

THE MEDIATIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN CHILE:
DISCOURSES AND GOVERNANCE IN A NEOLIBERAL EDUCATION FIELD

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Policy Studies
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2015

Urbana, Illinois

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ABSTRACT

This is an interdisciplinary study, because it focuses on the relationship between the education and media fields via a case study of the 2011 Chilean student movement. I have studied the mediatization of educational policies in Chile, using Critical Discourse Analysis as a qualitative research method. I have analyzed editorials and columns published by the two most influential newspapers in Chile to identify major discourses about education in a country with one of the most segregated educational systems in the world. In addition, I have analyzed FECH's Facebook page to illustrate how mobilized students contested hegemonic discourses in Chilean education. Finally, I have conducted interviews with education journalists in order to examine how they fashion their newsworthy criteria about educational policies.

This dissertation suggests that the walls maintaining the boundaries around contemporary educational systems have all but collapsed under the weight of powerfully commodifying discourses generated via electronic mediatization. In effect, the mass media have imploded into education beyond the classroom. As this study shows, the interactions between the fields of education and the media are complex. The mediatization of educational policies is a line of work in expansion that can enhance the analysis of education policies and the role of the media as political actors in that field. With this research, I hope to demonstrate the socially constructed nature of policy making and to hint at its essential porosity in the new age of neoliberal globalization.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIATIZATION OF POLICIES IN A GLOBAL EDUCATIONAL FIELD

“As Pierre Bourdieu reminds us, one of the most important activities scholars can engage in during this time of economic rationalism and imperial neo-conservatism is to analyze critically the production and circulation of these discourses... I would urge us to take this role even more seriously than we have in the past.” (Apple, 2001, p. 421)

Andreas Schleicher, Special Advisor on Education Policy to the OECD’s Secretary-General and Deputy Director for Education, stated in the Chilean newspaper *La Tercera* that one of the problems of the Chilean education system was its highly politicized character. In an interview, he said:

It is not right that Chilean education is so politicized. If you want to generate long-term changes in policies and practices, it is necessary to produce coherence and consistency in what is being done today so that those changes can be replicated. The best way to achieve this coherence is simply not to politicize education; rather evidence should be used to spark these changes... However, the problem lies in the fact that education is dominated by ideologies (Schleicher, 2013, p. 44).

This influential global policy maker sent a message to Chile using one of the most important newspapers in order to suggest how education should be addressed. He recommended a discussion based on evidence instead of political stances. His opinion was not casual. During and after the 2011 student movement, education in Chile has been a notorious issue in the public sphere. For this reason, his opinion circulated widely in conservative media, which utilized it to re-frame the debate about education in technical terms, avoiding the ‘ideological’ discussion proposed by students.

This example shows a contemporary phenomenon in the analysis of education policies: the strategic role of the media in the definition of policy problems, and in the production and circulation of their solutions. As Benson and Saguy (2005) have indicated “‘social construction of social problems’ research tradition attributes the dominant framing of a social problem to three general causes: claims-maker activities, media practices, and cultural themes or resonances” (p. 235). In the case of education, supranational agencies, governments, policy makers, stakeholders, and other education agents use the media as a forum to discuss educational issues, but also, the media themselves work as education policy actors given their character as social institutions. This process can be understood as the mediatization of educational policies, where the relationship between the education and the media fields acquires political and cultural dimensions.

Traditionally, the relationship between education and the media has been studied from a pedagogical perspective. Media education and media literacy have

tried to address the importance of the media in educational practices (Kellner & Share, 2007). However, the mediatization of educational policies, as a conceptual tool, extends this relationship beyond the classroom and situates the interactions between the education and media fields in the policy sphere. The global circulation of policy ideas and discourses is a product of an incessant network of information, where the media play a crucial role in the legitimization of neoliberal policies in education. Indeed, in a mediatized policy context, “governments use *media coverage* to develop, promote, and monitor education policy” (Couldry, 2012, p. 150, emphasis in original). Considering the above, the objective of this introductory chapter is to describe how the media work —shaping the public sphere— in the production and circulation of education policies and how this process is occurring in Chile. In the first section, I explain how the media create and distribute specific ideas and discourses so that they become a part of the public sphere. I then specifically describe how two of the most influential newspapers in Chile undertook this process during the 2006 and 2011 student movements. This explanation leads to the major research questions guiding this dissertation, and this chapter concludes with a brief description of the upcoming chapters of this document.

Neoliberal Policies in the Public Sphere

In the global architecture of education (Jones P. W., 2007), the media play an important role in working in favor of neoliberal educational policies (Mockler, 2013) or against global education (Koh, 2006). The media can be considered economic corporations, but they are also political actors in the definition and

construction of a particular type of society. In the case of education, as Rizvi & Lingard (2010) have noted, the media impact educational policies, because now mediatization processes affect the “circulation of policy ideas” (p. 39). This circulation of ideas is configured by intricate chains of discourses that nurture the new type of governance in education (McCarthy, Bulut, & Patel, 2013). According to Ball (2008), the production and administration of policies have changed from a centralized state bureaucracy to networks of policy communities that manifest the public-private neoliberal partnership in education. These new communities are formed by ‘policy intellectuals’, think tanks, corporations, educational institutions, supranational agencies, and the mainstream media (Ball & Junemann, 2012). The coordinated operations of these communities validate policy discourses and establish the sphere of influence in education.

This new network of educational actors “is a ‘policy community’, which ‘catalyses’ business in the delivery of education services and reconfigures and disseminates education policy discourses” (Ball, 2008, p. 749). This process of new governance in education can be studied through the mediatization of educational policies, considering that now education is characterized by “forms of polycentric governance, where policy is produced through multiple agencies and multiple sites of discourse generation” (Ball & Exley, 2010, p. 151). The media play a role in this process, shaping the circulation of ideas about education and authorizing the ‘valid voices’ in the field. Thus, the media legitimate neoliberal policy discourses in education through a sophisticated symbolic production process that impacts the public sphere.

Educational policy actors nurture the public sphere with discourses and social practices about education that are framed by the media. The mass media have institutionalized processes by which they have gained legitimacy (Valdivia, 2012/2013). For example, the media appear as agents of socialization and cultural transmission (García Canclini, 1995; Martín-Barbero, 2003), while at the same time they are transmitting knowledge and cultural dispositions, supervising public acts of the other fields and supplying channels of expression for individuals (Habermas, 1986; Carey, 2009). These functions are clearly present today, where the media shape public opinion.

This public opinion, according to Habermas (1986), is rooted in the development of early capitalism, specifically, with commercialism of news. With this new structure of communication and administration of power, the media objectify the presence of a public sphere (Habermas, 1986). In the case of education, the media surveillance operates in the different contexts of education policy production. For Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992), educational policies have three contexts: the context of influence; the context of policy text production; and the context of practice. The first context is where policies are initiated mainly by the work of influential educational policy actors. The second context involves the interpretations of the policy. Finally, in the context of practice, agents materialize the policy with their own social practices. The media affect these three contexts, promoting, legitimizing, and controlling neoliberal policies and practices.

This impact of the media can be explicated because the public space of communication is the main source of legitimacy of public policies, in that it

allows for a supposed open discussion of social problems (Habermas, 1990). In this sense, one of the principal effects of mediatization is the extension and expansion of educational space beyond educational institutions.

Mediatized Chilean Education

In Chile, the role of the media in the public discussion of education has intensified since the eruption of two powerful student movements in 2006 and 2011 (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013), which burst into the public sphere and shook Chilean democracy. Especially, in 2011, the public debate about education was intense between the movement's leaders, politicians, the president, the Minister of Education, universities' presidents, and education experts (Bellei, Cabalin, & Orellana, 2014). This public discussion was broadly conveyed through social media as well as through traditional media, such as newspapers, television, and radio, increasing education media coverage in the country.

Since the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990), Chile has developed a neoliberal system in different social fields. The most evident example of free-market fundamentalism can be observed in the educational system, which presents high levels of privatization and segregation based on socioeconomic status (Valenzuela, Bellei, & de los Ríos, 2014). This process of marketization is also a characteristic of the current media system, which is extremely homogeneous, resulting in a lack of pluralism and diversity in media contents (Mönckeberg, 2009). The Chilean media field is reduced and presents "high levels of political parallelism -where media, political parties and economic powers are closely linked- as well as the highest concentration rates in media

ownership in the Latin American region” (Mellado & Van Dalen, 2014, p. 865). For example, in the printed media sector, there are only two influential political and national newspapers (*El Mercurio* & *La Tercera*). These newspapers share similar thematic and political orientations (Gronemeyer & Porath, 2013) and regarding education coverage, their editorial opinion has promoted the neoliberal system in Chilean education (Santa Cruz Grau & Olmedo, 2012; Cabalin, 2013).

Neoliberal education has been a common issue on the agenda of the mainstream media after the 2006 and 2011 student movements; both movements have altered the public debate in education in Chile, demanding social justice and structural changes in the system. For example, Chilean printed media published 961 news reports only in June 2006, when the activities of the high school student movement were most intense (Domedel & Peña y Lillo, 2008). Since this movement, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* have a special section dedicated to education with journalists working only on this issue.

In 2011, during the university student movement, education was a media event in national and regional press (Gascón i Martín, 2012). For instance, *El Mercurio* published 384 news articles during the 2011 student movement. Thus, education has become a news event in the newsmaking process of the Chilean press. Moreover, educational institutions have adapted their operations to obtain presence in the media. Professional journalists are staff members of universities and schools. Education journalists interviewed for this study (Chapter 7) recognized that there is an intensive public relations work in education, showing the ongoing mediatization of educational policies in the country.

In order to understand this process, the main objective of my dissertation was to analyze critically the discourses in education during and after the 2011 Chilean student movement. All discourses are historically and politically situated, therefore, I consider this movement as the historical and political context of the debate over education in Chile. The following general questions have guided my study about the mediatization of educational policies in Chile:

- 1) How did the mainstream media operate as political actors in Chilean education during the 2011 student movement?
- 2) What were the dominant discourses in the public discussion of education during and after the 2011 student movement?
- 3) How did the student movement challenge the dominant positions in the Chilean education system?
- 4) How are discourses of education produced and circulated in the media?

With these questions, I expect to identify, describe, and understand the main policy discourses and their mediatization in Chile. The next chapters address each of these research questions.

The Structure of the Dissertation

In the next section of this dissertation, I present the theoretical and methodological framework of my study. Chapter 2 allows for the understanding of the main concepts that characterize this research. As an interdisciplinary concept, I define the mediatization of educational policies from media studies and cultural studies in education. I have used Pierre Bourdieu's notion of fields as a

substantive theory, because the mediatization of educational policies involves the interaction of the education and media fields. The discursive character of this relationship was studied using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a qualitative research method. This approach assumes that discourses are social practices that affect the distribution of power in society.

CDA also considers that all discourses are politically and historically situated. For this reason, in Chapter 3, I describe the context of my study, examining the characteristics of the Chilean education system and how two important student movements in 2006 and 2011 contested this structure. These movements changed the dimensions of the discussion about education in Chile, because for the first time after the restoration of democracy in 1990 neoliberalism was openly challenged by a significant number of the population. Indeed, the conservative sectors reacted to prevent any transformation in the system, trying to preserve the aspects of the market-oriented education system.

In this sense, Chapter 4 shows how the most conservative media responded to the 2011 Chilean student movement, framing the public discussion about education. The most influential Chilean newspapers played important political roles in this debate, because they defined, through a discursive strategy, the education problem and the solutions for this problem. They fiercely criticized students and delegitimized their positions. However, the students re-framed this discussion using new social media, especially, Facebook.

The 2011 student movement was highly mediatized. Students used traditional and new media to convey their demands. The digital social networks

were a key component of the communicational strategies developed by the students and their organizations. In Chapter 5, I address this issue, analyzing how the Student Federation of the University of Chile (FECH) utilized Facebook as an informational platform during the movement. Facebook was used to call for mobilizations, to respond to official information, to add activists, and to identify opponents.

The impact of the 2011 Chilean student movement is still unclear, because its powerful development opened multiple deliberations about the Chilean education system. One of them was the debate over quality assurance in higher education. Students asked for free and quality education for all, because most higher education institutions could not guarantee minimum academic standards. In order to illustrate this ongoing effect of the student movement, in Chapter 6, I analyzed how educational discourses were mediatized in the discussion about the quality assurance procedures in the higher education system after the movement.

In Chapter 7, I present a thematic analysis of interviews with Chilean education journalists. These interviews were conducted to understand how the mediatization of educational policies is shaped. Interviewed education journalists provided valuable information about the practices of education agents in their relationship with the media. The newsmaking process in education is characterized by the interrelations between the professional understanding of journalists, the powerful interests of dominant elite in the country, and the growing public relations of education institutions in a neoliberal educational system.

Finally, in Chapter 8, I discuss and summarize the main results of my study, stating that education can be a sphere for ideological discussion, where the different actors produce and circulate discourses that reinforce or challenge the hegemonic neoliberal paradigm in Chile. These discourses are parts of a constant flow of meanings about education in the context of the circulation of ideas in the policy production process.

All of these chapters are characterized by the critical education policy studies approach. In this sense, I have assumed in my research the notion of policy “that takes on board processes, practises, and discourses at a variety of levels, in diverse governmental and non-governmental contexts, and considers policy’s relation to power, politics and social regulation” (Simons, Olssen, & Peters, 2009, p. viii). With my study, I demonstrate the socially constructed nature of policy making.

In Chile, the public discussion about education takes the form of a deliberative sphere, presumably democratic, but in practice it is an elitist domain controlled by certain educational actors who promote a neoliberal education system in the country. My task as a critical researcher was to understand this opaque structure of power relations and hegemonic discourses in Chile. Likewise, I have studied the mediatization of educational policies being a contributor to this process. The 2011 student movement began only some months before my doctoral studies in the US. Regarding the importance of this social mobilization for education, I wrote and published articles and columns in *The Guardian* (Cabalin, 2011a), in the Argentinian newspaper *Perfil* (Cabalin, 2011b), and in the Chilean

digital newspaper *El Mostrador* (Cabalin, 2011c; 2011d; 2011e). After the student movement, I have continued with this collaboration, participating in the public discussion about education in the country. My dissertation is part of this academic activity for egalitarian and better education for all.

I have described openly my academic position, because a reflexive and critical scholar is aware of his role and activities in society. Considering the above, in the next chapter, I present the theoretical and methodological approaches that guide my study.

CHAPTER 2

**STUDYING MEDIATIZED EDUCATION: A BOURDIEUIAN AND
DISCURSIVE APPROACH**

“Convergence among theoretical orientations developed independently in the fields of education policy and studies of the media and politics offers a starting point for conceptualizing the media contribution to the education policy process.”

(Wallace, 1993, pp. 322-323)

As the previous introductory chapter has illustrated, the interaction between education and journalistic fields is a complex issue in the current study of educational policies. Bob Lingard, Shaun Rawolle, and Sandra Taylor (2005) have proposed working with Bourdieu’s theory of fields in order to examine the education policy production in the global context. These authors pay attention to the impact that economic and journalistic fields have on education policies. This impact can be expressed in the mediatization of educational policies in a neoliberal framework (Hattam, Prosser, & Brady, 2009).

I have established that the mediatization of educational policies involves a new way of analyzing the relationship between media and education beyond the classical notion of media as a pedagogical tool in the classroom (Friesen & Hug, 2009). This phenomenon demands a sociological perspective in the study of education and the media, because important social and cultural changes are taking place in the interaction between the media field and other social fields. According

to Bourdieu (1998), the media exert symbolic violence¹ over education, politics, arts, and other fields, imposing certain ways of understanding the world.

Following Bourdieu's theory of fields, Couldry (2003; 2012) explains that the media have developed a 'meta-capital' thanks to their capacity of influencing the construction of social reality through the application of symbolic power. Thus, the media "exercise power over other forms of power" (Couldry, 2012, p. 140). The power that the media holds has been considered in the education policy making process, affecting the practices in the field of education (Rawolle, 2010). Considering the above, it is necessary to define what the mediatization of educational policies means. The study of the mediatization of educational policies incorporates elements of media studies and cultural studies in the analysis of education policies.

For this reason, in this chapter different definitions of mediatization from media studies are presented. Then, the notions of fields and practices are described due to their importance in the study of mediatization. What is being proposed is an understanding the mediatization of educational policies as a political, cultural and social process that entails the interaction of the logics of practices of the media field and the education field, considering Bourdieu's notion of fields. To clarify that point, the mediatization of educational policies is discussed reviewing empirical examples. After the conceptual framework is given, I present Critical Discourse Analysis as a qualitative research method, explaining its principal theoretical and methodological features. I pay special

¹ For Bourdieu (1998), symbolic violence is "violence wielded with tacit complicity between its victims and its agents, insofar as both remain unconscious of submitting to or wielding it" (p. 17).

attention to Norman Fairclough's approach. This literature review encompasses the analytical framework of my research.

Mediatization in Media Studies

In the mediatization of educational policies, media theories have not been integrated in detail in the analysis of policy discourses. As this study is interdisciplinary (combining media and education policy studies), mediatization and framing (Chapter 4) are considered as the substantive theories that characterize my research. Mediatization theory is broader than framing theory, because mediatization is more than a theory about media effects.

Mediatization is a term that refers to the impact of media on society, but the meaning of this concept has been mixed up with mediation. However, in communication studies, mediation and mediatization are two distinct concepts (Couldry, 2008). Indeed, Livingstone (2009a) has stated that 'mediatization' and 'mediation' as concepts have been overlapped in the milieu of a new terminology for studying media power in a global context. The current discussion about mediatization has mainly been held in Europe. This geographical reference is not fiddling, because mediatization has acquired different meanings depending on the European region from which it came from. In this chapter, the Germanic and Scandinavian notion of mediatization are discussed. This notion "refers to the meta process by which everyday practices and social relations are historically shaped by mediating technologies and media organizations" (Livingstone, 2009b, p. x). On the contrary, mediation is an initial characteristic of the mass media, when they extend the possibilities of communication in society, modifying the

time-space relationship in the communication processes. It is a relay function of the media (Schulz, 2004).

This cultural transformation is produced by an accelerated technological development, changing the material conditions of communication. Castells (2007) states that telecommunications “transmit information, making possible flows of information exchange and treatment of information, regardless of distance, at lower cost and with shorter transmission times” (p. 176). This economic and social impact of communication on society creates opportunities for increasing the importance of the mass media in all fields. Thus, mediation acquires a new status in social relations. In politics, for instance, this means that “the media *mediate* between the citizenry, on one hand, and the institutions involved in government, electoral processes, or, more generally, opinion formation, on the other” (Strömbäck, 2008, p. 230). For this reason, “mediation refers to communication via a medium, the intervention of which can affect both the message and the relationship between sender and receiver” (Hjarvard, 2008, p. 114). Extending this initial notion of sender-medium-receiver, Fairclough (2006) defines mediation as a constant movement of meaning from one field to another, assigning the media an important role in the constitution of news scales of relations in social world.

Fairclough’s idea relates closest to mediatization, because mediatization is a broader concept than mediation, which extends the role of the media in social changes. Indeed, “mediatization refers to a more long-lasting process, whereby social and cultural institutions and modes of interaction are changed as a

consequence of the growth of the media's influence" (Hjarvard, 2008, p. 114). Mediatization has been studied in different spheres: politics, culture, religion, play, social conflicts, and recently in education (Hjarvard, 2013; Hepp, 2013; Couldry, 2012; Rawolle, 2010).

Mediatization theory was applied initially in political communication (Strömbäck, 2008; Hjarvard, 2008). The mediatization of politics is a starting point for the study of the mediatization of educational policies, because politics and policies are interrelated insofar that "policy expresses patterns of decisions in the context of other decisions taken by political actors on behalf of state institutions from positions of authority" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 4). Governments have mediatized educational policies as well as political activities (Fairclough, 2006). The mediatization of politics is constituted by four aspects:

The first aspect of the mediatization of politics is the *degree* to which the media constitute the most important or dominant source of information on politics and society. A second aspect is the *degree* to which the media are independent from political institutions in terms of how the media are governed. A third aspect is the *degree* to which the media content is governed by a political logic or by media logic. A fourth aspect, finally, is the *degree* to which political actors are governed by a political logic or by media logic. (Strömbäck, 2008, p. 234, emphasis in original)

The fourth aspect of the mediatization of politics is commonly cited in studies about the mediatization of public or educational policies (Franklin, 2004).

That is, educational policy makers (ministers, politicians, experts, to name a few) would be governed by ‘media logic’, which “refers to the institutional and technological *modus operandi* of the media, including the ways in which media distribute material and symbolic resources and operate with the help of formal and informal rules” (Hjarvard, 2008, p. 113). The term ‘media logic’ has been problematic in the discussion of mediatization, because ‘media logic’ may involve a unidirectional impact of the media in society, ignoring the social interactions and the dialectical influence between different social fields and the media field (Lundby, 2009; Hepp, 2013). However, Hjarvard (2013) clarifies that ‘media logic’ does not mean a linear and unilateral dependence of the media, rather it is “understood as conceptual shorthand for various institutional, aesthetic, and technological *modus operandi* of the media” (p. 17, emphasis in original). In the mediatization of educational policies, media logic is a useful concept for understanding the social practices of educational actors in relation to the media. Indeed, in Chapter 7, I discuss how education experts adopt a ‘media logic’ in order to be a valid source of information in the newsmaking process of education news.

