addition to a divide based on school funding arrangements, there are also differences between vocational and academic secondary education (14-18 years) in Chile. In broad terms, humanista-científico (academic) education prepares students for higher education, while técnico-profesional (vocational) education prepares them for the world of work. There are also smaller numbers of other types of school, for example, those offering arts-based courses. Ministry of Education figures show that, in 2014, 38% of state-funded secondary schools (966 out of 2542) offered vocational education (email to the author). This option offers students more work-related learning, but less time is devoted to academic study and the OECD (2013) has noted the 'challenging' (4) transition students from this type of school can face when entering further education or the labour market.

There are considerable differences in the performance of students enrolled in vocational schools compared to those in academic schools. When Farías and Carrasco (2012) explored these differences in performance, they suggested that teachers in vocational schools may have lower expectations of their students and that the students in these establishments may be less motivated; have lower expectations; and enjoy less family support than those in academic schools.

2. Methods

A short online survey was conducted to capture data from secondary school students in Chile on their use of social media, in particular for information seeking purposes (rather than for more general communication uses). Relatively few previous studies have focused on the use of social media *for information-seeking* among secondary school age students (Grant, 2005 and Willemse et al, 2014 being among the few examples as discussed in detail in Aillerie and McNicol, 2016). Our research sought to answer two research questions: 1) 'Do secondary school students use SNSs as information sources? If so, do they use social networking services (SNSs) as information sources for everyday life topics alone, or as information sources for academic purposes as well?' and 2) 'What are students' motivations for using SNSs specifically as information sources?'.

The types of information uses students were asked about in our survey included not only tasks directly related to school activities, but also information sought for non-academic purposes, for example, informal learning and social or political activities. The survey, designed using

Google Forms, was based on companion surveys which were conducted in French, English and Danish also in spring 2015 and are reported elsewhere (Aillerie and McNicol, 2016). The Chilean version was translated into Spanish and questions added, or adapted, to collect data on the types of schools attended by students (as described above). The online survey was available between 3rd March and 16th April 2015. It was promoted to schools via the Minedu CRA (Ministry of Education, Learning Resource Centre) team's Facebook group (Bibliotecas Escolares CRA), bi-monthly bulletin, webpage and bulk email. The announcement asked librarians and teachers to encourage their students to complete the survey. While this method of survey distribution resulted in a self-selecting sample, both in terms of librarians or teachers who chose to promote it and students who completed the survey, it allowed us to easily reach a large number of students across the country through established communication methods that schools would trust.

There were 12,354 responses after 59 incomplete responses had been removed. The data were analysed in SPSS to produce descriptive statistics and chi-squared analysis was carried out to explore possible differences between responses from students in the various categories of school.

53.9% of responses were from female students and 46.1% from male students. The median age was 15. The majority of students, 61.2%, were from academic schools; 33.0% were from vocational establishments. In terms of school funding arrangements, the majority of responses, 70.3%, were from students in semi-private schools; 27.5% were studying in municipal schools; and just 0.9% in private establishments. Table 1 shows a breakdown of responses from students at various types of school. It is worth noting that the proportion of responses from students at private schools was notably lower than might have been expected (0.9% compared to 12.9% nationally), but this was not unexpected as Minedu has limited contact with these schools. The proportion of semi-private schools was correspondingly higher than the national figure (70.3% compared to 57.2% nationally), while the proportion responding from municipal schools was identical to the national figure for schools with this funding model (27.5%) (Ministerio de Educación de Chile, 2015).

[Insert Table 1 here]

3. Findings

3.1 Use of social networking services (SNSs)

When students were asked which SNSs they had accounts for, the most common response was Facebook (93.8%), followed by YouTube (59.3%), Instagram (52.2%), Google+ (52.0%) and WhatsApp (51.2%). In contrast, students were least likely to have accounts for Flickr (2.6%), Vine (6.6%) and Snapchat (12.2%), as shown in Figure 1. In addition to the options provided by the researchers, SNSs mentioned by more than ten students were: Skype (93), Wattpad (89), We Heart It (57), Pinterest (36), Line (26), DeviantArt (17), Steam (14) and Taringa (14).

[Figure 1: Respondents' use of SNSs: accounts, general purposes and information seeking]

The funding arrangements of students' schools did not appear to be related to the SNSs students had accounts for. However, there were differences to be seen between students from academic schools and vocational schools. Students from academic schools were more likely to have accounts for Instagram, Twitter, Google+, Tumblr, Snapchat, YouTube and Vine ($p<0.01$ in each case).

Of course, merely having an account does not necessarily mean students actually use a service regularly. As shown in Figure 1, Facebook was, overwhelmingly, the most commonly used SNS (75.3% said they used it regularly), followed by Whatsapp (48.5%), Instagram (26.2%) and YouTube (25.0%). The least regularly used SNSs were Flickr (0.2%), Vine (0.8%) and Ask.fm (1.9%).