Following the conceptual discussion about mediatization, Schulz (2004) extends the notion of ‘media logic’. For this author, mediatization can be understood as “changes associated with communication media and their development. The processes of social change in which the media play a key role may be defined as an extension, substitution, amalgamation and accommodation” (Schulz, 2004, p. 88). In this definition, extension is the break in human

communication limits through a new technical and semiotic system (e.g. mediated communication through radio or television); substitution indicates that the media replace some non-mediated social activities (e.g. playing online poker); amalgamation is the incorporation of the media in all social spheres of private and public life (e.g. online work from home); and accommodation is expressed in the actions of different political, economic, and cultural actors in order to acquire presence in the media, assuming a specific media logic (Schulz, 2004). As Hepp (2013) indicates, “for Schultz, therefore, mediatization is *also* the diffusion of a media logic, but not exclusively so” (p. 41, emphasis in original). By doing so, Schultz’s definition of mediatization “transcends and includes media effects” (Schulz, 2004, p. 90), but also encompasses the institutional character of the media in society.

In a similar vein, Hjarvard (2013) states that mediatization “is characterized by a *duality*, in that the media have become *integrated* into the operations of other social institutions and cultural spheres, while also acquiring the status of social institutions *in their own right*” (p. 17, emphasis in original). Thus, mediatization has profound implications for the role of the media in society. For this author, mediatization in society must be associated with the project of modernity, like urbanization and industrialization processes, because mediatization has changed society on a new scale of social relations. However, mediatization is not a “universal process that characterizes all societies. It is primarily a development that has accelerated particularly in the later years of the twentieth century, in modern, highly industrialized, and chiefly western societies”

(Hjarvard, 2008, p. 113). In this definition, mediatization is exclusively applied to institutional developments taking place in the dominant countries in the Global North. Although this author recognizes the future effect of globalization on the mediatization processes in different countries, this is a narrow view of the current presence and impact of the media in countries in the Global South, where mediatization has been also studied (Paz García, 2011; Sierra Gutiérrez, 2007; Verón, 1997). However, Hjarvard's definition of the media as institutions is valuable for the study of the mediatization of educational policies, because this institutional character allows for the understanding of how the media work as educational agents in the public debate over education. In Chapter 4, this political dimension of the media is illustrated.

Moreover, the mediatization of society is changing practices in different social fields due to neoliberal globalization. In this context, education and media are also morphing into new identities and configurations (McCarthy, Greenhalgh-Spencer, & Mejia, 2011). In line with these deep social changes, Krotz (2009) provides a wider definition of mediatization. This author indicates that mediatization is “a meta-process that is grounded in the modification of *communication as the basic practice* of how people construct the social and cultural world. They do so by changing communication practices that use media and refer to media” (Krotz, 2009, p. 25, emphasis in original). This author rejects the technological determinism of the media, but he assigns importance to the technological evolution because it affects the ways of communicating in society. Mediatization is associated to globalization, individualization, and

commercialization as an ‘ongoing historical’ meta-process (Krotz, 2009). This is a conceptual construct by “which we describe long-term processes of change” (Hepp, 2011, p. 7). For Hepp (2013), these processes of changes are related to the ‘moulding forces of the media’ that allow for the understanding of mediatization as “the process in which our cultures are increasingly permeated —temporally, spatially, socially— by media communication... ‘Life’ in and with such cultures is henceforth unimaginable without media” (p. 70). This notion of mediatization assumes the media as a relevant component of everyday life in terms of their cultural and social significance.

Mediatization has a quantitative dimension and a qualitative dimension:

We can describe the quantitative aspects of mediatization with the word ‘more’. It is obvious that the pure number of technical communication media increased —while not linearly— within the mentioned period of time... However, more important is that this refers to qualitative aspects of change. We can comprehend these qualitative aspects of mediatization when we think about the way in which technical media ‘structure’ the way we communicate or vice versa how the way we communicate is reflected in a technological change of media. It is this moment which needs a more careful focus if we want to understand how mediatization becomes concrete in various fields. (Hepp, 2011, pp. 10-11)

Following the quantitative and qualitative aspects of mediatization, Couldry (2012) notes that this phenomenon “points to the *changed dimensionality*

of the social world in a media age. Through the concept of mediatization, we acknowledge media as an *irreducible* dimension of all social processes” (p. 137, emphasis in original). The education field is part of this irreducible dimension, as the mediatization of educational policies has shown.

After reviewing the various ways to approach mediatization, I have chosen—as my lens in this dissertation—to use the notion of mediatization as a ‘meta-process’ that is changing social practices in the policy making arena. I assume that educational policy production is also occurring in and through the media, affecting the practices in the field of education. For this reason, it is necessary to delve deeper into this viewpoint and as such the following section will explain Bourdieu’s perspectives on fields and practices, which provides the theoretical basis for this study.

A Bourdieuan Approach of Mediatization

In the study of the mediatization of educational policies, Bob Lingard and Shaun Rawolle are two of the expert scholars that have made major contributions in this area (2004; 2010). These authors have used Bourdieu’s field theory to explain the interactions between education and media fields. Rawolle and Lingard (2010) explain that the study of mediatization focuses on “how individuals or groups within specific fields produce practices involving the media as a strategic way of shaping or changing practices in fields beyond the media, such as politics and education policy” (p. 271). In the case of the field of education, these practices involve the development of new strategies, positions, discourses and concepts in the policy process in local or global scales (Rawolle & Lingard,

2010). Following Lingard and Rawolle's work (2004; 2010), the mediatization of educational policies involves a Bourdieuan approach of social fields and practices. This demands a discussion about these concepts in order to know how Pierre Bourdieu defined them from a sociological perspective.

One of the principal concepts of Bourdieu's works is the notion of "field" (*champ*). Bourdieu (1989) has argued that his sociological work can be classified as *structuralist-constructivism*, which entails that society is built by objective structures independent from agents, but that the agents can establish a relationship with the social structures through different schemes of perception and action. This interaction takes place in social fields. For Bourdieu (1993), field is a space of conflict, with competing dispositions, knowledge and norms of participants. Field can be imagined as a "game", where players try to acquire better positions or maintain their inherited circumstances using different types of capitals, which can be envision like "cards" in a "game" (Thomson, 2012). Field can be understood as:

a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which the various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the competition all the (relative) power at their disposal. It is this power that defines their

position in the field and, as a result, their strategies. (Bourdieu, 1998, pp. 40-41)

Social fields are constituted by institutions, practices, and agents in the course of history. Field has a historical formation, because it involves a durable and stable set of practices (Vizcarra, 2002). In the field, agents have structured, but not rigid positions, because they are always able to struggle for a better position. They develop strategies in order to move through the “game” (Bourdieu, 1998b). These strategies refer to a certain ‘habitus’, another key concept in Bourdieu’s theory, which describes a set of dispositions that agents acquire in their socialization processes. Habitus functions at every moment as a “*matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions* and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified task, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems...” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 83).

Agents accumulate knowledge and recognition of the laws of field in their socialization process, which begins in childhood, but continues into adulthood. During these stages, dispositions are durable, but they can change in relation to different levels of preferences. These preferences are expressed by taste, which reproduces a distinct lifestyle. Habitus entails history, transferences of capital, and a dialectical relationship with the field, because “on one side it is a relation of *conditioning*: the field structures the habitus... on the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or *cognitive construction*. Habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, as cited in Maton, 2012, p. 51, emphasis in original). Thus, habitus connects subjectivity with objectivity in

social fields. This relationship can be difficult to pinpoint due to its dialectical nature, regardless, it is what is responsible for the regulation of experiences in the field. In Bourdieu's scheme, habitus is also related to different forms of capital.

Capital completes the trilogy of main concepts of Bourdieu's field theory. Capital is both a "product and process within a *field*" (Grenfell & James, 2004, p. 510), allowing for the mobilization of resources (material and symbolic) in the social fields. Capital assigns knowledge and recognition, affecting agents' habitus and positions in the social space. As mentioned above, capital refers to the "cards" in the metaphor of the game. There are four types of capitals:

economic (money and assets); cultural (e.g. forms of knowledge; taste, aesthetic and cultural preferences; language, narrative and voice); social (affiliations and networks; family, religious and cultural heritage) and symbolic (things which stands for all of the others forms of capital and can be "exchanged" in other fields, e.g. credentials). (Thomson, 2012, p. 67)

Therefore, the dispositions, the positions in the field and the structure of the field determine social practices. Each field entails certain logics of practice or ways of acting in the field. Couldry (2012) explains that Bourdieu used practice as a reference to everyday actions that cannot be reduced to "an abstract 'totality' or the performance of abstract functions" (p. 39). For Bourdieu, each practice has a set of regulatory principles: a logic. This logic is associated with the habitus, understood as pre-conditions for the action. Indeed, "practice, or social action, is the combination of one's set of dispositions (habitus) and one's culturally located

preferences, tastes, skills, or abilities in a particular setting (field)” (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, p. 16). This can be represented by this scheme: [(Habitus) (Cultural Capital)] + Field = Practice (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, p. 16). This configuration of the social practices shows the interrelationships between agency and structure in a constructivist way, because the positions in the fields are not static.

The mediatization of educational policies encompasses two subfields of the field of power: the education and media fields. For Bourdieu (1996), the field of power is “a field of forces structurally determined by the state of the relations of power among forms of power, or different forms of capital” (p. 264). This struggle is for the domination of social order (Swartz, 2013). The education and media fields have their own individual rules and ways of functioning with different levels of autonomy and heteronomy; they are also interconnected, not only to each other, but also to the economic and political fields as well. In relation to the power structure, the economic field is dominant, impacting the way in which the other fields function. However, this dominance of the economic field is not deterministic, because social fields can also impact other fields as well. Indeed, the mediatization of educational policies, as Rawolle (2010) has stated, can be conceptualized “*as a set of identifiable practices, the effects of which impact on the practices of people in other fields in systematic ways*” (p. 22, emphasis in original). Thus, the logics of practices of the education and media fields are interrelated in the cultural production and in the field of power.

Following a Bourdieuan approach of mediatization of educational policies, Rawolle (2010) defines the following ‘elements of practice’:

- an identifiable set of agents involved in the production or consumption of the practice (such as specialist journalists or media advisors to policy-makers);
- practical activities that are bounded and located with the flows of social time (for example, around election cycles, weekly publication cycles in newspapers or the school year);
- the nominalization (or naming) and bounding of these activities;
- an opposition to theoretical accounts of practice; and
- the products of practical activities and patterns of consumption of these products (such as policy texts, media releases or newspaper articles, which, although located within specific nominated practices, may also be taken up and influence other practices). (p. 27)

In this sense, mediatization, as a theoretical construction, “can be used in studies in which the practices of different agents in the media are intricately linked in struggles for social power in other social fields, such as politics and in our case, educational policy production” (Rawolle & Lingard, 2010, p. 273). These authors consider this interaction as ‘cross-field effects’ that can be classified in: “structural, event, systemic, temporal, hierarchical and vertical” (Lingard & Rawolle, 2004, p. 368). They argue that these categories are not exclusive and possible at the same time. Structural effects are when a field

acquires logics of other fields changing its own logics of practice. Events effects refer to short-term impacts on one field (e.g. political corruption scandals in education). Systematic effects are changes in the value system of the field (e.g. marketization of education). Temporal effects have a limited impact on the field. Hierarchical and vertical effects refer to heteronomy and autonomy of the fields in their relationship between them (pp. 368-369). In their analysis of the mediatization of an Australian scientific report (*The Chance to Change*), Lingard and Rawolle (2004) detect structural effects in the school funding and higher education policy.

Thus, the mediatization of educational policies involves detecting the practices and discourses —understood as social practices (Fairclough, 2003)— of the different educational actors in the public sphere (Habermas, 1986). For example, in the study of the mediatization of educational policies is possible to examine how different educational policy agents, including the government, educational actors, think tanks, and the media system as an institution, discuss education publicly, producing networks of meanings around the educational debate. Moreover, it is possible to analyze the role that the media (including their agents: journalists, columnists, editorialists) play in the production, circulation, implementation, evaluation, and interpretation of policies and how educational agents respond to it with their own social practices in the fields of education and media.

The following section will illustrate Bourdieu's ideas by pointing out various empirical studies from around the world that took a similar approach.

Although these studies have diverse results is important to look at them because they show the link between theory and practice in regards to how education has been mediatized, something that this dissertation also hopes to do.

Education in the Media

In the study of the interactions between the education and media fields, the notion of mediatization has not been examined widely (Rawolle, 2005; 2010). In one of the first works about the media and educational policies, Mike Wallace (1993) states that “it is asserted that the mass media play a significant part in the education policy process, yet this contribution has received little attention in empirical and theoretical analyses” (p. 321). Since that moment, the media have been a research topic in the studies of educational policies in different approaches, but this academic work has concentrated in the Global North, mainly in United States, Canada, England, and Australia (Stack, 2007; Cohen, 2010; Thomas, 2011; Goldstein, 2011). Recently, some authors are studying the role of the media in the education policy production in Latin America (Motter, 2008; Robert, 2012; Santa Cruz Grau & Olmedo, 2012; Cabalin, 2014a).

Although several studies have not addressed directly the concept of the mediatization of educational policies, these studies have argued that the media impact educational policies in different ways, generating an interesting body of literature about the interactions between the media and education fields (Thomas, 1999; 2002; 2006; Gewirtz, Dickson, & Power, 2004; Blackmore & Thomson, 2004). These studies have shown “the role of media pressures both in shaping basic government policy and in shaping the conflictual space where policy was

debated by schools, teachers, and governments” (Couldry, 2012, p. 149). For instance, the negative representations of teachers are a common finding in the studies of the interaction between education and media (Reyes & Rios, 2003). Indeed, Thomas (2004; 2011) has called teachers to recover their social positions in the public sphere in order to contend the negative discourses conveyed by the media about their work and their contribution to education.

In a critical discourse analysis of education news in the *Chicago Tribune*, Cohen (2010) identifies two types of “social languages” about teachers: accountability and caring. The first language refers to the material conditions of the work of teachers from a positivist perspective. In this language, teachers are seen as objects in the educational process, without recognizing their identities as agents. The language of caring tries to revert this situation, showing the selfless role of teachers in society, but the accountability approach is imposed due to the hegemonic discourse of managerialism in education.

Other important issues in the mediatization of educational policies have been discourses about gender in the school system and educational reforms. Mills (2004) describes how school principals in a small region of Australia used the media to discuss the pertinence of single sex schooling. A private female school wanted to enroll more girls using a marketing strategy based on pejorative discourse about boys. Mills (2004) indicates that boys were presented as “problems in school, and utilising a peculiar mix of liberal feminism alongside a neo-liberal class politics, it implicitly denigrated the education provided by government co-educational schools” (p. 343). A different conclusion is presented

by Robert (2012) in her analysis of media coverage about educational reform in Argentina, where the author argues that the coverage of the reform reiterated the traditional gender hierarchy.

Moreover, governments have utilized the media with propagandistic purposes in order to promote educational reforms. In this sense, Franklin (2004) indicates that the Labour Party in England developed a communicational plan characterized by three *Rs*: rhetoric, repetition, and rebuttal (p. 256). With this strategy, the Labour Party controlled the public agenda about public policies. Franklin (2004) calls this communication work ‘packaging of politics’, which includes an enormous spending on advertising that “may cross the line which separates the provision of public information from the less desirable activity of trying to persuade the public to particular policy choices” (p. 256). The Labour Party promoted its educational reforms using media logic and the ‘spin’ as a main resource (Gewirtz, Dickson, & Power, 2004). The ‘spin’ is a concept usually mentioned in the mediatization of educational policies, which refers to “the process and products of purposively managing information to cast politicians, political parties, governments, and their policies in a favourable light in the eyes of specific audiences” (Gewirtz, Dickson, & Power, 2004, p. 324). In the US, the Bush administration utilized the spin as a political strategy, but also was accused of wasting a significant amount of money in advertising to tout No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and its educational reforms. The government paid “\$186,000 to a public relations firm to produce favorable news coverage of President Bush’s education policies” (Anderson, 2007, p. 104). This marketing strategy included

pre-fabricated television stories and payments to columnists to promote NCLB (Goldstein, 2011).

These empirical examples illustrate the importance of the analysis of the media in educational policy studies, which does not entail the transference of a simple media logic to education. These practices are more complex and multidirectional, because the media emerge “as a space or forum which governments use to judge and motivate educators, invite to media to judge governmental performance... Educators, in turn, may choose to respond to governments... The result is an intensely politicized and mediatized educational field” (Couldry, 2012, p. 150). Thus, the academic production about the interaction between the media and education fields has increased the importance of cultural studies in education (Giroux, 1995).

The education discourses are also part of these cultural transformations in a highly mediatized education policy context. As such, it is also important to look at the discourses spread by the media since they are a key element of mediatization. In order to do this, I will describe Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the research method that I have used in this study, to explain the discursive character of the mediatization of educational policies.

Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Method

Qualitative research attempts to generate knowledge through a close examination of social phenomena, emphasizing the understanding of cultural, historical, economic, and political significance of social practices (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Qualitative inquiry demands analytical frames based on high

levels of interpretation, because the objective of this type of research is to clarify and conceptualize social categories (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011; Greene, 2007). This production of knowledge is neither neutral nor innocent (Denzin, 2001). Qualitative inquiry examines the meaning-making processes in society based on three main philosophical approaches: interpretivism, hermeneutics, and social constructionism (Schwandt, 2000).

In a critical perspective, qualitative methods are used to focus on the study of power, domination, hegemony, and inequality, trying to apply theory and practice to foster social changes (Simons, Olssen, & Peters, 2009). In the case of educational research, the critical qualitative impetus has been addressed through critical ethnography (Herrera & Torres, 2006), multicultural education (McCarthy, 1994), critical policy analysis (Taylor, 1997), critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970/2005), cultural politics of education (Giroux, 2011), and critical discourse analysis (Stack, 2006), among other approaches. My study attempts to be part of this critical academic production, analyzing discourses about education and its power effects in the public discussion of education in Chile. For this reason, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a research method provides the needed tools for describing, understanding and explaining the discursive character of the process of mediatization of educational policies.

According to Apple (1996), critical discourse analysis in education is interested in the 'politics of meaning', which assumes that "language plays a primary role in the creation of meaning and that language use must be studied in social context ... [seeing] human subjects as constantly engaged in the negotiation

of knowledge, social relations, and identity” (p. 130). In educational research, ‘politics of meaning’ refers to the knowledge production in institutional regimes of power beyond classrooms or the teacher-student relationship. Critical education research cannot only be reduced to traditional educational settings, because education is part of the interconnected networks of economic, political, and cultural powers. Therefore, popular culture, such as media discourses, must be considered among the research agenda in education policy. These discourses affect social practices and the ways of seeing and interpreting the world. Therefore, a CDA is an appropriate method to study the mediatization of educational policies.

Critical Discourse Analysis has gained recognition as a discipline in the social sciences since the 1980s thanks to the academic commitment of “a network of scholars” interested in the social effects of discourses (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 3). This network has allowed the application of CDA in different fields of knowledge (linguistics, politics, cultural studies, media, and education, to name a few). Wodak and Meyer (2009) indicate that CDA is a problem-oriented and interdisciplinary approach. That is, CDA as a research method is interested in studying social problems that affect the equal distribution of power in society using different theoretical perspectives. However, there is not one definition of CDA that all scholars agree on. Teun van Dijk (2009) uses the term Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) to define critical discourse analysis, because this approach “not only involves critical *analysis*, but also critical *theory*, as well as critical *applications*” (p. 92). In this sense, Allan Luke (1997) indicates that the

use of CDA as a research method is a “political strategy” (p. 365), because it interrogates power, ideology and commonsense.

This method has a critical lens inspired by critical social theory, which can be understood as an attempt to generate knowledge through the critical examination of reality, trying to comprehend, analyze and critique society in order to produce social changes. Critical social theory —merging theory and practice— is interested in power relations, ideology, structures of domination, and hegemonic discourses and practices, among other issues. The roots of critical social theory can be found in the Frankfurt School (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1976; Leonardo, 2004), but cannot be associated exclusively with this school of thought, because there “are many critical theories, not just one” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000, p. 303). For example, for Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), critique can be utilized in discourse analysis in a normative or explanatory way. In a normative way, discourses can be analyzed to detect their impact on power relations in society and democracy. In an explanatory approach, the analysis of discourses allows for understanding the selection and importance of certain discourses over others.

According to Fairclough (1993), the objective of CDA is “to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events, and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes” (p. 135). In a similar way, Wodak and Meyer (2009) state that CDA is “interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and

control as manifested in language” (p. 19). Therefore, CDA critically examines social inequalities expressed, legitimized, and reproduced by discourses. CDA aims to play a theoretical and practical role in the production of knowledge about society. This knowledge production is based on the analysis of discourses applied to critical issues in order to illustrate how discourses operate to reproduce power relations and social inequalities. Therefore, any definition of CDA must consider the concepts of discourse and critical application.

Discourse

Michel Foucault is one of the most influential authors in the study of discourse. In his post-structuralist approach, Foucault (1972/2010) considers discourse as a constitutive element of the human subject. For this author, subjectivity and social reality is a process of construction through discourses, which are understood as “practices that systematically form the object of which they speak” (Foucault, 1972/2010, p. 49). Therefore, language is not a mere means of communication to name things, rather the use of language involves the production of knowledge. Foucault extends the comprehension of language beyond Saussure’s (1959) structuralist approach, which stated that language is a system, where signs contain “form (significant) and content (signifie), and that the relationship between the two is *arbitrary*” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 10, emphasis in original). This structure allows for the circulation of meanings, but these meanings are associated with specific signs. In the post-structuralist approach, signs do not have rigid or unchangeable positions, because signs acquire their meanings in relationship to the context in which they are used. For

Foucault, the use of certain statements and words in specific contexts produce knowledge. Knowledge is produced through 'regimes of truth' (Peters, 2004). In this sense, 'truth' is "a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation, and operation of statements" (Foucault, 1980, p. 133). Hence, discourse has a productive character. For Foucault, discourse is:

group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation; it does not form a rhetorical or formal unity, endlessly repeatable, whose appearance or use in history might be indicated (and, if necessary, explained), it is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined. (Foucault, 1972/2010, p. 117)

Thus, Foucault states the first common characteristics of any critical discourse analysis: discourses are historically situated and they have a productive character. In a similar post-structuralist view, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985/2001) develop their discourse theory where the main reference of this post-Marxist theory is the Gramscian concept of 'hegemony', which has a powerful discursive constitution. This discursive constitution can be exemplified by a political consensus, which is the result of a "hegemonic articulation" (p. xviii). Articulation is a key concept of Laclau and Mouffe's theory. These authors state that: "We will call *articulation* any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, we will call *discourse*" (p. 105, emphasis in original).

Laclau and Mouffe do not distinguish between discursive and non-discursive practices. For them, all objects can be defined discursively, but discourses have a material character, where institutions and practices play a role in the fixation of meanings. A discourse is a temporary fixation of structured meanings, but this fixation is never complete, it is always contingent. Therefore, discursive situations entail struggles of meanings in a field of discursivity, which “indicates the form of its relation with every concrete discourse: it determinates at the same time the necessary discursive character of any object, and the impossibility of any given discourse to implement a final suture” (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001, p. 111). Discourses are organized around nodal points that permit the temporary fixation of meanings. For Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips (2002) a nodal point is a “privileged sign” that determines the meanings of other signs. For example, in medical discourses, the body is a nodal point and “signs such as ‘symptoms’, ‘tissue’, and ‘scalpel’ acquire their meanings by being related to ‘the body’ in particular ways” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 26).

These authors propose a critical social constructionist approach of discourse analysis, whose roots are in the French post-structuralism. For Jørgensen and Phillips (2002), discourse can be understood as “*a particular way of talking and understanding about the world (or an aspect of the world)*” (p. 1, emphasis in original). Their proposal starts with this definition of discourse, but they use the term ‘orders of discourse’ as a main reference. They state that “an order of discourse is defined as a complex configuration of discourses and genres within the same social field or institution” (p. 141). Jørgensen and Phillips delimit

the use of discourse, emphasizing its description as a way of representing the world with social consequences. They implement a discourse analysis based on the comparison of different texts in order to recognize the contingent, cultural, and critical aspects of the texts under analysis.

An interesting contribution of Jørgensen and Phillips is the use of ‘orders of discourse’ as an analytical tool. This term is also used by Norman Fairclough in his critical discourse analysis approach (1995a). Fairclough is one of the most important proponents of CDA. One of the main concerns of Fairclough’s works have been the changes in language during neoliberal times (2000b; 2000c; 2003). Fairclough understands discourse as an element of social life in a dialectical relationship with other aspects of social life (2003, p. 3). This material character of discourse is close to the notion of ‘linguistic habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1991), which refers to the use of language in different social fields in a struggle for status. The use of language involves symbolic power relations, because agents try to objectify their positions in determined social spaces (Bourdieu, 1989). Fairclough shares with Bourdieu the analytical significance of social practices in the use of language. Social practices refer to the ways of acting in the different social fields, but when social practices have a semiotic moment they are orders of discourses that “can be seen as the social organization and control of linguistic variation” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 24). Fairclough pays special attention to the power relations that discourses convey and reproduce, which is one of the principal characteristics of the applications of CDA.

Critical Applications

Fairclough has applied his CDA approach in the analysis of media texts (1995b), the discourses of the Labour Party (2000a), globalization (2006), and more recently —with Isabela Fairclough— of the political discourse about the economic crisis (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; 2011), among other issues. In these works, Norman Fairclough has preferred to use ‘semiosis’ rather than discourse, because semiosis is a more abstract term that involves different modalities of language (text, visual, body language). Another common aspect of these works is the problem-oriented method, because Fairclough (2009) has indicated that the first methodological stage is to identify the semiotic aspects of social wrongs. These works are trans-disciplinary in character. CDA brings different disciplines and theories in ‘dialogue’ in order to address research issues (Fairclough, 2009, p. 163). Moreover, two characteristics of the texts indicated by Fairclough are intertextuality and interdiscursivity, which refer to the relationship between different texts and genres, where texts incorporate multiple voices, references, contexts, and other elements. In these processes, power relations, ideologies and institutional constraints operate in the circulation and production of discourses.

Power and ideology are key components of CDA. Indeed, one of the most common applications of CDA is related to political and economic systems. Power is seen as a constitutive element of society (Foucault, 2000). Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak (2009) have developed a CDA approach interested in political discourse. The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) assumes that all discourses

are politically and historically situated. Therefore, discourse can be considered as:

1) a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action; 2) socially constituted and socially constitutive; 3) related to a macro-topic; 4) linked to the argumentation about validity claims such as truth and normative validity involving several social actors who have different points of view. (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 89)

This approach incorporates the use of fieldwork and ethnography in order to examine how the historical contexts impact the recontextualization and interpretation of texts. Interdiscursivity is an important analytical tool of DHA, because it emphasizes that discourses are linked to each other in different ways, reproducing power relations. In order to apply DHA, it is necessary to identify the specific topics of the discourses, the discursive strategies, the linguistic means, and the specific context in which these means are realized. Reisigl and Wodak (2009) utilize this framework to analyze a speech of the Czech president Václav Klaus. The discourse was about the climate change and global warming exposed in the House of Representatives of the US. On that occasion, the Czech president utilized his anti-communist strategy to name environmentalism as the new world threat against progress as communism supposedly was during the Cold War. Klaus used his personal history as an opponent of the communist regime in his country to build a political discourse characterized by its neoliberal, anti-environmentalist and anti-communist components (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 118).

Teun van Dijk (1999), another influential proponent of CDA, utilized the link between society and agents. In his sociocognitive approach, van Dijk (2009) states the triangle discourse-cognition-society. That is, “the study of mental representations and the processes of language users when they produce and comprehend discourse and participate in verbal interaction, as well as in the knowledge, ideologies and other beliefs shared by social groups” (p. 64). Therefore, mind, discourse, and society are interconnected. In this approach, the subjectivity of agents plays a crucial role in the discursive interaction, but this interaction has specific social contexts. In these contexts, agents or participants of discursive interactions have a spatio-temporal setting, where they build their identities, goals, knowledge and ideologies (p. 74). This author has applied this perspective in studies of media texts and racism (van Dijk, 1997a), where he has showed that media produce and reproduce inequalities through social depictions that impact on the mental representations of people, who deploy these representations in social practices. Ideology and power play an important role in van Dijk’s approach.

Gillian Rose (2012) also emphasizes the importance of ideology and power in CDA, but she extends discourse analysis beyond texts. She analyzes visual materials based on Foucault’s approach. For her, “discourse is a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it” (p. 190). Thus, visibility is a type of discourse, because it carries meanings and ways of seeing the world. Rose proposes to analyze discourse in three sites: the site of production, the site of image itself, and the site

of audiencing. In the case of discourse analysis, the site of production refers to the genres and how the discourses are made. The site of audiencing entails the interpretations and circulation of discourses. The site of image itself is the composition of discourses in the images. One appropriate case to apply discourse analysis is iconography (Rose, 2012, p. 202), where it is possible to deploy an interpretative repertoire that allows for looking at images in detail, “interpreting their effects, especially in relation to constructions of social differences” (Rose, 2012, p. 225). As textual analysis, visual discourse analysis is interested in power relations and hegemonic social representations.

Despite this common goal of analyzing power relations, some critics of CDA have negatively depicted it as a “mythological” approach, because it could assume certain linguistic characteristics that exceed the real implications of language in communicative events (Jones P. E., 2007). Hammersley (1997) has argued that CDA cannot explain correctly its philosophical foundations. For him, critical research in social sciences has these problems: an ambitious agenda of social change, without describing this change, and difficulties of showing the validity of findings. CDA could have this problem, because it reproduces “a tendency to judge results according to their political implications as much if not more than their validity” (Hammersley, 1997, p. 245). However, more than two decades of work has shown that CDA can be applied in the rigorous analysis of texts, interviews, speech events (debates, conferences), and visual materials, among other cultural products (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The criticisms towards CDA are more interested in contesting its political features than its academic

character.

I understand CDA as a qualitative research method that critically analyzes the production, circulation and interpretations of discourses in society in relation to social structures and power, extending the comprehension of texts and their linguistic features. Power, ideology, social representations, institutional constraints, dominance, oppression, and hegemony are common concepts of CDA. Moreover, critique has a significant position in the applications of CDA. Critical social theory has strengthened the development of CDA as a discipline in social sciences and qualitative inquiry.

Fairclough's Model

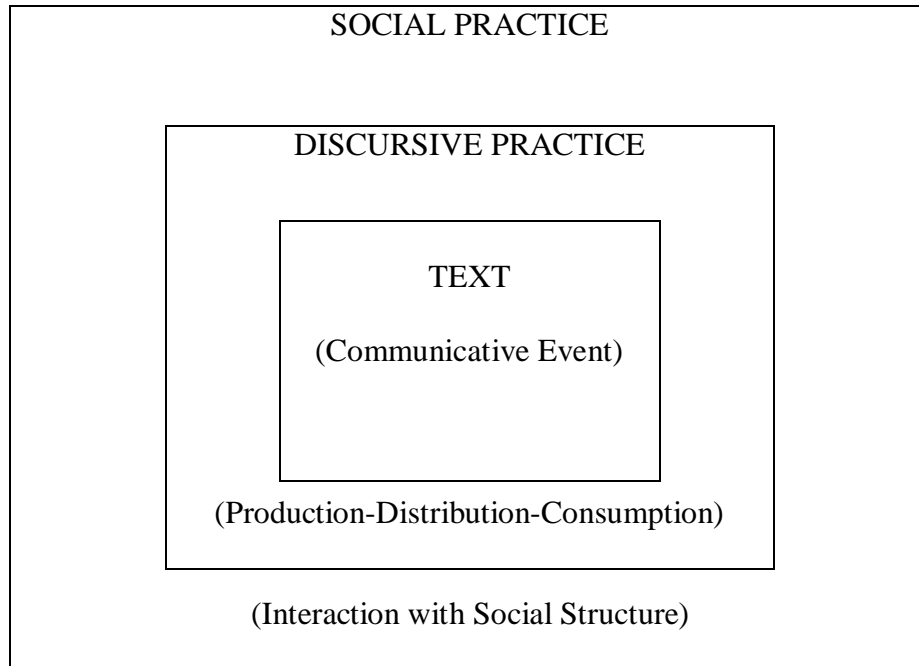
As I have stated above, there are several definitions of discourse that rest on different theoretical and methodological premises. For example, Foucault (1972/2010) and Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001) share the definition of discourse as a constitutive element of society and subject. In this view, all social and “cultural phenomenon are primarily linguistic in character” (Filmer, Jenks, Seale, & Walsh, 1998, p. 36). On the contrary, Fairclough (2003, 2006) assumes discourse to be a facet of life in a dialectical relationship with other social aspects of life. In this approach, it is possible to distinguish between discursive and non-discursive practices. Social processes are not purely discursive; they have material characteristics beyond their discursive character. As Fairclough (2006) indicates, “discourse is constitutive, but not in determinative sense” (p. 23). In my research, I have assumed this definition of discourse. For this reason, I have applied Fairclough's approach of CDA. In order to clarify this predisposition, I review the

main tenets of Fairclough's work: critical textual analysis (Fairclough, 2003; 2006).

Critical Textual Analysis

Initially, Fairclough called his approach "*critical language study*" (1989, p. 5), where the objective was to analyze the social interactions between language, power, and ideology. This language-power-ideology triangle has characterized his incorporation in the critical discourse analysis network. Fairclough has stated that discourses can be analyzed in three dimensions: discourse as text, which allows the researcher to observe the vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and structure of the text; discourse as a discursive practice, in which the researcher seeks to understand how discourse is produced and distributed in society; and discourse as a social practice, which allows the researcher to detect when discourse is being represented and recontextualized in a dialectical relationship with the hegemonic discourses (Fairclough, 1992; 1995a). Therefore, this analysis of discourse involves linguistic description, intertextual interpretation, and social explanation. For Fairclough (1992), this framework incorporates three analytical traditions: textual analysis, interpretative analysis of agents' social actions, and macrosociological analysis of social practices in relation to social structures (p. 72).

The tridimensional model can be represented in the following figure:



Three dimensional Fairclough's model (1992, p. 73)

The schema above allows one to see the complexity of discourse and its relationship with other social aspects of life. In *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (2003), Fairclough describes his methodological and theoretical assumptions to conduct critical textual analysis. This analysis has different levels and relations. Texts have external relations with other elements of social life (social structures, social practices, and social events) and internal relations (semantics, grammar and vocabulary, and phonology and graphology). Social structures are abstract entities that define the possibilities of actions and the occurrence of events intermediated by social practices. This author asserts that language is a social structure, while social practice refers to the order of discourse and events, to facts. Social practices mediate between social structures and social events, but they also have a semiotic configuration. For example, “the network of social practices which constitutes the educational field, or a particular educational

organization such as a university, is constituted semiotically as an order of discourse” (Fairclough, 2009, p. 165).

The order of discourse is composed of three elements: genre, discourse and style (Fairclough, 2003). The interaction between genre, discourse and style as a social practice involves three types of meanings: “action, representation, and identification” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 27). Discourses impact social identities, social relations, and systems of meanings. Thus, critical textual analysis focuses on structures and the semiotic agents’ strategies in texts. Texts contain intertextual and interdiscursive chains that must be detected in a critical analysis.

In these processes of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, some discourses are recontextualized. Recontextualization is the colonization of discourses in one field by other fields, but also it is an “appropriation of an external discourse which may be incorporated into the strategies pursued by particular groups of social agents within the recontextualized field” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 83). With recontextualization, dominant discourses can be internalized or inculcated in social fields, for example, management discourses in education and health systems. In this sense, Apple (2007) has stated that an “audit culture” has been imposed in education through neoliberal guidelines. Educational policies have been invaded by neoliberal discourses in a global political process (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). For this reason, CDA is necessary for the study of mediatized education policy discourses.

Therefore, in this research, I have utilized CDA in order to detect how different educational policy actors (students, authorities, education journalists,

and the media themselves) shaped the public discussion about education in Chile during and after the 2011 student movement. This research method has been complemented with the use of other methods (content analysis in Chapter 4 and 5; political discourse analysis in Chapter 6; and thematic analysis in Chapter 7), but CDA is the dominant methodological approach in this study.

Final Remarks

In this chapter, I have defined mediatization from communication studies as a meta-process of social changes where the media play a crucial role, affecting the logic of practices in different social fields. The education and journalistic fields are parts of this phenomenon. For this reason, I have used a Bourdieuan approach to analyze the mediatization of educational policies in Chile, emphasizing the notions of fields and practices. A field can be understood as a social space where agents compete to increase their social positions and try to maximize their initial portfolio of economic and cultural capitals. Society is formed by these self-sufficient fields and agents mobilize their resources replicating a certain habitus, which is a set of predispositions that determinates preferences, tastes, and actions. The field of power is constituted by economic, political fields, but also education and media fields. Education has become a field of political debate and is in constant interrelation with the field of media. The media discuss, evaluate, criticize and propose changes to education policies. The studies on the relationship between education and media have been characterized by the analysis of representation and discourses of educational policy actors. Other studies have investigated the role of government and the media in the

dissemination of certain reforms and ideas in education, which have revealed these institutions' attempts to manipulate people's perceptions. However, these works have neglected a detailed analysis of the logics of practice of the media field and fail to address the concept of mediatization.

I have focused on the qualitative aspects of mediatization. For this reason, I have proposed working with CDA as a qualitative research method. CDA is a problem-oriented and interdisciplinary research method. Social problems can be analyzed discursively in a dialectical relationship with social structures. Through the circulation of meanings, discourses affect social practices and the ways of seeing and interpreting the world. These premises encompass the qualitative character of CDA.

To critically analyze these discourses, it is necessary to know the context where they are produced, because all discourses are historically, politically and socially situated. The next chapter presents an overview of this context by exploring the history of Chilean education from its beginnings and tracing it through the dictatorship up until the current globalized era. The drastic changes made during the dictatorship have cast a great shadow over how education is viewed in Chile, even after democracy was restored, resulting in segregation and inequality in schools. As a result, young people became outraged over these discrepancies and took to the streets to call for a major transformation in neoliberal education policies in the country, showing a new way of thinking on the part of the post-dictatorship generation.

CHAPTER 3

POLICIES AND STRUGGLES IN A NEOLIBERAL EDUCATION FIELD: THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY²

“The first experiment with neoliberal state formation, it is worth recalling, occurred in Chile after Pinochet’s coup on the ‘little September 11th’ of 1973.”

(Harvey, 2007, p. 7).

Thousands of Chilean secondary and university students filled the streets of the nation for 7 months in 2011. They were marching to demand changes in the educational system that has been unable to reduce the social and economic differences between poor and rich students. Five years earlier, in 2006, another student movement, known as the “Penguin Revolution”, foreshadowed these protests and was the first major Chilean educational movement since the return of democracy in 1990 (Domedel & Peña y Lillo, 2008). Secondary students, nicknamed “penguins” for their black and white school uniforms, were in the streets demanding better public education and more social justice in education.

Both student movements shook the elitist Chilean democracy, characterized by low social participation (De la Maza, 2010); yet, the most important outcome of these movements was the generation of a public and general

² This chapter is partly based on my article: Cabalin, C. (2012). Neoliberal education and student movements in Chile: Inequalities and malaise. *Policy Futures in Education*, 10(2), 219-228. It is also partly based on my accepted manuscript -coauthored with C. Bellei and V. Orellana- of the article The 2011 Chilean student movement against neoliberal educational policies, published as the version of record in *Studies in Higher Education*, 2014, 39(3), 426-440. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03075079.2014.896179#.VVMekY1wZ9M>
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critique against neoliberal educational policies implemented in Chile. These policies promote the continued privatization of the education sector, which value the right of school choice over the right to an equitable education as well as considers education as a commodity, where schools are presented as a product to buy and sell. Due to this, students have made these factors the major focus of their protests in hopes of steering away from neoliberal practices. The student movements surprised Chile, which is considered one of the most stable countries in Latin America with a sustained economic growth in the last decades. This economic advancement, however, has been overshadowed by profound social inequalities produced by the neoliberal project.

Chile was the first neoliberal experiment in the world (Harvey, 2007; Klein, 2008). The Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990) imposed neoliberalism during the 1980s, following the recommendation of Milton Friedman, who was a mentor of an array of Chilean economists who studied their PhDs in Economics at the University of Chicago during the 1970s. They were known as "the Chicago Boys" (Mönckeberg, 2001) and they implemented the neoliberal system in Chile, which included privileging the free market, debilitating the role that the State played in society and promoting individualization and competitiveness in social relations. Using the classical rhetoric and political slogan "freedom to choose" (McCarthy, 2011), the neoliberal project in Chile also changed the structure of the educational system.

Public education and the right to education have sorely deteriorated (Oliva, 2010). In Chile, education has been commodified whereby parents are

held responsible for their children's education, while the State plays a subsidiary role (Oliva, 2008). This is a consequence of the neoliberal policies implemented during 1980s that later were scarcely modified by the democratic administrations (Donoso, 2005). In terms of access, Chilean education has presented a significant evolution thanks to specific educational policies and the proliferation of voucher or subsidized schools and private institutions. The privatization of schooling has considerably increased in the last two decades, and today, more students attend private schools than public schools (Contreras, Hojman, Hunneus, & Landerretche, 2011).

However, this massive access does not mean better educational opportunities for the majority of the Chilean students, because neoliberal policies have only increased the quantity of students, but not the quality of education and they have intensified social inequalities in education at every level (elementary, secondary, and higher education). Indeed, Chile has the most segregated educational system in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2011). Inequality characterizes education in Chile and students were struggling against this painful reality. If the 1980s neoliberal "social imaginary" was imposed in education (Peters, 2011), these student movements showed that is it possible to challenge the free-market fundamentalism in education.

Considering the above, this chapter describes the main characteristics of the neoliberal Chilean educational system, because this is the political, cultural, social and historical context of the mediatized education policy discourses

produced and circulated in Chile since 2011. These discourses are the major topic of this dissertation and they need to be contextualized in a wider perspective. As the mediatization of educational policies entails the interaction between education and media fields, this chapter also incorporates a description of the political and media systems in Chile in order to understand how discourses are influenced by these cultural structures.

Chile and Global Education

Chile is part of the neoliberal world trend in education (Apple, 2001), whereby social justice has been totally damaged (Lipman & Hursh, 2007). These policies began to be executed in the 1980s when neoliberalism was promoted by the Reagan and Thatcher administrations supporting the guidelines established by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (Harvey, 2007). Under the ideological discourse of freedom to choose, neoliberalism cannot be considered as only an economic theory, but it must also be seen as a social one, because it is a method used to build society (Gómez Leyton, 2008). Neoliberalism can be understood as a “social imaginary”, which shapes discourses in education and in all social aspects: from the economy and politics to cultural and symbolic production (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Lipman, 2010). Education has also been impacted by the neoliberal program, emphasizing market practices in the design, execution, implementation, and evaluation of educational policies (Mundy, 2005). Educational institutions in the world have assumed this influence as a normal practice of their operations (Tuchman, 2009).