3.2 Using SNSs for information purposes

In this research, we were particularly interested in students' use of SNSs for information seeking, rather than for more general purposes. Almost all students surveyed used SNSs specifically for information purposes and the majority did so on a regular basis. More than two-thirds of students (70.7%) said they used SNS to seek information regularly and 23.2% did so occasionally. Only 6.1% said they rarely or never used SNS to seek information.

When asked which SNSs they used for information seeking specifically, there were noticeable differences from the types of services students used more generally, as shown in Figure 1. In this context, Wikipedia was the site used most regularly (20.7%), followed by YouTube (11.5%) and Facebook (10.9%). All other SNSs were used regularly to search for information by less than 10% of students.

As shown in Figure 2, information about cultural events was the most common type of information students looked for on SNSs (49.2%). This was followed by information related to friends (37.7%) and information about games (34.7%). Practical information (e.g. transport or weather) (17.5%) was the least commonly sought type of information. In broad terms, therefore, information about social activities and hobbies was mentioned most frequently; what Hargittai and Hinnant (2008) term 'capital enhancing' activities, such as news or health information, were less common.

[Figure 2: Types of information searched for on SNSs]

The use of SNSs for tasks directly related to education ranged quite widely. Almost one-third of students (31.1%) said they used SNSs to find information for a task at the direction of a teacher, making this the fourth most common use of SNS for information purposes overall. However, fewer students used SNS for independent learning: 20.9% said they had used SNSs to find additional information about topics taught in class (extension of a lesson) and 18.0% used SNSs to find information for a school project independently (i.e. not explicitly directed teacher). In addition, 23.3% used SNSs to search for information related to educational and vocational guidance.

Notably, there was a significant difference between the use of SNSs for school-related tasks among students from schools with different funding arrangements. Students from semi-private schools were most likely to use SNS as an extension of a lesson ($p<0.01$) and for careers information ($p<0.05$), and those from private or semi-private schools were more likely to use SNS to find information at the request of a teacher ($p<0.05$). Interestingly, when non-school uses of SNSs were compared, there were no significant differences between schools with different funding models; students' social and practical uses of SNSs did not appear to vary depending on how their school was funded.

There were also significant differences between the students from academic and vocational schools in their use of SNSs as an extension of a lesson; for information at the request of a teacher; for independent projects; and for careers information and guidance. In each case, students from academic schools were most likely to use SNSs ($p<0.01$). Once more, these differences were not seen when the social and practical information (non-school) uses of SNSs were compared, with the exception of information about friends.

3.3 Publishing information on SNSs

Students surveyed were also asked about their information publishing habits on SNSs. Although more than one-quarter (28.4%) said they did not publish any information on SNSs, over half (53.3%) published comments and opinions. Publishing personal photos or videos was also a widespread activity (43.8%). Around one-quarter republished information found elsewhere (24.3%) and approximately the same proportion published personal texts (23.7%). However, publishing academic information was less common; just 11.7% of students said they published academic information, for example, on class Facebook groups.

There were statistically significant differences between students from schools with different funding arrangements in terms of their publishing habits, as shown in Table 3. Those from semi-private schools were most likely to publish personal texts; photographs and videos; academic information; and republished information, while those from municipal schools were most likely to publish comments and opinions ($p<0.01$ in each case). Students from private schools were least likely to publish all types of information ($p<0.01$).

There were also statistically significant differences between the publishing habits of students from academic and vocational schools, with those from academic schools being most likely to publish photographs and videos: academic information; and republished information ($p<0.01$ in each case).

4. Discussion

It is not unexpected to find that young people in Chile make extensive use of social media given the high level of engagement with social media in the country and the provision of digital technologies in schools. However, this research suggests that, despite good levels of access, there are notable differences in the ways in which SNSs are used, especially for information seeking purposes. In particular, there appear to be differences between types

of schools that characteristically attract students from different socio-economic backgrounds. To some extent, this might be expected as the tendency for higher status individuals to make greater use of the internet for information purposes has been widely documented (e.g. Notten et al, 2009; Peter and Valkenburg, 2006). As Zillien and Hargittai (2009) argue, 'those already in more privileged positions are reaping the benefits of their time spent online more than users from lower socioeconomic backgrounds' (287). In the case of Chile, Correa (2015) found that 'more educated and skilful individuals tend to use Facebook in more expressive and potentially beneficial ways than lower educated and less skilful people' (9).

In this survey, there were certainly differences in the way that students from different types of schools report interacting with SNSs for information purposes. However, our findings diverge from those found in previous research because, in their use of SNSs for social, political or practical information, or for informal learning (e.g. news, cultural information, health, games), there were few evident differences between the behaviours of students from different types of school. Among young people in Chile, therefore, the patterns commonly reported from research into adult online behaviours (e.g. Hargittai and Hinnant, 2008; Van Deursen and Van Dijk, 2014) are *not* borne out; typically higher class students from academic and private or semi-private schools are no more likely to use SNSs for 'capital enhancing' activities than their counterparts from schools largely catering for those from lower socio-economic classes.