Globalization has impacted the current context of educational policies. This global scenery has generated radical transformations in society and in the economy (Carnoy, 2002). This new economy involves a flexible, well educated, and multitasking workforce. Thereby, globalization changes education purposes, assessment, and outcomes (Gardner, 2004). Educational policies have adjusted their development to the global economy and neoliberalism in order to “ensure the competitiveness” and the productivity of countries (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 3). If education was initially associated with the nation-state construction (Peña, 2007; Mundy, 2005), today it is seen as an essential element of the global economy.

Chile has attempted to be an active member of the global economy for the last three decades (Ffrench-Davis, 2002). Free-market fundamentalism has been the technique to achieve this goal in all fields. For example, in education the same characteristics that are part of the current discourse of educational policies and practices are present: privatization, freedom of choice, accountability, subsidiary public role, managerialism, competitiveness, standardized tests, among other issues (Apple, 2007). Neoliberalism has brought about a paradigm shift in education worldwide and most countries have undertaken reform to address this, while public education or the right to education seems to be an obsolete discussion. Neoliberal reforms have entailed the reduction of public funding and the increase of private providers in education, expanding access, but neglecting social justice. Chile is no exception to this framework (Oliva, 2010).

Under the Pinochet dictatorship, Chilean education was profoundly transformed from a strong public system to a neoliberal and unequal system (Oliva, 2010; Donoso, 2005). Privatization, freedom of education, and competitiveness were the discursive and political keys of this strategy, which was promoted as the way of developing equality in education. However, this model has conserved the privileges of dominant classes, increased segregation and caused inequality between a small elite and the majority of the population. In Chile, the market in education has failed (Bellei, 2011) and the neoliberal competition in education proves to be “senseless” (Carnoy, 2010).

The democratic administrations achieved a pacific transition from the dictatorship to democracy (Navia, 2010), but they did not develop real reforms to step away from the neoliberal inheritance that damaged public education. The Concertación, a social democratic coalition that governed Chile for 20 years (1990-2010), undertook “reforms co-financed by the Chilean government and the World Bank... with the aim of improving the quality of education as a prerequisite for economic growth and social cohesion” (Matear, 2007a, p. 101). Therefore, Chile assumed global education dynamics, where supranational institutions play a crucial role (Jones P. W., 2007; Rose P. , 2003).

The Concertación increased public funding in education four times from 1990 to 2006 (Cox, 2007), but at the same time fostered the expansion of the private sector in education instead of strengthening public education. As Mizala and Torche (2012) indicated, the “public sector enrollment dropped from 78 percent in 1981 to 53 percent of the total enrollment in 2002 and 50 percent in

2004” (p. 132). Following the world trend, Chile adopted a competitive voucher system where private subsidized schools compete with public schools to enroll pupils and receive public funding according to the number of students (Elacqua, 2009). As Matear (2007a) explained, “the tension here is one of perceptions, values, and assumptions by parents, policy makers, and international lenders of the superiority of the private over the public, even in the face of evidence to the contrary” (p. 112). This situation is consistent with the majority of neoliberal orientations in educational policies.

However, “pro-market policies have had limited effects on the quality in education” (Contreras et al, 2011, p. 7). In the case of Chile, there are not significant differences between voucher and public schools, when both of them have the same educational resources and socioeconomic conditions (Contreras, Sepúlveda, & Bustos, 2010; Bellei, 2009). On the contrary, the impact on social equality in education is catastrophic. The data from the System for Measuring the Quality of Education (Sistema de Medición de Calidad de la Educación, SIMCE) showed that the difference in Math between rich and poor students was 114 points in 2010 (MINEDUC, 2010). The socioeconomic background is still determinant in educational outcomes (Matear, 2007a), which adds to schooling and geographic segregation (Valenzuela, Bellei, & de los Ríos, 2010; Contreras & Macías, 2002). Neoliberal policies have been unable to overcome inequalities; rather they have intensified them. These policies were not changed after the end of the dictatorship in 1990 due to a continued connection with the military and the concentration of the media, which will be explained in detail in the following section.

The Political Negotiation

The Concertación did not produce radical transformations in the neoliberal system due to an array of political agreements made during the transition from the dictatorship to democracy. This political negotiation also affected the neoliberalization of the media system. Before continuing with the description of the Chilean education field and the student movements, it is important to understand this political structure, which is the current context of the mediatization of educational policies in the country.

On October 5, 1988, 54.7% of Chileans who were registered in the Electoral Register voted to end the military rule. A year and a half later, on March 11, 1990, Christian Democrat, Patricio Aylwin, received the presidential sash of the former dictator Augusto Pinochet. The Coalition of Parties for Democracy came to power to begin the transition to democracy in the last decade of the twentieth century. With Augusto Pinochet as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, the political landscape for Aylwin was not easy to bear. In fact, the great amount of power that the military had accumulated over the 17 years of dictatorship³ was not weakened with the return of democracy.

Public figures who lived through the traumatic end of the Popular Unity government were back on the national scene and their parties occupied La Moneda. The same Aylwin was president of the Christian Democrats at the time of the coup. However, the weary road to the nascent return to democracy lasted

³ Some examples of the power of the military force at that time: the presence of Pinochet as the Commander-in-Chief until 1998 and the tenure of the commanders of the Armed Forces and the National Security Council (Cosena), who held the power of military veto, meaning they had the power to intervene if the “stability” of the country was at risk.

for more than a decade, with the Constitution that was promulgated in 1980 by Pinochet still in effect until 2005 without major reforms.

The Constitution enshrined the presence of the Armed Forces in national political life, almost like a power within the classical structure of the state. Indeed, part of the agenda of the Coalition Government was to repeal the key element of 1980 Constitution and establish a new regulatory framework to lay the foundations of democracy. However, the presence of the Armed Forces, right-wing economic groups and media sympathetic with the doctrines propagated by the military regime became a constant problem for the Coalition during the transition; while over time, the conglomerate's own leaders became comfortable with the socio-economic order inherited from the dictatorship.

A number of factors developed that prevented the advancement of the transition to democracy. The influence of Pinochet and the Armed Forces was the first obstacle to be overcome by the Coalition. Once the enthusiasm for transforming old structures of the military regime ended, the ruling Coalition adapted to a co-government with the Armed Forces, which included assuming, paradoxically, the validity of the 1980 Constitution and the administration of the neoliberal economic system imposed during the dictatorship.

The military did not detached from its authoritarianism during the transition and made it known from the beginning. Aylwin created the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, known as the Rettig Commission, named after its president, Raul Rettig, to somehow circumvent other Coalition commitments, like clarifying human rights violations during the dictatorship. For months, the debate

revolved around the scope and attribution of said committee, which included the active participation of the military, who in turn eventually imposed their will not to publish the names of the oppressors: “the nameless truth will be the border. There is nothing more to say” (Cavallo, 1998, p. 21). Despite the clear rejection of human rights groups to government policies on the issue, the Rettig Report was published and disseminated, acknowledging the disappearance of 1,192 people during the Pinochet regime. The Armed Forces downplayed the historical value of the report and the Courts of Justice did not consider it as evidence in any human rights violation cases. In fact, the Armed Forces and the police were ordered to clear the names of some agents mentioned by victims of the repression.

Regarding the issue of human rights violations committed by the military regime, the concessive policy of the Coalition came to an end with the arrest of Pinochet in London in October 1998. Baltazar Garzón, a Spanish judge, made an international order, resulting in the arrest of the former dictator at the London Clinic. The reaction of the Chilean government, then led by Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle, demonstrated from the beginning, the need for the government to avoid the prosecution of the repressor in England’s capital.

While the military managed to neutralize any fact which could have undermined their power in society, some former employees of the military regime began to set up another vulnerable barrier to the democratic consolidation: economic groups and the concentration of the media. The transition to democracy would not be a pleasant period for the vast majority of independent publications. In fact, “resistance movements that fermented in the later years of the dictatorship

and that formed the Plebiscite of 1988 were placated with great effectiveness by the Coalition government with the arrival of President Patricio Aylwin.” (Otano, 2000, p. 1). That imperious claim of stability led to policy agreements, which in turn characterized the transition, finally making an imperfect democracy. The end of the “resistance media” can be explained because one of the ways to achieve stability like an unwavering premise during the transition is to avoid, or at least, to reduce the public debate and confrontation of ideas.

During the military dictatorship and in the early transition years to democracy, the spectrum of media was more extensive. The newspapers *La Época* and *Fortín Mapocho*, and the magazines *Hoy*, *Análisis*, *Apsi* and *Cauce* were media that challenged Pinochet’s dictatorship. But the transition gave way to a timid journalism, “which adhere[d] to the ‘official story’ in the democratic era... Corruption and human rights abuses were investigated and exposed while Pinochet was in power in a way that has not been seen since” (Dermota, 2002, p. 66). Therefore, an imperfect democracy has been on par with quasi-free journalism for over 25 years.

The end of pluralism and the beginning of the current concentration of the media was caused by a number of similar factors that affected the various publications of the opposition. These common characteristics were: “to end foreign subsidies, journalistic fatigue, loss of readers, loss of the enemy [the dictatorship], the Coalition’s pact of silence, lack of business skills, the market economy and, finally, the unbalanced journalism scene” (Dermota, 2002, p. 73). The combination of these factors affected “resistance media”. Yet the lack of real

commitment to democracy by the Coalition's political parties worked against journalism and its ability to express pluralistic and diverse opinions in free media, which at that time had contributed to the end of military rule and accompanied the democratic alliance when it entered La Moneda.

The concentration of ownership of the media is also an example of this imperfect democracy. Although the trend towards the concentration of the media is common in general in Latin America, "the peculiarity of the Chilean case is that these economic processes are accompanied by a marked 'ideological monopoly'. This is particularly evident in the case of the daily press" (Sunkel & Geoffroy, 2000, p. 114). The conformation of the duopoly in the written press (*El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*) was the result of the communications policy of the Concertación. From these platforms, the heirs of the military regime and mentors of the current economic and political structure legitimized the process of transition to democracy with the complicity of the Coalition, which went against the unstoppable power of the "powers at be".

Certainly, the end of the dictatorship would not have been possible without the presence of alternative media, as it is impossible to conceive of a truly democratic process without a media landscape representing the sensitivities and opinions of all citizens or, at least, of the majority of them. The persistence of a single, hegemonic speech in society weakens the primary structure of democracy. The Concertación left to the market the plurality and diversity of voices of the public. The concentration of media allowed for the configuration of a hegemonic discourse in society and prevented the true consolidation of democracy. The

official truth excluded voices, restricted liberties and prevented citizen participation. The negotiation of political leaders during the transition, coupled with existing social disparity and the concentration of media, revealed the impossibility of achieving a real process of transition towards democracy.

Within this framework of negotiations, the non-intervention economic system was an immovable clause for the Concertación governments. For this reason, the educational system did not change radically and the structure continues unchanged, with negative consequences for social justice. The next section explains how neoliberal policies prioritized private education over public, which has resulted in extreme segregation, not only in schools, but also in test scores and attendance to prestigious higher education institutions.

Neoliberal Education Policies and their Consequences

The discussion about Chilean education policies has been characterized by the tension between the right to education and freedom of education (Oliva, 2010). This distinction entails a political difference in the idea and value of education in society. Beginning in the 19th century, Chile designed a national education system in order to help the construction of the nation-state. This assumption claimed that the state was responsible for providing free education and recognizing education as a right (Oliva, 2008). At the same time, conservative and religious groups promoted freedom of education to guarantee their influence through the idea of parental choice in education. Thus, public and private schools have been part of the Chilean school system since 1872, when freedom of education was enacted by the government (Oliva, 2008).

Public schools were the central element in the national educational project and Catholic and other private schools provided education to certain groups, principally, associated with the elite. Public education was part of the developmental strategy in the mid-20th century, playing a crucial role in Chilean society until the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. While the socialist government of President Salvador Allende (1970-1973) attempted to establish a national free public education system, the military regime imposed a neoliberal one (Oliva, 2010).

With the pretext of the expansion of schooling coverage, the dictatorship implemented a reform that meant the incorporation of a free-market educational system. As Contreras and others (2011) indicated, “In 1979, there were 1,846 primary schools and in 1982 - only years after the reform- there were 2,285 schools, the majority of them were for-profit” (p. 5). This trend has continued during the last three decades with the same pattern: private education is growing while public education is decreasing. Today, subsidized and private schools are educating more students than public schools (Contreras et al, 2011). Fostering competitiveness, the dictatorship created the conditions for the proliferation of for-profit educational institutions, converting education in a commodity (Mönckeberg, 2007).

The Concertación accepted this educational structure and tried to implement policies to reduce inequalities, but they have been ineffective. However, the democratic administrations have considerably increased the number of people with secondary education, achieving 90 percent in 2008 (Contreras et al,

2011) and 37.7 percent in tertiary education in 2003 (Cox, 2007). This advancement was accompanied by the eruption of not-profit and for-profit private schools and universities. On the other hand, public education, which is administered by municipal governments, reduced its presence and importance in the education system. Between 1990 and 2008, the quantity of public schools reduced to 7.1 percent; whereas, not-for profit private schools increased their numbers to 35.6 percent, and for-profit private schools augmented to 95.9 percent (Contreras et al, 2011).

Access to education was the main objective of educational policies in the last two decades, but social integration and social justice were forgotten. Several studies have shown that Chilean education is stratified and unequal (Mizala & Torche, 2012; Matear, 2007a). The democratization process has been unable to recover the social cohesion destroyed by the dictatorship (De la Maza, 2010). The neoliberal school system was supposed to have helped with this purpose, but these policies generated more segregation and stratification. According to the Duncan index that measures segregation levels, the Chilean educational system presents high levels of segregation (Valenzuela, Bellei, & de los Ríos, 2014).

This situation was confirmed by the OECD through their analysis of the data from PISA test scores, which stated that Chile has the most segregated educational system among the countries that formed this organization (OECD, 2011). In the case of Chile, segregation means that poor students are in schools with peers with the same socioeconomic background and cultural capital. Even though neoliberalism promises freedom of choice in education, poor students do

not have the opportunity to do so in reality, because their economic conditions only allow them to attend poor public schools which are situated in their respective neighborhoods. On the other hand, privileged students attend private and exclusive schools with their peers, while middle-class students attended voucher schools with other middle class students. Therefore, the Chilean neoliberal system reproduces inequalities and does not generate social integration (Oliva, 2010).

National and international standardized tests illustrate the differences between privileged and disadvantaged students. For instance, the results of the national SIMCE test in 2003 showed that in Language (secondary level) the average score was 227 in the lowest socioeconomic group, while the highest socioeconomic group scored 306. The national average was 253 (Matear, 2007a). In Math, the difference is equally as large. Students from low socioeconomic backgrounds scored an average of 216 points and their upper class peers obtained an average of 325 points. The national average in Math was 246 (Matear, 2007a). In the PISA test, the results showed the same trend in 2009. Upper class students scored 109 more points in Math than poor students. Considering Science, Math, and Reading, the difference between privileged and disadvantaged students was 97 points (OECD, 2009).

Inequalities have been reproduced along the whole education system. In tertiary education, only 20 percent of students who attend university are from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Students who graduated from elite schools obtained better scores on the national admission test and the majority of them

attend the most exclusive Chilean universities (OPECH, 2010). However, the increase in the number of students in college has been significant, with an enrollment of 967,672 students in tertiary education in 2010. Like the elementary and secondary systems, at this level, private institutions lead public institutions with an 88 percent enrollment rate (Canales & de los Ríos, 2009). The proliferation of private universities occurred after the neoliberal reform in 1981. Despite being classified as non-profit organizations, most private universities created after 1981 yielded considerable profits for their owners thanks to the use of subterfuge (Mönckeberg, 2007). Neoliberal policies have also converted some universities into multimillionaire businesses, where students must pay high tuitions and fees. Chilean students in 2011 protested against these inequities in the tertiary education sector. These protests would not have been realized, however, without the groundbreaking efforts of the “Penguin Revolution” 5 years earlier.

The Penguin Revolution

In January 15, 2006, the Chilean socialist politician Michelle Bachelet won the presidential election. She was the first female president in Chilean history. In May 2006, only four months after her election into office, thousands of students ages 15 to 18 were in the streets. They generated the “Penguin Revolution,” a name that was coined because high school students are called penguins due to the color of their uniforms (black and white), where education became both a political and public issue (Domedel & Peña y Lillo, 2008). This movement was the first significant demonstration protest since the return of democracy in 1990.

Education and social movements have a close relationship. Indeed, in Chile, students have been the protagonists of many important transformations (González, 2010). However, during the transition from the dictatorship to democracy, students were not active political participants. In 2006, this situation changed thanks to secondary students who filled the streets and took over their schools, winning public support. While the early street protests only attracted about 1,000 people, after three weeks there were more than 10,000 (Domedel & Peña y Lillo, 2008).

In the first stages of this movement, the demands were free transportation passes for students and an elimination of the fees associated with taking the university admission exam, but then the student struggle shifted to focus on the poor quality of Chilean education. They fought against a system in which those with access to private education are afforded opportunities which are not available to those who study in public schools. The students' target was the Organic Constitutional Law of Education (LOCE), the foundation of the educational system and one of the emblematic laws enacted by Pinochet during his time in power. This law had faced strong opposition from foes of the dictatorship and university students and professors had been calling for its repeal since the return to democracy in 1990. In August 2009, President Bachelet signed the General Education Law (Ley General de Educación, LGE), which replaced the previous controversial law, but this new legal framework did not change the structure of Chilean education (Oliva, 2010).

Although the political victory of the “penguins” was limited, this movement was the foundation of the most radical student movement that began in 2011. The “Penguin Revolution” was spontaneous in nature, but it paved the path for future protests against the neoliberal system. This movement also showed how new technologies can be a powerful political tool for youth. The students maximized the use of new information technologies to draw in more supporters and keep them informed about every step of the movement through social networks. In addition, they were also able to attract media coverage, which is important since the mass media often neglect the coverage of social movements (Domedel & Peña y Lillo, 2008).

The protagonists of the events of 2006 were born in the late 1980s, a period which was characterized by the entrance of the Chilean economy into the global market. These students grew up in an era marked by the country’s high levels of economic growth (French-Davis, 2002). They also grew up with the media and their own development paralleled with that of technological tools. These characteristics were essential when it came to positioning themselves as protagonists in the public arena.

They changed the public and political agenda in education, achieving attention from the media. In the print press, in April 2006 when the marches were just starting, 368 articles were published on education; by May, after the protests exploded, the number rose to 639 and in June, it reached 961 by the end (Domedel & Peña y Lillo, 2008). Educational policies makers debated how to respond the demand for more social justice and less free-market ideology in

education. The education discussion was focused on the guaranteed right to education, the improvement of the quality of standards, an increase in the public subvention for the poorest students, the banning the selection process in primary schools, among other issues (Cox, 2007). Some of these dispositions were achieved, but the neoliberal nature of the system continued intact (Oliva, 2010).

The result of the “Penguin Revolution” was seen by students as a defeat and malaise continued to grow among that generation of students. The “penguins” were the first monumental expression of rejection towards free-market fundamentalism in education and the political system responded by trying to regulate the system, but without leaping towards more social justice. The General Education Law changed the antidemocratic educational law enacted by the dictatorship, but the system continued to work in the same way. Five years later, in 2011, most of the “penguins” were attending tertiary education and realizing that their past struggle had not modified their educational reality. Many of them were also protagonists of “the Chilean Winter”.

The Chilean Winter

The New York Times published the article “With Kiss-Ins and Dances, Young Chileans Push for Reform” in August 2011 (Barrionuevo, 2011), in which the Chilean student movement was called the “Chilean winter” in reference to the revolutions in the Middle East, known as the Arab Spring. Demonstrations in Chile had begun on April 28th, but they were winning power and presence during the winter in Chile with more than 120,000 students marching in Santiago every two weeks in the capital. The movement was prolonged for 7 months, reaching 26

massive marches or public demonstrations. University students demanded that public education be strengthened, with the end of free-market education, and better conditions for poor students. Like the “Penguin Revolution”, university students criticized the neoliberal system imposed in education.

Most of the students involved in the “Chilean Winter” protests had participated in the “Penguin Revolution” 5 years earlier, but now they had a new opponent: the first right-winged democratic government in 52 years. Sebastián Piñera, a wealthy businessman and politician, took office in March 2010 and in his first cabinet included Joaquín Lavín as the Minister of Education. Lavín was owner of a private university and a member of the group known as the “Chicago Boys”. Hence, students saw this duo as a threat that would further extend the neoliberal system in education. In May 2011, students took to the streets to demand an increase in public expenditure in education that accounted for only 4 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), compared with 7 percent in developed countries.

At the beginning of the protests, the main concern was the high cost of tuition and fees that the majority of students pay by obtaining overpriced loans. Ironically, universities in Chile are non-profit institutions, yet some private universities operate as businesses. Moreover, tuition and fees in Chilean universities are some of the most expensive in the world and the neoliberal reform passed this financial burden to students and their families (Simonsen, 2011). Families finance 73 percent of higher education in Chile, a figure that greatly exceeds the average (16 percent) for OECD countries. In the tertiary sector in

Chile, 7 out of 10 students are the first in their families to attend a higher education institution (Canales & de los Ríos, 2009), but 83 percent of those who drop out within the first year, principally for economic reasons, are first generation in higher education (Castillo & Cabezas, 2010).

Students associated this financial structure with the for-profit spirit in education. “Educate, not Profit” (*Educación, no Lucrar*) was the slogan that led the struggle which had support from 80 percent of the population, according to public polls (Anderson, 2011). Marches were accompanied by the takeover of more than 200 schools and universities and the national and international media paid attention to the movement. Popular student leaders, Camila Vallejo, president of the Federation of Students of the University of Chile (*Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile, FECH*), and Giorgio Jackson, president of the Federation of Students of Catholic University (*Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad Católica, FEUC*), became active participants in the public discussion about education. They demanded more resources for public education and free education for poor and middle-class students. Piñera’s government rejected free public education, because it considered education as a commodity. The student movement, on the contrary, demanded that education be recognized as a public good.

The Chilean Winter has resulted in immediate and long-term educational changes, but more importantly, the very fact that the movement took place demonstrates a drastic change in this generation’s way of thinking. The persistence of these students in their demands for equal and quality education has

shown their yearning for systematic transformations, which will have drastic effects on how the country looks at, not only education, but also other structural institutions that have been affected by neoliberal policies.

The Implications of the Student Movements for Education Policies

Chilean students are part of a new generation of political actors in education. From a sociological perspective, Chile is experiencing a transition from a passive generation to an active one. Karl Mannheim (1952) argued that traumatic experiences play a key role in the production of a generational consciousness. For Chilean adults and policy makers, Pinochet's dictatorship was that kind of traumatic episode. Consequently, they incorporated the political compromises needed to end the indisputable reality of the military regime. Nevertheless, students who protested in 2006 and 2011 (most of whom were born in the era of new democracy) were not part of that story: they felt free to question the limits defined by the previous generation.

Edmunds and Turner (2005) offer a valuable explanation to understand the shift from a passive generation to an active one. For them, this change occurs when a generation is "able to exploit resources (political/educational/economic) to innovate in cultural, intellectual or political spheres" (p. 562). They conclude that a new generation is created when young people combine these resources and innovations with political opportunities and strategic leadership. Looking at the student movements from this perspective, Chile is experiencing the birth of a new generation. In this context, there are two main features that characterize the recent

Chilean students' movements: persistence and combining short-term and more structural, long-term demands (Cabalin, 2014b).

The first element that stands out regarding the movements has been its persistence. In effect, the first series of massive protests took place in 2001 and was known as the “mochilazo” (demonstration with backpacks). The “mochilazo” was articulated around a demand for better conditions and pricing of public transportation, and also a greater presence of the state in terms of administering fees. A high level of support among students in Santiago resulted in the government's consent to their demands after a complex negotiation process. The “mochilazo” not only broke the public silence of students in a post-dictatorship context, it also showed the emergence of new forms of student organization. This involved a combination of the traditional student council (strengthened by the organizational and participation policies of the mid-1990s) with less structured, but strongly coordinated and highly motivated student assemblies. The “mochilazo” experience also made clear that government institutions did not know how to process these demands, and that the traditional form of political negotiation was not effective in this new scenario. Some of these key features of the “mochilazo” were direct antecedents of the 2006 and 2011 students' movements, which continued with less intensity during the years 2012 and 2013. Student organizations involved in those processes have been accumulating knowledge and refining their political action in the field for a decade.

The second feature of the student movements has been the ability to articulate not only short-term demands (e.g., transportation, quality of the school's

equipment and infrastructure), but also a set of demands that aim to transform structural aspects of the education system. For instance, the students challenged the regulatory legacy of the Constitutional Law of Education—which was enacted on the last day of the Pinochet government in 1990. The students also protested against privatization, tuition charges, and discriminatory practices in the selection of students. The “Penguin Revolution” of 2006 made clear that the student movement’s discourse of protest and critique was becoming increasingly stronger and more systemic, going well beyond a simple list of student benefits.

The student movement is an ongoing process and some demands are still being subjected to political debate, but there has already been a tremendous impact on Chilean educational policy (Bellei, Contreras, & Valenzuela, 2010). The fact that a student movement strongly affected both the policy debate and policy decisions represents a significant change for Chilean society, and is of major interest from a comparative perspective on educational policy.

In fact, after the secondary student protests in 2006 all changes seemed possible. President Michelle Bachelet created an Advisory Presidential Council for Quality in Education to debate and propose policy guidelines for improving both quality and equity in education. After six months of deliberations, the Advisory Council presented a report that encompassed a wide variety of recommendations, including strengthening the right to access quality education free of charge, holding the state responsible for guaranteeing quality education, establishing quality assurance institutions in education, reforming the institutional

system of public school administration, and significantly modifying the current funding system (Consejo Asesor Presidencial, 2006)

President Bachelet embraced some of the Advisory Council's recommendations and proposed a new architecture of Chilean education. She sent Parliament an ambitious set of legal reforms, which included: a new General Law of Education that replaced the previously mentioned Constitutional Law of Education; the creation of a Superintendence in Education to control the legal aspects of the system; the creation of an Agency for Quality in Education; changes in the structure of educational cycles; and the reform of the administration of the public schools. Each of these reforms, except the last, was approved. The combination of a sense of emergency and social pressure from the student movement, with the consensus view generated by the Advisory Council, gave policy makers a new perspective, opened unexpected political opportunities, and resulted in a policy agenda focused on institutional transformation of the Chilean educational system.

The 2011 student movement's impact on higher education has also been considerable. President Piñera and his Ministers of Education disagreed with some of the most emblematic demands of the students, including free education, giving priority to public education, and ending public funding to for-profit providers. However, the administration implemented a new system of public funding that increased the proportion of students with higher education scholarships and significantly reduced student loan interest rates. The administration also passed a tax reform to fund new educational policies and

proposed a major change in the accreditation system of post-secondary educational institutions, which is currently being discussed by the Chilean Parliament. Further, the Chilean Parliament created special commissions to investigate some private universities regarding potentially illegal for-profit activities (Commission Report, 2012). Finally, the educational policy issues raised by the student movement were intensively debated in the last presidential campaign in Chile, in 2013.

In general terms, students framed their struggle within the “politics of meanings” in education. Thus, from an educational policy perspective, the student movements challenged the public’s understanding of the education system because the students rejected the notion of the problem-solving approach supported by traditional policy makers. Certainly, students participated in defining educational problems, but students also participated in the discussion of policy implications. As political actors in the educational field, students tried to be part of the contexts of influence, text production, and practice (Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 1992). These aspects of student participation extended the notion of the policy cycle beyond the diagnostic-design-implementation-evaluation cycle that characterizes the bureaucratic structure and technocratic process of educational policy creation (Reimers & McGinn, 1997). The student movements not only highlighted “new problems,” but also new interpretations of those problems. Such interpretations implied the need for systemic changes in education, which were outside the framework of reference for Chilean policy makers.

From this perspective, the consequences of the student movements are also evident beyond the educational field. The debate about education in Chile has been linked to larger social concerns, such as Chile's unequal economic model and the country's lack of participatory institutional structures. Thus, as part of this social movement, students can be considered "agents actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders" (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 163).

During the last decades, the design and evaluation of public policies in health, poverty, and education increasingly became technical activities mainly engaged in by professional experts. Consequently, students —like social program "beneficiaries"— have traditionally been excluded from the processes of engaging educational policies. The Chilean student movements showed the limits of this notion. Increasingly, policy makers, especially in matters like education, need to consider social and cultural aspects to design and evaluate policies; introducing participatory processes into the policy cycle seems to be the most appropriate way to accomplish this (Reimers & McGinn, 1997).

The shift toward increased participation of local actors in the educational policy process goes in the opposite direction of the documented growing relevance of international organizations in the educational policy field. In fact, educational policies have become enmeshed with the new dynamics of globalization, where the main concern is to increase economic competitiveness. Within this context, supranational organizations —such as the World Bank and other regional banks, the International Monetary Fund, UNESCO, and the

OECD— have created a network of interactions with public authorities, policymaking agencies, and transnational corporations that highly influence national educational policies (Ball & Youdell, 2007). This has been the case for Chilean higher education in the last decades (Ginsburg, Espinoza, Popa, & Terano, 2003). Nevertheless, since public policies can also express a collective will to solve social problems, the 2006 and 2011 student movements reminded Chilean policy makers that —despite a globalized policy field— they are still socially and locally accountable.

Final Remarks

The implementation of neoliberal education in Chile has proven to be catastrophic for social justice purposes. Voucher schools receive public funding and compete with public schools, generating segregation and stratification. The introduction of for-profit interests and competition in education has not generated the high quality of education promised. Indeed, private and public schools have similar effectiveness when they are measured considering the same resources and socioeconomic characteristics (Contreras et al, 2011). Major differences are only seen when poor students are compared with rich students. National and standardized tests show that Chilean education reproduces social inequalities.

However, the “commonsense” ideals that are imposed by neoliberal thinkers and institutions insist on fostering privatization and ravaging public education (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). In Chile, there are smear campaigns against public educational institutions and their performance, while the private sector is growing and for-profit institutions are obtaining the majority of students.

Subsidized for-profit schools have increased their enrollment by 113.4 percent over the last two decades, reaching 1,059,090 students in 2008 (Contreras et al, 2011). The neoliberal paradigm supporters claim that by introducing more privatization, schools will have to improve because they will have to compete for students, while also arguing that parents will have more freedom to choose the best school for their children due to this competition. However, the lower and middle-class students cannot choose, because the system is private and elitist. This structure was designed during Pinochet's dictatorship with the provision of neoliberal intelligentsia imported to Chile by the "Chicago Boys".

Free-market fundamentalism was converted into a magic prescription for the development of Chile. Education was conceived as a business, producing "first-class" and "tourist" students as if education were an airplane ticket. The "first-class" students attend exclusive elite schools, obtaining better results on standardized tests, attending the most selective universities, concentrating on opportunities for their future. The "tourist" students attend poor public schools, resulting in standardized test scores that are lower than the national average, and if they are able to attend college, they must finish their studies with expensive loans. However, the "first-class" students only obtain their social position because it is inherited from their privileges in Chilean society, because when they are compared with their peers globally, their performance is mediocre (Donoso, 2005). Therefore, Chilean education maintains the historic social structure hierarchy within the nation-state.

Equity and equal opportunities are only slogans in Chile, because evidence shows that social inequalities are reproduced generation after generation. However, students rebelled against this structure and were in the streets to criticize the neoliberal system and its consequences in Chilean society. The student movements have had a vital impact on the country. This impact can be better understood by analyzing the mediatization of education policy discourses during and after the 2011 student movement. The media coverage of education has been intensified since that moment and the discursive struggle about education is an ongoing process in the public debate (Cabalin, 2014c). The next chapter uses the critical approach to framing and CDA to show how the most conservative media in Chile blamed students, university rectors and teachers for problems associated with the education system in order to contend the ideas of the students so that the neoliberal system in Chilean education would be preserved.

CHAPTER 4

FRAMING EDUCATIONAL POLICIES: THE MEDIA AS POLITICAL ACTORS IN EDUCATION⁴

“Because the best succinct definition of power is the ability to get others to do what one wants (Nagel, 1975), ‘telling people what to think about’ is how one exerts political influence in non-coercive political systems (and to a lesser extent in coercive ones). And it is through framing that political actors shape the texts that influence or prime the agendas and considerations that people think about”

(Entman, 2007, p. 165).

The student movements in Chile described in Chapter 3 demonstrated that the reproduction of inequality in the education system is being profoundly critiqued. While the most conservative segments of society opposed the reforms demanded by the movements, the students were still able to insert their reform agenda into the public opinion and mobilized thousands of people in each march (Cabalin, 2012). The media covered these events with much attention, often emphasizing the sporadic acts of vandalism caused by small groups of people at the end of every march. But the media were also, and above all, an actor in the public debate on education within the context of the student movements.

⁴ This chapter is partly based on my article: Cabalin, C. (2013). Framing y políticas educacionales: Los medios como actores políticos en educación [Framing educational policies: The media as political actors in education]. *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 19(2), 635-647. It is also partly based on my accepted manuscript of the article The conservative response to the 2011 Chilean student movement: Neoliberal education and media, published as the version of record in *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 2014, 35(4), 485-498. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01596306.2013.871233#.VVMZKY1wZ9M>
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As I mentioned in Chapter 2, the media serve as a channel for particular ideological positions on education. Considering the above, this chapter analyzes the editorials published during seven months of the Chilean Winter protests in *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, the two leading Chilean newspapers with nationwide circulation, in order to problematize the relationship between education and media fields from a political perspective. The mediatization of educational policies assumes the strategic role of the media in the definition of policy problems. In this construction of social problems, different social agents participate in the public sphere trying to steer particular visions of society, “but national culture and the media industry set limits on which definition will prevail in the public sphere” (Benson & Saguy, 2005, p. 235). Precisely, this chapter illustrates how the most conservative and influential Chilean newspapers framed and represented the main educational issues during the student movement in order to protect the neoliberal education system. To do so, framing theory is described, because this theory allows understanding the political role of the media in society, as Entman (2007) states in the initial quote of this chapter. Moreover, framing theory helps explain how the mediatization of educational policies works in political terms.

Framing Educational Policies

Using the notion of media logic defined in Chapter 2, Lingard and Rawolle (2004) have indicated that “journalists and their logics are not only operant in the journalistic field in the media, but also in the offices of politicians and policy producers, thus affecting the very processes of policy production” (p. 362). When examining the mediatization of policies on national scientific

capabilities in Australia, these authors found that the logic of media was superimposed on the logic of education, ultimately affecting the production of education policies.

In a similar work, Blackmore and Thorpe (2003) analyzed media discourse during the implementation of education reform in Victoria, Australia. They concluded that “the media exercises significant power over education also in the sense that it is able to reach the masses, the consumers of education, where readers position themselves as subjects in and through discourses representing particular ideologies” (p. 591). For these authors, the discourse on education affected teachers’ professional identity, parents’ perceptions and the decisions of school directors. But the most important aspect is that media coverage impacted the creation of solutions for education problems, and therefore, the design of education policies.

Although neither study adopted framing theory directly, they both agreed on the role that the media has in framing the public agenda and problem-definition in the field of education. This line of analysis makes sense if understood that education policies consist of, above all, a project to establish certain values and guidelines in society. For this reason, framing theory is appropriate for studying and understanding the mediatization of educational policies.

Framing is one of the theoretical approaches most widely used in media studies. For example, between 1990 and 2005, 131 research articles were published on framing in 15 of the most renowned journals devoted to

communication and journalism (Matthes, 2009). Despite the abundant academic production about the journalistic frame, there is no unique theoretical and methodological approach to address it. As Van Gorp (2007) asserts, “frames seem to be everywhere, but no one knows where exactly they begin and where the end” (p. 62). Framing as an element of social constructionism is rooted in the sociological work of Erving Goffman in the 70s (Sádaba Garraza, 2001). Framing is related to “the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences” (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 11). A first critical view about framing was developed by Gaye Tuchman in her classic work, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (1978), which established the role that ideology and institutional aspects can play in the construction of news.

Framing is also a theory utilized to describe the effects of media on the perception of people and their decisions (Scheufele, 1999). In the studies of political communication, framing theory occupies an important space. For example, Iyengar (1990; 1996) points out that framed news determine the political responsibility of certain facts. Some scholars have stated that framing can be considered a part of agenda setting theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1993; McCombs, 2005). Weaver (2007), for instance, stated that framing is related to agenda setting, because both theories concern themselves with the way in which people, groups, organizations and countries are represented by the media. Framing, therefore, is concerned with the description of the objects or issues of interest of the media. However, framing is not just the description of an issue, but it is also a

‘dynamic process of opinion formation’ through a rhetorical strategy established by [the] elite and the media (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012).

For D’Angelo (2002), framing is a research program that can be characterized by three paradigms: cognitive, constructionist, and critical. The first refers to the press coverage (news frames) creating semantics within the individual interpretation schemes of the subjects. From this perspective, the media provide accessible information so that individuals can activate prior knowledge and consider this information in their future decisions. The constructionist approach sees framing as a process of creating “interpretative packages” (p. 877). The media give interpretive frameworks of news events that impact the construction of social reality. The critical perspective, on the other hand, establishes that the media intentionally select certain facts and omit others to maintain the status quo and favor the dominant powers in society. Therefore, the critical paradigm supports, according to D’Angelo, that the media restricts the “political consciousness” of people (p. 877). Thus, the frames would impact the distribution of power within society (Entman, 2007), as the treatment of news could bias a fact in favor of particular groups.

By assuming the media as agents of power and dominant institutions of cultural production, framing also responds to a narrative strategy or discursive disposition of the media to influence people’s perceptions and public discussion of social problems. The basic functions of framing, in line with Entman (1993), are the definition of the problem, the attribution of responsibility, the moral evaluation, and the recommendation of possible solutions (p. 52). According to

this author, selection and salience are the most important factors in framing, meaning that the significance of importance that is assigned to a news event. This usually occurs through the repetition of an idea or interpretation, allowing for the perceptions of individuals to become more permeable with each story. López Rabadán (2010) also uses Entman's functions to establish what he calls a "framing strategy", that is, "the structural and widespread discourse of the mass media, in relation to two basic professional procedures that determine the construction and the framing of the journalistic message: thematic selection and discursive organization" (p. 239). This last definition of framing was used in this chapter, as well as a critical perspective of framing, in order to illustrate the mediatization of educational policies from a political point of view.

This is justified because the media present a way of understanding social events, given that the frames entail a "corresponding set of ideas" (Tewksbury, Jones, Peske, Raymond, & Vig, 2000, p. 808). For this reason, it is interesting to analyze the ideas on education emphasized by the two main Chilean newspapers during the student movement. I assume that the discourses on education policies entail certain values and that the media distribute or reject those values by the way in which they select and frame the issues, thus establishing a relationship between education and the media on a political level. I have opted for a critical approach, since the discourses of the media represent an area of ideological dispute, where the mainstream media reduce public values, such as the right to education "to nostalgic reminders of another era" (Giroux, 2011, p. 9).

Analyzing Editorial Discourses

López Rabadán (2010) operationalized the definition of “framing strategy” in his research on the editorials of the Spanish edition of *Le Monde Diplomatique*. García Marín (2011) conducted a similar study on the editorials of the newspapers *El País*, *El Mundo* and *ABC* regarding Spain’s participation in the invasion of Iraq in 2002-2003. Both studies analyzed the editorials, since this is where the ideological discourse and political views of the media are expressed. For Canel (1999), “the editorial is the genre that sets forth the ideological and journalistic profile; it is the text in which the newspaper adopts a position in the name of the paper” (p. 98). The analysis of editorials has also been used in the mediatization of educational policies. Galindo (2004) studied how editorials of *The New York Times* responded to a bilingual policy in California. He concluded that the editorial discourses were very simplistic based on common assumptions about immigrant students. If one assumes that the media are agents of power, then the concern for their editorial discourses is relevant.

I critically analyzed the editorials of Chile’s two main newspapers because they represent the dominant discourses in the public agenda. As the Chapter 2 described, the Chilean press is highly homogeneous and media ownership is extremely concentrated. *El Mercurio* is more than just a newspaper in Chile; it represents an institution that has been a conservative bastion since its founding in the 19th century (Lagos, 2009). *La Tercera* is its most direct competitor and supposedly has a more liberal orientation. In any case, both newspapers are

aligned with a right-wing political project in Chile (Mönckeberg, 2009) and there are no nationally-distributed newspapers representing opposing views.

As I explained in Chapter 3, in the 80's the media system allowed for a creation of a series of independent newspapers and magazines and opponents of the Pinochet regime, but paradoxically post-dictatorship governments decided to dispose of the alternative sources of information, leaving a media space that was controlled primarily by the conservative sectors (Cabalin, 2007). Due to the desire to liberalize all areas of society, media became a product of the market and the state did not take any action to safeguard pluralism and diversity in the press. Today, ownership of the media system of communication is controlled by only a select few and various attempts to create independent media have failed (Mönckeberg, 2009). This situation has allowed *El Mercurio* to maintain its historic position as the most influential newspaper in the country.

More than a newspaper, *El Mercurio* is a political actor in the history of Chile. Linked to a powerful and wealthy family, this newspaper has represented the voice of the elite since the nineteenth century. Its pages articulate dominant and conservative discourses, which are deeply religious and neoliberal. *El Mercurio* is also one of the most influential newspapers in Latin America, and as a holding company, it controls an extensive network of local newspapers, online media and radio stations with a weekly circulation of more than 400,000 copies and the highest advertising revenue of the Chilean press.

Its strong ties to the dictatorship of Pinochet have been a major criticism of its history. Stories of human rights violations have been hidden, manipulated,

and distorted. The book, *El Diario de Agustín* (Lagos, 2009) explains how this newspaper strategically operated to create a series of false news stories during the early years of the dictatorship that enabled the regime to repress political opponents, mostly members or supporters of left-wing parties. Its pages were also used to support the implementation of the neoliberal system in Chile and the series of political arrangements that allowed the dictatorship to lay the foundations of the system that the students challenged in 2011. Due to this history, it is important to analyze how this newspaper, through its editorial pages, responded to the students' demands in an attempt to preserve neoliberal education.

El Mercurio and *La Tercera* represent conservatism in Latin America, a region where elite and powerful groups control the majority of media (Lugo-Ocando, Guedes, & Canizález, 2011). Therefore, by analyzing its discourse, it is possible to understand the process of the creation of dominant discourses in this part of the continent. For critical studies, these newspapers are interesting cases, because as Squires (2011) suggests, “the power and reach of dominant news media must remain part of our terrain. Not only do these institutions reach the largest number of people, they also set agendas in symbiosis with politicians and other elite actors” (p. 33).