When we turn to school-directed activities, however, it is a different story. When considering school-related information seeking specifically, differences become apparent. The use of SNSs for teacher-directed activities, independent projects, lesson extension activities and careers information are all more likely among students from academic schools than among those studying a vocational education. Students from academic schools were also more likely to publish more complex forms of information, including academic information. This suggests that the methods of teaching and expectations placed on students in academic schools may do more to encourage the use of SNSs for educational purposes, thereby supporting the development of students' information seeking and digital literacy skills. So, despite the fact that there may be little difference in their social and informal use of SNSs for information seeking, within an educational context, students from

academically-focussed schools are developing skills and habits which may allow them to make greater use of technology for 'capital enhancing' activities in later life.

Our findings suggest that differences in social media use is not simply a case of inequality between social classes. Rather, the type of education a student receives, and perhaps, the expectations and support that accompany that are important factors. Bourdieu's (1984) notion of habitus is of particular relevance here. Habitus can be described as, 'the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them' (Wacquant 2005: 316). Zillien and Hargittai (2009) advocate the use of this notion to describe 'something status related' (289) that determines internet use in addition to factors such as age, gender, access, experience or interest.

The role of social capital in structuring the diffusion of new technologies has been discussed by a number of authors (e.g. Rogers, 1995; DiMaggio and Cohen, 2004). For example, social capital can affect the extent to which people are exposed to new technologies and get assistance from friends and family to use them. According to Chen (2013) peer influence is strongly associated with internet use among high school students and affects technology adoption via modelling, encouraging and facilitating. Exploring the use of social media specifically, boyd (2014) argues that 'As teens turn to social media to connect with their friends, they consistently reproduce networks that reflect both the segregated realities of everyday life and the social and economic inequalities that exist within their broader peer networks' (171). It is, therefore, noteworthy that the only difference to be found in non-academic uses of SNS for information purposes was to find information about friends. While further research is needed to investigate this possibility, the findings of this survey suggest that social capital, transmitted via peers, teachers and the wider school community, may have a role in shaping students' use of SNSs for information purposes, not merely perpetuating long-standing class divisions, but exacerbating them.

The findings of this research are significant, not only for Chilean educators, but for those in any country which has a similar divide between academic and vocational school provision and/or school funding models. Even in countries, or localities, which do not divide schools into academic and vocational categories, there may be more subtle divisions that divide

students according to social class, such as the use of ‘catchment areas’ in the UK and elsewhere to define the geographic area from which students are eligible to attend a school. This means that the socio-economic composition of schools becomes relatively homogenous, with ‘higher SES pupils being more likely to be accepted into (nearer) more advantaged schools’ (Burgess et al, 2011: 544).

These findings indicate that more needs to be done by librarians and teachers in schools serving lower socio-economic communities to support students’ use of SNSs for information seeking purposes, especially in academic contexts. This may involve altering the expectations placed on students by teachers and parents, as well as working to address student motivation and expectations for the future; raising awareness of the role that information obtained from SNSs, as well as elsewhere, can play in shaping their lives; and ensuring they not only have the opportunity to access SNSs, but also the social capital to use them in the most productive ways. This is likely to require formal training opportunities, as well as informal idea sharing, amongst librarians and teachers to develop new approaches to the use of social media for learning purposes.

The following activities are designed to support the use of social media for learning and illustrate the types of activities librarians or teaching staff might consider introducing to promote more effective use of SNSs for information seeking in school settings. Crucially, these activities build on students’ existing uses of social media and show how the types of information available through social media can have a practical impact on young people’s lives. In the first example, Crowley (2016) describes the use of vandalised Wikipedia pages and hoax YouTube videos to introduce young people to the skills they need to evaluate and critique information they find on social media. As he points out, a traditional algorithmic approach is not well-suited to the evaluation of social media sites where issues of bias and reliability are more nuanced and complex. The approach he outlines places emphasis on the environment in which social media is created as much as the media itself. In a similar vein, Beilin and Leonard (2013) describe a course in which students create their own YouTube video news reports on topics of interest to them then reflect on these as a class. Finally, Jones (2016) describes how a student engaged with the online attacks that women face by analysing the language, narratives and modes of address used, then created a video piece appealing for women to claim the space of the internet and use it to develop a strong voice.

These examples demonstrate how, through creative approaches, librarians might make changes to the ways in which SNSs are used in schools, which can, in turn, contribute to raising student expectations; increasing awareness of the role information can play, both in educational contexts and in everyday life; and developing the social capital of all students.

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