Indeed, the conservative media have accompanied and reinforced neoliberal ideas, in what Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) call “*neoliberal newspeak*”. This refers to a set of neoliberal concepts that are repeated incessantly

by the media until they are assimilated to be common sense. Chakravartty and Schiller (2010) assert that:

the dominant repetition of neoliberal normative assumptions contrasting the negative pole of the state and the public against the positive pole of the free market and the individual became increasingly part of the common sense across most of the media (including the online media) and corporate fields and across viable political parties, mainstream policy makers and cultural producers straddling these over-lapping fields. (p. 677)

These terms have also permeated the discourse on education policies, emphasizing aspects such as privatization, the subsidiary role of the State, a disregard for the work of teachers, competition and other aspects of the neoliberal discourse. This mediatization of conservative ideas implies the movement of meanings from one field to another. The economy has transferred its social practices to the field of education through a process of recontextualization (Fairclough, 2006).

Following the definition of framing strategy, which emphasizes thematic selection and discursive organization (López Rabadán, 2010), a content analysis was conducted to complement the critical discourse analysis of the editorials in *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*. This content analysis sought to illustrate the importance of the student movement for both newspapers and the thematic focus of their editorials. To do so, the main topic of each editorial was quantified using the following seven categories:

1. *Marches and vandalism*: This category was observed when the text centered on the skirmishes during the demonstrations. It is very important to consider this category, since several studies have revealed that the media tend to focus on acts of violence as the main aspect of the protests (Di Cicco, 2010).
2. *Proposals*: Since the student protests laid bare Chile's education problems in all their extension, this category aimed to identify how the editorial text treated the possible solutions to the crisis.
3. *Political Analysis*: This category included the texts that focused mainly on the impact of the student movement on the political system (government, opposition, actors, response, debate).
4. *Student leaders*: The movement was characterized by emblematic leaders who attracted media attention. This category was observed when these leaders were presented as political actors in the education debate.
5. *Education Policies*: This category was used to analyze how the editorials approached the analysis, evaluation and design of education policies in Chile.
6. *Profit*: The main demand of the student movement was to put an end to profit making in education. This category was included in the analysis because it represents the formal response of the editorials to the student movement.

7. *Universities*: The students from Chile's traditional universities were the main actors of the movement. This category refers to the editorial texts addressing the issue of higher education as the main topic.

In addition to these categories, the framing analysis employed was based on the four functions defined by Entman (1993). This was justified in that the student movement was a struggle in the cultural field of ideas on education, politicizing the discussion about education problems. This is why it is significant to observe how the editorials defined the education problem, assigned responsibilities, valued the actions of the main actors and made recommendations about how to address the conflict.

The critical discourse analysis of editorials was also based on the framing functions mentioned above. The editorial of a newspaper may be considered a genre that has a particular way of representing the world (discourse) and shaping social identities (style). Therefore, to critically analyze an editorial, identifying its linguistic characteristics, does not suffice. Rather, a trans-disciplinary theoretical perspective needs to be adopted in order to detect the relationships of this particular genre with other discourses and fields in society. Fairclough (2009) emphasizes the trans-disciplinary nature of critical discourse analysis, because studying changes in language in a complex society requires relating different theories and disciplines; in this case, I have used framing theory in media studies, because the media are the principal agent of the recontextualization of discourses. The media have the power to extend or restrict possible communications in society through their particular language.

I have analyzed the framing of the editorials by establishing a time line from the start of the massive student demonstrations in May 2011 to their conclusion in November 2011 because it was during this time period that the congressional debate about the nation's budget was consolidated and the student demands were rejected. In addition, many universities and schools that had been on strike resumed their academic activities and the students returned to classes to finish the academic year. The period was marked by seven months of intense mobilizations that were widely covered by national and international press.

As I have mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3, all discourses are historically and politically situated. The student movement and the neoliberal Chilean education system represent the context of the discourses analyzed. The first methodological stage was to analyze editorials considering Entman's framing functions, trying to highlight the definition of the problem, the allocation of responsibilities, moral judgments, and the recommendation of solutions. This strategy has also been used in other studies about framing and conservative discourses of the media (Tucker, 1998). To establish the framing categories, the editorials that addressed the student movement were analyzed to determine whether they mentioned educational policies, public demonstrations, protests and riots, responses to the political system, or references to the movement.

Once identified, the editorials were each read carefully in order to implement a critical discourse analysis. This analysis was conducted following the model proposed by Fairclough (2003), who established that we must start by considering a social problem that aims to produce an emancipatory change. In this

case, this emancipatory change is the rebellion against neoliberal education in Chile. Therefore, after identifying the semiotic aspects of the social problem (the discourses about the student movement), I focused on the key words and sentences used to describe the movement and the neoliberal education system in Chile (e.g. ‘highly ideological students’, ‘efficient private sector’, ‘lower quality public education’). Then, the analysis highlighted the recontextualization of the discourses and the social practices embedded in the discourses (e.g. ‘managerialism in education’, ‘entrepreneurship in education’, ‘standardized measurements’, ‘system of experts’). Following López Rabadán’s definition of framing strategy, the thematic selection and the discursive organization of the editorials are presented in the next sections.

Editorial Thematic Selection

This chapter involved the analysis of all of the editorials published between May and November 2011 dealing with some aspect of the student movement or education. There were 182 editorials: 97 published in *El Mercurio* and 85 in *La Tercera*. This difference is not significant ($\chi^2 = 0.79, p > .05$), revealing the importance both newspapers assigned to the student conflict. The texts were transferred to a content analysis matrix, specifying the main topic of each editorial and the presence or absence of framing functions.

Two main topics reached a relevant position: Political Analysis and Proposals. Of the 182 editorials, 54 focused on the political repercussions of the student conflict and 50 were used mainly to present proposals to resolve that conflict. Regarding the latter, there was a significant difference between the two

newspapers ($\chi^2 = 5.12, p < .05$). *El Mercurio* published more editorials on proposals than *La Tercera*, but both dedicated similar attention to the political analysis of the student conflict ($\chi^2 = 0.30, p > .05$). This data confirms that the editorial is where the media carries out political discussion and establishes its ideological position.

The third most common topic was Vandalism; that is, the focus of the editorial text was on the disorder and violence after street demonstrations. The proportion of editorials with this issue as the main topic was significantly higher in *La Tercera* than in *El Mercurio* ($\chi^2 = 9, p < .05$). In other words, the supposedly more liberal of the two newspapers was more concerned about public order. There were no relevant differences between the newspapers regarding the other main topics. The main topics are laid out in Table 1 in descriptive terms.

Table 1: Main theme of Editorials

Main Theme of Editorial	in <i>El Mercurio</i> (53.3%)	in <i>La Tercera</i> (46.7%)	Total (100%)
Political Analysis	29 (15.93%)	25 (13.74%)	54 (29.67%)
Proposals	33 (18.13%)	17 (9.34%)	50 (27.47%)
Marches and Vandalism	9 (4.95%)	27 (14.84%)	36 (19.78%)
Education Policies	8 (4.40%)	5 (2.74%)	13 (7.14%)
Profit	7 (3.85%)	5 (2.74%)	12 (6.59%)
Universities	6 (3.30%)	5 (2.74%)	11 (6.04%)
Student Leaders	5 (2.75%)	1 (0.55%)	6 (3.30%)

The descriptive analysis of the presence or absence of Entman's framing functions revealed that moral evaluation (143), treatment recommendation (132) and problem definition (111) were the most frequent themes in the editorial texts. The function of causal interpretation was included in only 55 of the 182 editorials. There were significant differences between *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* in only two of the framing functions. One of them was problem definition ($\chi^2 = 5.67, p < .05$), where *El Mercurio* put more emphasis on the limits of the education problem. In contrast, the editorials in *La Tercera* focused more on the moral evaluation of the student conflict ($\chi^2 = 5.06, p < .05$).

The descriptive statistical data presented here confirm that the discussion on education during the student movement implied a relevant ideological and political debate, because the main focus of the editorials was to provide guidelines for the solution of the conflict and to delimit the education problem. As mentioned above, education policies are an exercise of power that entails symbolic and material values, affecting the distribution of power within society. The following section looks closely at these issues through the use of CDA, where it is revealed that the media continued to support neoliberal ideals by blaming students, university rectors and teachers for the profound problems that lie in the education system.

The Discursive Struggle in Chilean Education

Based on Fairclough's model described in Chapter 2, I have considered the three dimensions of discourse —discourse as text, discourse as a discursive

practice and discourse as a social practice— in terms of the framing functions applied in the study.

El Mercurio addressed the student conflict in its editorials as the expression of justified concern for the deficiencies in Chile's education system, but avoided identifying the conflict as part of a general discontent towards the neoliberal education system implemented in the 1980s. The student problem was framed as an excessive economic burden for students and as “distortions” of the system. These “distortions” were supposedly related to the allocation of student aid according to the nature of each institution. For this reason, *El Mercurio* suggested that instead of making differences between public and private universities that people concentrate on the demands; that is, on the students. *La Tercera* employs a similar discursive strategy, but frames the education problem as a discussion over the “quality of education”. It stresses that the debate over the role of the State in education has been surpassed and that the historical criteria for resource allocation no longer makes sense today.

The allocation of State funds to universities should be based on quality criteria, not on historical arguments or issues of ownership. The system should advance towards the distribution criteria used today for Indirect Fiscal Support, which is provided to universities that attract the best PSU scores, becoming an incentive for competition and quality. (*La Tercera*, May 10, 2011, p. 33)

A student who attends a university belonging to the Rectors Council has access to cheaper loans and obtains, on average, more

generous scholarships than a student of similar socio-economic conditions who attends another higher education university that does not belong to this association, even if both institutions have been certified for an equivalent period of time. This situation does not satisfy the basic criteria of equality. (*El Mercurio*, May 19, 2011, p. A3)

The subsidiary role of the State in education has been a characteristic of the Chilean education since the implementation of neoliberal policies (Matus & Infante, 2011). These policies have emphasized competition among institutions, independent of their nature and contribution to society. The assumption is that competition increases quality in education. The editorials of *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* use this argument repeatedly, reinforcing the idea that the system has no structural problems, but rather it is the individual actors who are responsible for any flaws. They also establish the limits of the State in education and assert that any attempt to increase its role would hamper the “freedom of education”.

The problems of the university system are not resolved with greater State intervention, but with more competition. (*La Tercera*, June 20, 2011, p. 29)

It is clear that the peril for the freedom of education is inevitably much greater when it depends on one sole central body controlled by the government in office. (*El Mercurio*, September 28, 2011, p. A3)

According to Oliva (2010), the discussion between the right to education and freedom of education has characterized the debate over education policies in Chile. They are put forward as opposing concepts and the editorials present them as such. While students herald the right to education as one of their main demands, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* insist that any attempt to respond to student demands could undermine the freedom of education. This is where the tension between the State and the market in Chile's education system is played out. In response, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* call for deepening the public-private nature of education and intensifying the participation of the private sector in the provision of education.

The utopia of refounding the higher education system, renouncing, for instance, its mixed nature—which, moreover, is historic—should be abandoned, and instead a horizon for the next few decades should be seriously considered... (*El Mercurio*, November 22, 2011, p. A3)

One aspect that would restrict private initiative in education would be to put an end to “profit-making” in education, as students demand. Although this category of analysis did not appear significantly as a central issue, “profit” and “enterprise” are mentioned throughout them. First, the editorials question their real existence in the university system, since, because it is illegal, universities should not be profiting from education, as students claimed during the movement. Secondly, the editorials validate profit-making in primary and secondary schools and in technical higher education, because it has presumably contributed to

greater school enrollment and helped develop Chile's education system. The argument in favor of profit in education is persistent through time and is shared by *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*.

It is hard to understand the slogans against privatization when much of current demand is satisfied by private education and when there is so much evidence that public education has serious problems of quality (...). (*La Tercera*, May 13, 2011, p. 43)

With this discourse, neoliberalism is strengthened because it would mean that progress and development are irreversible global tendencies. The foundations of the Chilean educational system are situated outside the scope of local political actors, because they are a response to the hegemonic world structure. In other words, the particular becomes general. This universal status of the neoliberal system is consistent with its hegemonic project (Fairclough, 2003). This universality and absolutism of the neoliberal system in education would be sustained in the global economy and in the process of capital accumulation, so that education may respond to these objectives and, consequently, the manner in which the economy functions affects the structure of the educational system. Therefore, the neoliberal project unfolds beyond trade relations and is also imposed on educational relations. This logic expresses that economic rationality is transferred to education. With this recontextualization, neoliberal discourse is imposed as a process 'construed as being due to inevitable, external circumstances or facts that must be accepted as irreversible, with no possible reorientation, and as a process with no responsible actors' (Fairclough, 2000c, p. 17). Consequently,

the system is absolute, unquestionable and functions outside of any social tension. The students' criticism of the neoliberal system would be unproductive, inefficient and even ingenuous, because the system alone would ensure its absolutism.

By limiting the education problem to a specific and non-structurally rooted situation, the editorials in *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* assign the responsibility of its flaws to certain actors in the education system. In the first place, the mobilized students themselves would be the main culprits of the education conflict, because they would only be representing particular, and not common, interests. The editorials invalidate students as political actors because of their transitory nature and disregard their capabilities as institutionally-acknowledged counterparts. *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* coincide in that the mobilized students are not representative of the majority of students and conceal political motivations that go beyond their concern for education.

University students must choose between being part of the solution or, if they persist in their means, becoming part of the problem. (*La Tercera*, July 21, 2011, p. 33)

It's useless to expect that the students, in their massive assemblies, can draft solutions to the problems they have raised or be satisfied with government officials regarding another set of miscellaneous demands emerging from the vertigo of their protagonism – from free education to the nationalization of copper and a new Constitution. (*El Mercurio*, September 25, 2011, p. A3)

These assertions hope to neutralize the students' strength and undermine the legitimacy of their goals. The value judgments about their conduct are critical and students are described as "highly ideological", "radicalized" and "uncompromising", among other adjectives. The student movement is presented primarily as an assault on institutionalization. The students are criticized for their actions, they are criminalized, and the social protest is presented as an act of vandalism. The 'moral panic' about youth is represented here (Thompson, 1998). They were also delegitimized as political actors and were denied the opportunity to engage in the political discussion, because they were considered ineffective and irresponsible. There is contempt for their autonomy and they are accused of being manipulated. Students are criticized for their methods of protest. Following one of Entman's framing functions, editorials make moral judgments about the legitimacy of marches and demonstrations, which as mentioned above in Di Cicco's (2010) *Nuisance Paradigm*, was also done in the US where protests were presented as bothersome and unproductive. *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* apply the same discursive strategy as US conservative newspapers to depict the student movement. In addition to making the students responsible for the conflict, the editorials published in *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* associated the problems in education with the actions of rectors representing traditional public and private university rectors in the Rectors Council (Cruch). The main student leaders belong to universities associated in the Cruch.

The student leaders and the rectors of the universities in the Rectors Council, who in one way or another endorse these

mobilizations, should be capable of guiding the energy of their communities in another direction. (*El Mercurio*, July 26, 2011, p. A3)

It is clear that those most responsible for this situation are those who have illegally occupied schools and universities, paralyzing classes, but also responsible are those who have supported their forceful actions, especially the rectors in the Cruch and opposition politicians who have justified the mobilizations or participated in them. (*La Tercera*, October 11, 2011, p. 35)

The most common way to question the Cruch universities and their authorities is by criticizing the performance of these institutions. In line with the neoliberal discourse on education, public universities are accused of lack of transparency, inefficiency and of not complying with standards. With reference to the competitiveness and effectiveness of both private and public education, the editorials present education as a business that must be correctly managed. The editorials fit with Apple's (2007) criticisms about the public discussion: "The language of privatization, marketization, and constant evaluation has increasingly saturated public discourse" (p. 19). In opposition to the values of the private in education, the shortcomings of public education are exposed. It questions the role of public universities, which are described as dull, mediocre and are unable to be accountable. The "audit culture", a term also used by Apple (2007), is imposed in the educational setting as unquestionable logic. Public institutions are not modern; they are ineffective and have shown progressive deterioration. It is established

that the modern and the innovative come from the private. Underdevelopment and delay in schooling are public issues. Due to this, knowledge also becomes privatized and commodified, transforming it into an economic value, rather than a social one. As Lipman (2010) states: “The neoliberal agenda extends the logic of the market to all corners of the earth and spheres of social life” (p. 241). Knowledge, therefore, is a product of neoliberal education that becomes a commodity. However, the fact that most research universities in Chile, whether public or private, are non-profit institutes with long tradition, is not recognized.

In addition, editorials establish that the students who led the protests are mainly from public universities and that with their mobilization, they also helped deteriorate the education system they say they want make better. That is, students are held responsible for the damage to public education through their actions. Therefore, the authorities and students of public institutions would be responsible for the deterioration of public education, erasing the structural factors that resulted from neoliberal policies. The historical neglect of more than three decades is ignored. On the contrary, there are attempts to demonstrate a supposed governmental interest in public education.

The recent mobilizations have been led by students belonging to our most select universities and have been supported by their officials and academics. For this reason, one would expect a more profound reflection about the future of our higher education system. However, their positions are far from that and instead

respond more to particular interests. (*El Mercurio*, July 30, 2011, p. A3)

A study by the Council for Transparency found that... State universities comply with an average of only 20% of the legally required transparency norms, failing in 15 of the 16 items that were measured. (*La Tercera*, November 21, 2011, p. 31)

Once the editorials extend their discourse towards a more general analysis of the education system, and not just the universities, the blame encompasses a third actor: teachers. Along with students and rectors, teachers are identified as part of the education problem. The editorials emphasize that the quality of their own training and professional practice are questionable. They constantly insinuate that teachers do not satisfy minimum quality standards in classrooms and enjoy unjustified privileges thanks to the Teachers Statute.

The challenges in education have nothing to do with profit and privatization, but with issues such as teacher training and professional practice, the rigid work conditions defended by the teacher's guild, the powers given to school directors and the efficiency of public spending. (*La Tercera*, May 13, 2011, p. 43)

The Government is committed to presenting, in the next few months, bills that aim to strengthen public education and create a new teaching career that would definitely abandon the current Teachers Statute and attract and retain teachers of excellence. (*El Mercurio*, October, 2011, p. A3)

In their editorial pages, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* identify the three principal actors responsible for the student conflict: students, rectors and teachers. In the view of these newspapers, all three represent particular interests and defend “ideologized” positions. However, these actors coincide in a basic point: they demand bolstering public education. The discursive strategy used by these newspapers not only sought to neutralize their influence in the public discussion over education, but also to delegitimize their positions in favor of public education.

By implementing Entman’s (1993) framing functions, it is clear that the educational problem focuses on the failings of the public system; that those responsible for these problems are the agents of these institutions, and it is recommended that the benefits for private education institutions be increased in order to solve this problem. To do this, the effectiveness of the private sector over the public is emphasized; an argument that neoliberal discourse in education has sustained since the 1980s. In the editorials, free education is rejected because it is assumed that this is a personal investment with high return and the subsidiary role of the state is promoted, another characteristic of neoliberalism. However, when modern states were first becoming established, education was seen as a project for the construction of identity and citizenship that the nation-state required. In the mid-twentieth century, education was essential for developmental processes and the possibility to expand opportunities to the population, thus consolidating post-World War II democracy. In fact, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes the value of education as a fundamental right, but since the 1980s,

education has become a business or, more precisely, it has transformed into a commodity.

The concept of human capital was established as a system in education, but this “approach is problematic because it is economistic, fragmented and exclusively instrumentalistic” (Robeyns, 2006, p. 69). This conceptual change means that education is no longer associated with democracy, but with the market, as it is only ‘useful’ if it can boost productivity and competitiveness in the global economy. For this reason, it does not matter if schools promote critical thinking or ‘teach to the test’. The point is to generate a flexible workforce, which is multifunctional and competitive. This global architecture in education nurtures the new economy (Carnoy, 2002). For this reason, private education is more functional to this strategy than public institutions.

The editorials mainly focus on a political analysis of the student conflict and, as a consequence, on its possible solutions. After defining the problem as specific flaws and identifying those responsible, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* coincide in that the main solution consists of ignoring most of the student demands and concentrating on a political agreement in Congress that would enable the implementation of certain reforms. These are not structural changes; on the contrary, they have to do with the allocation of new resources, which the education system needs. They suggest gradual changes based on technical aspects and “international evidence” and call on experts to be in charge of those proposals and on politicians to discuss them with realistic criteria.

Politicians and government officials should seriously analyze the country's reality in order to avoid encouraging a distorted view of society and its problems. (*La Tercera*, August 9, 2011, p. 33)

The country has already experimented enough with inappropriate solutions in the past and has suffered their negative effects. Therefore, it should be increasingly demanding in its education proposals and discard those that inflict enormous tension on the system, without positive results (...) Prohibiting for-profit institutions from educating youths with State-issued student aid is not a balanced solution, and one can anticipate that the costs will far exceed the benefits. (*El Mercurio*, September 23, 2011, p. A3)

The editorials stress the need to “design good education policies”. This would be possible only with the participation of education technicians, disregarding the political dimension of education in society. With this, the discussion on education is depoliticized and the political debate shifts to the mere behavior of formal actors (government and opposition) in Congress. By technifying the education debate, they emptied it of content and downplayed the students' demands of overhauling the system. With this discourse, the sphere of education in society is recontextualized, limiting its impact only to the economy (Fairclough, 2003). In addition, it reinforces the idea that the education problem consists of insufficient economic resources and is not a systemic problem.

It is time to recover common sense, and that is the pressing duty of all political and social actors today. The Government has to define

clear and feasible positions regarding financing and quality to address the concerns of parents and students. (*El Mercurio*, August 17, 2011, p. A3)

The government should adjust its spending in order to finance education reforms without sacrificing growth and employment. Education will benefit if the government improves the (economic) model. (*La Tercera*, September 9, 2011, p. 45)

To bypass the students in the resolution of the conflict, the editorials call for an institutional agreement in Congress so as to limit the political action of student leaders and neutralize their reform agenda. The editorials in *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* suggest the kind of actions political actors should take to solve the conflict, always stressing that the neoliberal model in education is not in doubt, but that there are specific weaknesses that can be solved without having to implement structural changes.

The only reference to politics is the critique of the political system established in the Parliament. The main political criticism made by the editorials of *El Mercurio* is directed to the center-left opposition, which after ruling for 20 years, lost to the right-wing candidate, Sebastián Piñera, in the 2009 election. *El Mercurio* has called to achieve elitist institutional arrangements that have characterized the transition from the dictatorship to democracy. However, this style only distanced the public whose focus is on what has generated the delegitimization of Chilean democracy and the political system (De la Maza, 2010). Editorials try to focus on the policy discussion in parliament, removing it

from the streets, to prevent the participation of social actors. Appealing to stop the radicalization of the student movement, ignoring the structural demands of students and focusing on the settings for the system to continue to operate without major neoliberal conflicts, *El Mercurio* attempts to depoliticize the student movement in an effort to also demobilize students from channeling the discussion on a path where 20-year-old institutions have been safeguarded by the legacy of Pinochet. In order to achieve this goal, students are depicted as idealists and utopians without the expertise needed. *El Mercurio* utilizes “ideology” as a pejorative in order to avoid a political discussion.

However, education should be a political discussion, because it is in this sphere that the future of society is forged. Through it, opportunities for the present and future generations are organized. It also distributes power in society and roles are assigned in the social structure. In the neoliberal discourse, ideology is hidden behind a technical approach with the objective of ignoring the negative political consequences of the neoliberal system. However, educational policies are influenced by ideology, as demonstrated by various projects. For example, in 2004, the Renaissance 2010 program was implemented in Chicago, which involved the closure of public schools and the opening of private ones. That is, entrepreneurs entered into the business of schooling, arguing that the state was unable to manage and deliver quality schools. This project clearly expresses the intersection between economic policy and educational policy in Chicago, because powerful groups seek to convert this city into a global economic center (Lipman & Hursh, 2007). To do that, intervention needs to occur in the city and business

options needed to be open to investors. Renaissance 2010 is not, then, only an educational improvement plan, but it is also a political strategy sustained in a neoliberal vision (Lipman & Hursh, 2007).

In the case of Chile, by introducing the technical aspects of education, the ideological lines that support each educational project are hidden, blurred, and transformed into numbers. With this, the public space is also depoliticized, establishing the boundaries of the discussion on education, where the voice is that of the experts. Education, therefore, is displayed as a routine system with a mechanical structure. Everything must be measured, programs, students, teachers, and faculty at the university. The education workforce is subjected to the fragility imposed by the neoliberal logic to measure, quantify and cut educational plans (Tuchman, 2009).

Final Remarks

The two most influential newspapers in Chile were protagonists of the debate on education during the student movement of 2011. They devoted a significant part of their editorial pages to address the issue, questioning the actions of the political establishment in response to the student mobilizations. The main topics of their editorials were proposals to resolve the conflict, political analyses of the consequences of the movement, and the acts of violence at the end of the protests. With this, they set the boundaries of the discussion: small changes to the education system and concern for public order.

El Mercurio and *La Tercera* acknowledged the flaws of Chile's education system, but repeatedly insisted that its roots were not systemic, but rather a

specific problem related mainly to an “unfair” allocation of resources among public and private education institutions. They defended the role of private initiative and the validity of profit making in the education system. They blamed the conflict on students, the rectors of traditional universities and teachers. In consequence, they made a distinction between the promoters of neoliberalism in education and those who sought to increase the role of the State in education.

Through the mediatization of education, the media play a role in the different contexts of educational policy. As this chapter has shown, the most conservative media attacked the student movement, trying to legitimate hegemonic discourses in neoliberal education. However, student responded to this strategy, using other means of communication to spread their discourses and positions in education. New media were a key component of this strategy. The next chapter analyzes how new media was used by the Student Federation of the University of Chile (FECH) in 2011 to counteract discourses framed by traditional media, call to action massive protests and create a more democratic space for the public to express their thoughts on these matters.

CHAPTER 5

CONTESTING HEGEMONIC DISCOURSES IN THE NEW MEDIA: THE USE OF FACEBOOK IN THE 2011 CHILEAN STUDENT MOVEMENT⁵

“Formulations such as the ones that the Internet resulted in the emergence of movements, that movements were born on the Internet, that protested were conveyed by the Internet, or that movements are based on the Internet, convey a logic that is based on overt technological determinism: technology is conceived as an actor that results in certain phenomena that have societal characteristics”

(Fuchs, 2012, p. 781).

“With rain, with snow, the people still move,” sang almost 100 thousand students on August 18, 2011 in the streets of Santiago. That day, the temperature was 4 degrees below zero and snow fell on the capital of Chile. This event was called the “March of Umbrellas” because participants used these instruments to cover themselves from the falling water. This was just one of the multiple protests of the “Chilean Winter”, discussed in Chapter 3. Only a few hours after the march, the Student Federation of the University of Chile (FECH) used Facebook to call for a new protest action, stating: “After the beautiful march today, *cacerolazo* ⁶ at 21:00!” This post received 443 “likes” and 31 people posted comments in support of the cause. This is an example of the combination of

⁵ This chapter is partly based on my article: Cabalin, C. (2014). Online and mobilized students: The use of Facebook in the Chilean student protests. *Comunicar*, 22(43), 25-33. Reprinted with permission.

⁶ A special type of protest where pots, pans and other kitchen utensils are banged together noisily to call attention to a specific cause.

traditional and new resources that are currently used by social movements, where digital networks have played a key role in their communication strategies (Castells, 2012).

Moreover, digital social networks are used to counter-frame the hegemonic discourses conveyed by mainstream media. In 2011, students mediatized their movement through a sophisticated communication strategy in order to contend the conservative discourses that rejected their struggle. As I have presented in the previous chapter, the two most influential Chilean newspapers acted as political actors in the educational debate and defended the neoliberal educational system. The mobilized student responded these attacks through the intensive use of digital social networks.

As the 2011 Chilean student mobilizations, various protest movements were also developed in different countries. In fact, for some authors, this was a historic moment that should be remembered as the “year of revolutions” (Fuchs, 2012, p. 775). One of the characteristics of these citizen mobilizations was the importance of social networks. As such, different media began using expressions such as “Facebook or Twitter” revolutions to refer to these events, depending on the importance assigned to a specific social network. However, a number of academic papers on the subject, published in a special issue of the *Journal of Communication*, qualified this categorization as simplified and popular, demonstrating that the impact of online social networks is complex and contingent on the context where protests develop (Howard & Parks, 2012; Valenzuela, Arriagada, & Scherman, 2012). This view allows for the

problematization of the notion that contemporary social movements are a consequence of new media on the Internet. This causal relationship is associated with technological determinism, which does not recognize the complexity of social movements and their political, social, cultural and economic components (Fuchs, 2012).

However, it is impossible to deny that the Internet has provided effective and innovative tools that allow social movements to mobilize supporters and to counteract hegemonic media trends. In fact, one of the leaders of the 2011 Chilean student movement, Giorgio Jackson, states that “new technologies served to put a limit to the mainstream media, to show that they no longer have a monopoly on the represented reality” (Jackson, 2013, p. 85). Considering this point, this chapter analyzes the Facebook page of FECH, the most influential student federation in Chile, to describe how this organization used social networks during the student movement and observe the communication practices—in Bourdieuan terms—of students via this digital platform.

In order to do this, I first present the relationship between youth and the Internet and then situate this discussion in the Chilean student movement to further describe the use of FECH’s Facebook page.

Globally Connected Youth

The Internet is more than just its mere status as technology; it also provides a new field of study due to the fact that its ranges of communication have a powerful socio-cultural impact. The effects of the Internet on social capital formation, political participation, cultural diversity and the identity construction

of individuals, among other themes, have been studied by anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, researchers in education, and communication and political scientists since the 90s. Youth have received special attention in academic work around new technologies because of the close relationship between youth and the Internet (Tapscott, 2009).

Young people interact with digital social networks more than any other social group. This is a global phenomenon. For example, youth in Asia share similar experiences via the Internet with their peers in the United States or in other parts of the world (Farrer, 2007). However, it would be naive to think that youth are experiencing a moment of full development due to new technologies. In fact, global inequalities are affecting many of them. Youth have the highest levels of unemployment, suffer from vulnerability and many are experiencing “waiting times,” a term coined by Craig Jeffrey (2010), which describes the situation of young people in developing countries that bet on education as an instrument of social mobility, but have instead seen those expectations crushed. Furthermore, the representation and social visibility of youth have been dominated by “moral panic” (Valdivia, 2010). Youth are seen as the hope for the future, but at the same time they are a risk in the present (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2005). Against this backdrop, new technologies have allowed youth other avenues of expression and participation in society.

New information technologies not only have a high economic component, but also cultural and political ones. Because of their interactive nature, social networking sites on the Internet have been viewed as a collaborative space with

immense consequences for the development of youth. Some authors have spoken of this as a “historic moment” for youth (Tapscott, 2009), but others are more skeptical about the positive impact of these new technologies (Gladwell, 2010). In the case of the 2006 and 2011 student movements in Chile, social networks and new media played a key role in the development of the protests. During the “Penguin Revolution,” the 2006 secondary school movement discussed in Chapter 3, the students used Fotologs, blogs and YouTube to communicate their demands (Condeza, 2009) and in 2011, mobilized students utilized Twitter, YouTube and Facebook as their communication strategies.

Herrera (2012) has characterized this close relationship between youth and digital social networks as the “wired generation.” In the case of the Chilean student movement, I assume that its protagonists are part of this new generation because mobilized youth were able to use the Internet as a space for the construction of meaning during the movement. For Castells (2012), this process of production of meanings and concepts is fundamental to the success of social movements, since power is exercised by “the construction of meaning in people’s minds, through mechanisms of symbolic manipulation” (p. 5). Online social networks, as such, help to counteract hegemonic power relations. However, Buckingham and Rodriguez (2013) state that new information technologies are far from being an absolute free and democratic space, because traditional patterns of domination and control often play out on the Internet.

At any rate, the Internet does allow for the observation of the development of youth political practices. In 2011, the mobilized Chilean students showed that

their protest actions “offline” and “online” were complementary (Valenzuela, 2013), allowing them to overcome the division between “traditional” and “new” movements. In fact, they were able to incorporate both strategies, making them more diverse and difficult to define linearly. However, the “message” of social movements continues to be determined by how the movement operates, which is more important than which media platform was chosen to communicate the movement’s operations (Castells, 2012).

Facebook and the Streets

The students were in the streets for 7 months and received 80% of the public’s support, according to various surveys (Cabalin, 2012). One of the elements that helped to explain this massive popular support was the ability of the students to successfully frame their message of transformation and to impede the media agenda during movement. Students were aware of the need to convert their political objectives into a massive message, as Giorgio Jackson pointed out: “Our initial language was not ideological, it was technical and pragmatic, in the sense that if we wanted to reach more people, we had to start by deleting certain words” (2013, p. 63). The students conveyed a message that condensed the main problems of the Chilean education system: inequality, low quality, segregation and indebtedness.

Thus, in 2011, the supposed neoliberal progress faced a critical review by the majority of the population for the first time in 30 years. As noted by one of the 2011 student leaders, Francisco Figueroa: “Few imagined that the model’s own children, the youth allegedly lulled by individualism, would rebel against the

current state of affairs” (Figueroa, 2013, p. 72). The student revolts precisely showed that the passivity that the youth were charged with reduced their political participation to only the classical dimension that was established by the routines of the political system. However, youth do participate through other methods. The 2011 Chilean student movement was an example of these alternative mechanisms of social participation.

The Chilean government announced that 2011 would be “the year of higher education” and this opened the political space for students’ demands. The first march of 2011 was on April 28th and it united eight thousand university students; for the second march on the 12th of May, almost 20 thousand students came together in Santiago alone. This was the entry point to a flooding of massive actions and protests: almost a month later —the 16th of June— for the first time in 20 years of democracy, more than 100,000 people marched down the main avenue of Santiago. The “running 1800 hours for education”, in which students ran around the government palace demanding free education, was one of the many actions students did, showing creativity, perseverance and massive participation.

In political terms, while the support for the students grew, so did the necessity to unify the actions of highly heterogeneous constituents (Figueroa 2013). The common point for many of the participants was the high level indebtedness produced by higher education, which left many Chilean students in a position of economic vulnerability after graduation. On the 5th of July, President Piñera announced the “Great National Agreement for Education”, which included the creation of a fund of US\$4,000 million for scholarships and the reduction of

the interest rate of university loans. Nonetheless, the students rejected this proposal with a massive march on July 14th and widened their agenda, demanding structural changes in the educational system. At that time, students obtained the support of the university presidents and other stakeholders in the field of education, thus turning themselves into a social movement for education.

With all this momentum, the students convened an unauthorized march for the 4th of August, which resulted in an ineffectual protest, violently repressed by the police. In support of the students, citizens from several neighborhoods of Santiago revitalized a type of protest utilized in the 1980's against Pinochet: they sounded a *cacerolazo*.

At the end of August, nearly a million people gathered in Santiago's main public park to show their support for the student movement, demonstrating the broad social character of the mobilizations. Likewise, the Teacher Union led a symbolic plebiscite on education in which more than a million people voted, demanding free education and rejecting for-profit providers in education. These were the most massive activities organized during the 2011 movement.

In this context, the government attempted direct negotiations. It removed the Minister of Education Joaquín Lavín —publicly criticized for himself being owner of a private university and for having engaged in commercial enterprise in the sale of this property— and named Felipe Bulnes, a lawyer known as a negotiator. Though the attempts at direct negotiations failed, the government persisted with its legislative and political proposals. Therefore, the educational debate moved to the national Congress in order to involve the political parties in

the resolution of the conflict. Thus, the students actively participated in this legislating, including the 2012 national budget law.

The protests continued during September, October and November, which total to around 26 massive marches or public demonstrations. The actions of the students combined the traditional strategies of political movements (massive marches, occupation of educational buildings, work strikes, assemblies, and hunger strikes) and innovative strategies, creative activities and the constant use of public spaces (flash-mobs, artistic interventions, massive races, kiss-ins, viral campaigns, street dances and performances, and costume gatherings). Students developed “performative protests,”⁷ using public spaces in highly original ways, framing their movement through an innovative communication strategy, and made extensive use of digital social networks for both the coordination of actions and communication to the public. It was the combination of ‘classic’ political protest with new ‘performative’ protest which allowed for the movement to successfully reach and speak to the masses.

Mobilized students used both the physical and digital public space actively. It was a mixture of “Facebook and street,” to paraphrase the book *Tweets and the Streets: Social Media and Contemporary Activism* (Gerbaudo, 2012), which questions the overemphasis on digital social networks as catalysts for protest actions. The students displayed their demands through a combination of both strategies, demonstrating that “even a new medium, as powerful and

⁷ “Performative protests” are manifestations in the public space with a highly artistic component. For example, thousands students danced a ‘Thriller for education’ in front of the government palace; like in Michael Jackson's song, they wore zombie costumes, representing their death because of their educational debt.

participatory as the Internet's social networks, is not the message. The message constructs the medium" (Castells, 2012, p. 122). This means that for a social movement to be successful it requires, among other things, the construction of a persuasive message (Stewart, Smith, & Denton, 1994), which connects with the experiences of people. Digital social networks allow for that message to go viral, thus leading to massifying its penetration, especially among the youth sectors. This was understood by the Student Federation of the University of Chile through the use of its Facebook page as the means to distribute their message and mediatize the movement.

The Movement on Facebook

86% of young Chileans have a Facebook account and 70% of those young people connect to Facebook every day for at least 3 hours (Arriagada, Scherman, Barrera, & Pardo, 2011). Facebook was the digital social network most used by the students during the 2011 movement. In fact, 68% of those who mobilized used the Internet as an information platform to find out about the movement. Due to this, it is important to analyze how this generation of students displayed their actions through online social networks during the student movement. With this objective in mind, the Facebook page of the Student Federation of the University of Chile (founded in 1906) was utilized as a reference, as it represents one of the most influential institutions in the educational debate in Chile and its president in 2011, Camila Vallejo, was one of the leaders with greatest public visibility in the media. This Facebook page had more than 62,000 "friends" during the movement,

surpassing the number of students at the university itself, which shows the extent of its influence beyond the University of Chile.

The new information technologies involve diverse epistemological and methodological approaches. Social networks can be useful for studying social interactions, relationships of belonging, identity formation and types of discussion, among other themes (Murthy, 2008). According to Coleman (2010), there are at least three categories to study digital media: a) “the cultural politics of media; b) the vernacular cultures of digital media; and c) the prosaics of digital media” (p. 488). The first relates to the interest in the study of the circulation and construction of cultural identities, representations, meanings and collective commitments in digital media. The second approach deals with the analysis of different groups or social phenomena in digital media (for example, blogs, hackers, memes, among others). Finally, the third approach focuses on the social practices that occur in digital media, which involve economic, financial, cultural or religious aspects. I assume the first approach and apply the same methodological strategy as the previous chapter: critical textual analysis and content analysis.

As the student movement lasted seven months, this sample is restricted to only one month, considering two milestones: a political one (the first change of the education minister during the movement) and a symbolic one (the “March of Umbrellas”). These two events represent on certain terms, what the student movement meant in the recent history of Chile. On the one hand, the political system was overcome by the force of the mobilized students who questioned the

legitimacy of the means of political representation in the country; on the other, the persistence of the protests and their massiveness transformed the movement into an expression of collective commitment of students beyond the particular circumstances of each individual student.

All public posts on FECH's Facebook page that were made over these 33 days were intentionally selected, beginning on July 18th —when the president, Sebastián Piñera, made a change in the cabinet, which included the departure of then Minister of Education, Joaquín Lavín, and the incorporation of his replacement, Felipe Bulnes— and ending on August 19th, one day after the “March of the Umbrellas.” This last event was included to observe how the students addressed the success of the march the day after it occurred. These entries were analyzed into a content analysis matrix, deductively constructed from previous literature on social movements and new technologies (Stewart, Smith, & Denton, 1994; Benford & Snow, 2000; Castells, 2012; Valenzuela, 2013).

To describe the uses of Facebook, eight general categories were used. The first two categories recognized the architecture of the analyzed medium, which regulates and limits its use (Lafi Youmans & York, 2012). These basic categories are:

1. *Likes*: The number of “likes” on each post was quantified to account for the popularity or acceptance of each entry.

2. *Comments*: The number of comments for each entry was considered to observe the interaction generated from initial entry.

The following three categories attempted to describe the communication strategy used by the Student Federation of the University of Chile. In order to do this, the presence (1) or the absence (2) of these functions were considered.

3. *Own posts*: The posts made by FECH were used to quantify whether FECH generated some kind of commentary on their page as a way to frame the content posted.

4. *Photos and videos*: The presence of images was measured with the understanding that their addition can make an entry more powerful.

5. *Organization's Leadership*: Considering that their president was Camila Vallejo, a figure widely known by the public, the use or lack of Camila Vallejo's name was also measured in FECH's posts.

The remaining two general categories attempt to describe content characteristics present in each of the analyzed entries. These categories were:

6. *Source of content*: It is important to note where the content originated. Therefore, I measured if the content was generated from FECH's own website, if it was content from the University of Chile, if it was from another organization related to the movement or if it was content from the government. Also, I quantified if the content posted was produced by an organization not associated with the movement or by a traditional media.

7. *Media Quote*: To measure the interaction with other communication platforms, I quantified if the content posted was referring to a means of national, international, student or other digital social media (for example, YouTube) communication.

The final category attempted to describe the purpose of the entry, since the objectives of social movements are also associated with different communication strategies. Then, this category corresponds to:

8. *Purpose of Entry*: I measured whether the content published summoned participation in protest actions (marches, strikes, etc.) or movement activities (lectures, conferences, etc.). Also, I measured if the entry highlighted achievements or support of the movement (balance of participation, emblematic backups, etc.). Finally, other objectives that could reaffirm the definition of the movement (mobilization reasons) or replies to or mentioning opponents (government, police, etc.) were also measured.

As in the previous chapter, this functional content analysis was complemented with critical textual analysis of the posts made by FECH to describe and understand how public content on their Facebook page was framed. This textual analysis was done to account for the broader use of Facebook, considering the importance of generating messages and meanings in the development of social movements (Castells, 2012).

Marching and Remembering the Adversary

Considering the eight general categories mentioned, 552 posts were identified during the month of analysis (an average of 17.8 posts per day), which shows the intensive use of this digital platform by FECH. There were 47,314 approvals (likes) on the content posted and 8,686 comments. In other words, each post generated on average 15.7 reactions from fans of the page.

The analysis shows that FECH used its Facebook page primarily as a source of information of the movement. The vast majority of posts were accompanied by a comment made by FECH itself, which tried to explain, elaborate on or summarize the content posted. In 85.7% of the 552 posts, FECH made its own introduction to frame the discussion. However, the presence of visual “hooks” (photos or videos) was lower than expected, considering the common use of Facebook is associated with the publication of images. Only 58.5% of the posts analyzed used photos or videos. References to the leadership of the organization had even lower numbers. Camila Vallejo was practically never mentioned in the entries. Just 43 of the 552 posts included some mention of the president of FECH. This result is striking because of the high public visibility of the leader, but it could be explained by the very nature of FECH, whose leadership is made up of a list of representatives who are voted in each year. Thus, the organization is not serving a particular leader, but rather all student groups that make up its board.

Another result highlighted is the use of the content produced by some type of traditional media. The majority of posts incorporated content generated by an organization not related to FECH. In fact, 40% of the posts corresponded to traditional media content and only 22.6% was content generated by FECH itself. This illustrates that the Facebook page was mostly used to respond to the content published on other media platforms. References to content generated by the University of Chile (4), by another organization of the movement (7), by the

government (3), or by an organization not directly linked to the movement (10) were scarce.

In summary, the major source of content for FECH's Facebook page was traditional media (radio, print and online newspapers, television). Specifically, national media are the main sources of content (37% of the 552 posts). International media only appear 14 times, despite the wide coverage of the movement in various countries. In addition, consistent with little incorporation of images in the analyzed posts, there were only 28 occasions when YouTube was referenced.

With regard to the purposes of each post, the use of Facebook by FECH responded to the usual characteristics of the communication strategies of social movements. Its main uses are: to mobilize supporters through the call for protest actions or movement activities (29.2 %), to highlight achievements, outstanding support and mass demonstrations of the movement (27.5%) and to remind readers who were the opponents of movement (24.3%). The remaining 47 posts were intended to explain the main reasons for the student conflict. Through these communication uses, FECH contributed to the construction of interpretive frameworks for collective action, defined as "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization" (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614). The constant references to the massiveness of the protests and the support that the students gained showed the "success" of the movement and the need to keep going,

without forgetting who the opponents were. This was the framework for action that was communicated via FECH's Facebook.

For textual analysis, 473 posts were examined, which included a header generated by FECH. The vast majority of these texts were direct references to content posted, in an attempt to introduce and contextualize the information. Also, in these posts, additional data were added to those mentioned in the posted content or information spread by traditional media was rejected. Some examples are: "Meet the new Minister of Education. Complete information on Felipe Bulnes" (published on July 19, 2011), "Dear all, at this time have to have a double eye [be careful] when reading certain media" (published July 19, 2011), and "They have invented many things to discredit us, pay attention to the info [sic] circulating" (published August 19, 2011). These types of messages were accompanied by explanatory notes. Through these means, the information available to participants of the movement spread and a counter-framing of news events published by traditional means was realized.

The vast majority of FECH's own comments are short, accurate and informative texts. This can be explained because the Facebook page was administered by the journalists of the organization; young professionals who have knowledge about communication. For example, commenting on the change of minister by President Piñera, FECH wrote: "A change in Minister is not enough; we demand a change in state policies!" (published on July 19, 2011). They also used messages like, "The rain isn't going to stop us either!" (published on July 28, 2011) to call people to join protest activities during the Chilean winter. As

expected, all references to the movement's actions were positive and the references to the adversaries were negative, confirming the polarization communication strategy employed by social movements (Stewart, Smith, & Denton, 1994).

The positive approach of the texts intended to show the support and achievements of the movement, counteracting the official pessimistic voices criticizing students. This discursive strategy was also intended to motivate and add supporters to the manifestations organized. Thus, when there was an unauthorized march, which was violently repressed by the police on August 4, 2011, FECH posted on its Facebook: "THE MARCH CONTINUES!! No repressive media that the government unleashes will achieve [or] undermine the strength of our movement. We respond with more unity and more fight!". During that day, there was a greater degree of violence against the student movement and Facebook was used as a platform to denounce such actions: "Throughout Chile WE ARE BEING REPRESSED," "What has happened in our country today CANNOT GO UNPUNISHED!". Messages written in all caps by the administrators of the Facebook page show that the emphasis of the students' complaints was affirmed by the leaders of the movement in its subsequent statements to traditional media sources.

Other common uses of the messages were to broadcast the activities of the movement, to gather information for the development of demonstrations across the country or to reaffirm the protest actions. For example: "Let everyone in the world know that TODAY in Chile we could not protest and congregate

publically” (published August 4, 2011); “How is the *cacerolazo* going at home?” (Published on 9 August 2011); “Yesterday we were 100,000 under the rain in Santiago, peacefully beautiful. This Sunday everyone is invited to Family Sunday for Education, with everyone for everyone” (published August 19, 2011). These types of messages explicitly called for the interaction with fans of the page, asking on the one hand for “help” in denouncing unjust acts and, on the other hand, seeking feedback on protest actions. It was also a way to promote participation and turn readers into activists of these actions.

In short, the messages published by FECH demonstrated that the following communication functions were used on Facebook: disseminating and framing information, responding to opponents and traditional media, counteracting official information, calling for public demonstrations and events, highlighting the positive results of protest actions and support obtained, calling for adhesion and finally, acknowledging and identifying the main detractors of the movement.

The Movement and the Media

As I have illustrated in this chapter, an element characterizing the student movement has been innovated in the ways students have organized and expressed themselves. Because of Chilean young people’s general mistrust of traditional forms of political delegation and representation, students tried alternative ways to politically organize. To be clear, political militancy and traditional forms of student organization have not disappeared, but they have been complemented, and in many cases exceeded, by new forms of participation, representation, and

decision-making processes among students. For instance, in organizational terms, students used diverse assemblies and coordination agents with more horizontal and less mediated methodologies to deliberate and make decisions. When these organizations communicate to influence public opinion, student leaders act more like assembly “spokespeople” than an authority representing an organization. In 2011, student organizations also implemented sophisticated mass-media communication strategies, guided by leaders with outstanding and refined communication skills.

The coordination process of the movement has also changed, mainly through the intensive use of new communication technologies and instant messaging. These tools allowed for students to summon a group quickly, widely, and cheaply, and also to spread their ideas and protest outcomes through the mass media. Indeed, the media has not been replaced, but rather it has been complemented by the creation of various face-to-face initiatives, which gather representatives based on geographic (e.g. Santiago areas) or institutional (e.g. vocational secondary schools) criteria. Forms of public demonstrations have also been diverse. This is particularly noticeable when looking at the 2011 student movement, during which students employed numerous forms of pressure towards authorities and also adopted a different range of strategies to spread their message to the general public.

Final Remarks

As I have noted, one of the most important organizations of the 2011 Chilean student movement used Facebook intensively, but this use replied to

classic schemes of social movements. This indicates that current protest actions synthesize traditional actions in new innovative ways, which dismisses any hint of technological determinism in the analysis of protest actions of these movements. According to Valenzuela (2013), in the case of young Chileans, the use of social media networks to express opinions and join social causes, predicts a higher probability of youth participating in public demonstrations, but cannot be considered a trigger for political actions. Social movements use digital social networks as a tool in a wide set of repertoires, ranging from street marches to viral Internet campaigns.

Aware of the importance of communication for the success of movements, the mobilized students resorted to traditional media, whose reports were the main content on FECH's Facebook page. This content, which often criticized the students, was recontextualized in the analyzed posts through explicit comments or direct calls to not believe the information published by traditional media sources. Along this line, the wisdom of one of the student leaders frames this idea saying:

We were on the radio, television news, and in the morning newspaper. This happened despite the lines of editors and the interests of some media sources, which responded against our rebellious and transgressive message, focusing its efforts in distorting our opinions and focused on showing the movement with a violent and uncompromising character, almost criminal character. (Jackson, 2013, pp. 21-22)

Social networking sites were not used only for this counter-framing, but also for generating a horizontal and efficient community. Social movements see communication as “the lifeblood” (Stewart, Smith, & Denton, 1994, p. 159) and Chilean students understood this well. The notion of communication that students displayed is associated with the mobilization of messages and meanings characteristic of a social movement. Obviously, new information technologies are fundamental to the development of the current youth movement tools, but they cannot be considered exclusively as the factors that enable the success and scope of these movements. In the case of the Chilean student movement, its prolonged development is explained by structural reasons associated with the reproduction of inequalities in the educational system and the political and cultural reconfigurations of the country. Nonetheless, Facebook and other digital platforms were key to the success of the mobilizations, facilitating the transformation of many of the bystanders into activists of the movement.

Moreover, university students used digital social networks to disseminate their message, which encompassed one of the main problems of Chilean education: the low quality of the higher education system. The quality assurance system was seriously questioned by the student movement and the government reacted with a proposal to reform the system. These new sets of higher education policies were also covered intensively by the media after the mobilizations, showing the impact of the student movement on the educational policy production sphere.

As a result, the next chapter will look at how the discussion about quality assurance in higher education was developed in the media during 2012, one year after the end of the 2011 student movement. I will specifically look at editorials from *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* and columns published by rectors of traditional private, public and new private universities in order to see the similarities and differences in how each party envisioned quality assurance. By doing this, I show how quality, a major demand of the student movement, is defined by people with more political power, which has a drastically different meaning than what was expressed by the students during protests.

CHAPTER 6

MEDIATIZING HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES: DISCOURSES

ABOUT QUALITY ASSURANCE IN THE MEDIA⁸

“The ascendancy of neoliberalism and the associated discourses of ‘new public management’, during the 1980s and 1990s has produced a fundamental shift in the way universities and other institutions of higher education have defined and justified their institutional existence. The traditional professional culture of open intellectual enquiry and debate has been replaced with an institutional stress on performativity, as evidenced by the emergence of an emphasis on measured outputs: on strategic planning, performance indicators, quality assurance measures and academic audits” (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 313).

As I have illustrated in the previous chapters, the 2011 Chilean student movement demanded “free quality education for all” (Educación gratuita y de calidad para todos). Quality seems to be a valued concept in the education system. When governments promote a reform, quality is presented as the desired horizon. Students, teachers, and parents are also asking for quality education. The media are also part of this chorus that calls for quality. However, this concept has been problematic in the neoliberal educational context, because quality has been associated with the new public-private management that has intensified market

⁸ This chapter is partly based on my accepted manuscript of the article Mediatizing higher education policies: Discourses about quality education in the media, published as the version of record in *Critical Studies in Education*, 2014. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17508487.2014.947300#.VVMUn41wZ9M>
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practices in education, where “education is represented as an input–output system which can be reduced to an economic production function” (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 324). Using this logic, quality is exclusively related to control, accountability, standardized tests, efficiency, among other neoliberal trademarks. For Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001), the production and circulation of this “new planetary vulgate” are produced mainly by the media. Thus, quality is a mediatized educational concept.

In the globalized education field (Lingard, Rawolle, & Taylor, 2005), quality assurance in higher education has “become the marker of distinction for the performative university competing in international markets” (Blackmore, 2009, p. 858). As education has been understood as a commodity in current neoliberal times, universities must increase their value in a competitive market. Hence, quality assurance works as a marketing device (Vidovich, 2002), providing symbolic capital to institutions. In order to achieve better positions in the educational market, different consultants, advisors and agencies provide quality assurance services. This generates networks of educational actors that cluster around institutions changing practices and imposing market rules. In many cases, the work of these agents increases privatization and outsourcing in education, altering also the governance of these institutions (Ball, 2009). Quality assurance in education is one of the dominant discourses imposed in this new type of governance, which includes the mainstream media.

As I have shown, the media operate in different contexts of education policy production (Wallace, 1993), promoting particular definitions and solutions

of educational problems and pressuring policy makers to steer certain reforms (Lingard & Sellar, 2013). For instance, in Chapter 4, I have described how during the 2011 Chilean student movement, the most influential newspapers were active participants of the public discussion of education, contesting the students' demands and promoting the market-oriented education system in the country. This student movement denounced the privatization of higher education and the multiples flaws of this sector, which included corruption scandals during the quality assurance certification process of several private universities. This debate was intensively covered by the media that also participated, through their editorials pages, in the public discussion about quality assurance. The media published the opinions of diverse educational agents, such as rectors (presidents) of universities, who tried to impact the new legislature about quality assurance in higher education that was discussed after the student movement.

In order to analyze discursively this mediatized debate about quality assurance, this chapter presents a critical-political discourse analysis of the editorials published by *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* and the columns published by three of the most relevant university presidents in the country: the rectors of the *Universidad de Chile* (University of Chile), *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile* (Pontifical Catholic University of Chile) and the *Universidad del Desarrollo* (University of Development).

These agents are situated in different positions in the education field and each represents a particular sphere of interest in Chilean education: a public university, a traditional private university, and a new private university. Their

discourses, therefore, have different points of views about education and quality assurance. This contextual and institutional factor is important, because “the successful spread of an idea such as external quality assurance would be dependent on the characteristics of the idea and the context to which the idea is exposed” (Stensaker, 2011, p. 762). For this reason, this debate was political in nature, because each university played a political role in the definition of higher education policies in the country.

In the next section of this chapter, I describe, through empirical examples, the discursive character of quality assurance in education. Then, I discuss the context of the discourses analyzed and I lastly present the critical-political discourse analysis of the editorials and columns. Since mobilized students put the issue of quality in higher education on the agenda, this chapter illustrates their impact on the public discussion of education.

The Discursive Character of Quality Education

The discourses of quality assurance in higher education are part of a “global discursive flow” (Appadurai, 2013). In this flow, quality is presented as a neutral term in education, but it has powerful effects on the education field’s practices. Quality assurance procedures regulate, control, standardize and discipline the practices of educational agents. It is a form that is called in Foucaultian terms, the “technology of governmentality” (Suspitsyna, 2010). Quality assurance in higher education has also been described as an “ideological construct that is evident in discourses, which themselves are inter-woven within networks” (Filippakou, 2011, p. 16). These discourses that cluster around quality

assurance are: accountability, assessment, managerialism, student satisfaction, efficiency, improvements, markets/consumers, among others (Filippakou, 2011, p. 20). With this rhetoric repertory, quality assurance has become a dominant discourse in the higher education sector in different countries⁹ (Grek, Lawn, Lingard, & Varjo, 2009).

Quality assurance has been studied discursively. For example, Gillies (2008) analyzed how equality and quality are represented and mixed in UK education policy texts. This conflation jeopardizes the possibilities of building a more egalitarian system, because the construction of “quality is about endeavouring to make all aspects of educational provision of an equally high standard; it is not about endeavouring to adjust educational provision to meet the aims of egalitarianism” (p. 690). For instance, the narrow view of equality and the dominant position of quality in one policy text analyzed reaffirm the current “neo-liberal managerialist ideology”, because “the emphasis within the document on universally consistent levels of provision for all has much more to do with quality assurance, with consistency of ‘product’ than with any sense of social transformation” (Gillies, 2008, p. 690-691).

This same logic functions in the quality assurance policies in Australia. Applying Critical Discourse Analysis, Reid (2009) examined the *Australian Universities Quality Agency: Audit manual*. In this text, the ‘audit culture’ operates to transform universities into businesses. In this case, an ideally high-

⁹ To illustrate the current importance of quality assurance in a globalized education field, Stensaker (2011) indicates that in the US the number of accreditation bodies increased from 20 in the 1950s to 81 in 2008, and that year “there were 51 accreditation and external evaluation agencies in Europe” (p. 757).

quality university is depicted as a competitive business in the international marketplace of knowledge. Accountability is the main concept in this new type of management. This term is the base of the rhetoric analysis conducted by Suspitsyna (2010), who studied how recent education programs in the US constructed accountability as “a sacred language” that “legitimizes market-oriented forms of accountability and deems inadequate those practices that rely on the professional authority of educators and academics” (p. 577). These discourses have power effects in the practices of the education field.

Critical-Political Discourse Analysis

As I have described in Chapter 2, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in education is interested in the study of power relations beyond the classroom, situating the analysis in the socio-political context of education. In order to increase the contribution of CDA to the analysis of political discourse, Fairclough and Fairclough (2011; 2012) propose a model that focuses on the argumentative structure of texts. This argumentative scheme is configured by “practical reasoning,” which involves:

arguing in favour of a conclusion (claim) that one should act in a particular way as a means for achieving some desirable goal or end. Thus, practical reasoning takes a goal (for example, something you want) as a major premise and a means–goal conditional proposition as a minor premise and concludes that, given the goal and given that a certain action is the means to achieving that goal, the action in question should be performed.

(Fairclough & Fairclough, 2011, p. 246)

Political discourse is characterized by practical reasoning embodied in practical arguments. Focusing on arguments involves paying attention to power relations, because arguments “*provide people with reasons for acting in particular ways*” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 3, emphasis in original). It is an act of power insofar that arguments have a material impact on social life. According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), an argument is constituted by claims and premises in order to justify or refute other claims and conclusions, but are also used to persuade an audience. These authors propose to study “practical arguments” that are plausible arguments, where conclusions are inferred from premises and “agents come up with a claim for action as a presumptive means to an end or goal” (p. 39). Their proposal understands circumstances and goals of practical arguments as premises. Then, it is necessary to identify goals as *future state of affairs*, which is an imagined future by agents. The goals involve certain actions, but these actions are not independent of the set of values of agents. These values are related to the circumstances of agents, who are exposed to different reasons or counter-arguments, but it must be noted that agents are also constrained by institutional facts (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, pp. 44-48).

In an argument, agents express a certain course of action mediated by concerns, wishes, or needs. The achievement of the goal proposed in an argument depends on specific circumstances (the context of the action). An action is also characterized by values that cannot be ignored in the accomplishment of the goal. For example, in a broad political discourse about education, the right to education

was established in 1948 as an inherent part of the Declaration of Human Rights in order to provide mandatory instruction and literacy to people (McCowan, 2010). The argument was that education was necessary to keep peace and foster development in the post-war world, meaning the goal was peace and economic development after a devastating war. The political circumstances of this argument were a weak Europe and a strong US and Russia. Moreover, the Cold War entailed different notions of the ways of providing education (e.g. the role of a centralized State or the primacy of the market). The values of the socialist and capitalist regimes were completely different in regards to education, but both maintained mandatory education as a desired future state of affairs, which can be identified as the goal of this political discourse. This can be seen as a practical argument about education in a specific historical context.

Practical arguments indicate lines of actions and possible consequences, but also negative consequences. Negative consequences can be interpreted as counter-arguments (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). When agents balance positive and negative consequences, they deliberate about the best course of actions and decisions. In this deliberation, discourses incorporate alternative practical arguments. Political actors try to impose their own views or values, rejecting opposite claims. Deliberation is about goals and means. Under this approach, political discourses about quality assurance in the Chilean media were analyzed.

Mediatized Higher Education Policy Discourses

Following van Dijk (1997b), Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) state that

political discourse must be situated in a political context, where political actors are recognized in their roles and institutions and organizations “engaged in political *processes* and *events*” (p. 17, emphasis in original). In the study of the public discourses about higher education quality assurance, I argue that this debate was political in nature, because different educational policy actors were part of the struggle over the meanings and values about education. These actors developed several strategies to achieve their goals. One of them was the argumentative repertoire of their discourses. In a political debate about educational policies, arguments enact different courses of actions (e.g. increasing the number of private schools, reducing public spending in education, controlling educational actors with standardized requirements, etc.). These arguments are based on certain worldviews, values, and ideological positions. In the case of the Chilean education public debate, educational policy agents produced and circulated discourses in order to change in a particular direction or maintain the current state of the education system. For this reason, I utilized critical and political discourse analysis in this study.

As I have explained in Chapter 2, I consider that the media are educational agents in the mediatization of education policies (Hattam, Prosser, & Brady, 2009). This process means that the media are playing a crucial role in education policy studies, because “few policies [are] being produced without accompanying media releases and advertising campaigns... Consequently, it would be unwise to ignore the effect that media has on the strategies of education policy agents” (Rawolle, 2010, p. 21).

I argued in Chapter 4 that the media must be considered a political actor in the public discussion about education, because they have a position about social issues and control the debate, extending or reducing the presence of certain voices in the public sphere. In education, the media depict ideological notions of schools, teachers, educational policies, and students among other issues (Blackmore & Thorpe, 2003). Moreover, educational advertising is a significant source of economic revenue for the media. In the case of Chile, the higher education sector, especially private universities and institutes, is an important advertiser for printed press. Thus, the media have political and economic links with certain discourses in education, which must be considered in a political discourse analysis.

The authorities of educational institutions are also part of this public debate. They mediatized their positions about educational policies in order to influence the definitions and solutions of education problems. They are active participants in the public discussion of education, mobilizing political resources, education discourses, and symbolic capital. Analyzing their discourses allows seeing the “*institutional location*” that is understood as the position of the speaker in terms of their social authority (Foucault, 1972, as cited in Rose, 2012, p. 220, emphasis in the original). Therefore, their discourses must be critically analyzed, because this meaning-making process entails specific notions of education and its role in society.

In this study, the texts were purposively selected to analyze the discourses of different educational actors considering their social positions and power in the fields of education and the media. As I have mentioned, *El Mercurio* and *La*

Tercera control the public agenda in Chile and they represent sites of production of dominant discourses in the country. They are the most influential political newspapers. Therefore, they are privileged platforms of production and circulation of public discourses about education. Indeed, the public debate about the new law for quality assurance took place in their pages. They published columns by the rectors of the *Universidad de Chile* (University of Chile), *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile* (Pontifical Catholic University of Chile) and the *Universidad del Desarrollo* (University of Development).

These rectors represented institutions with different stances in the education field. The *Universidad de Chile* (University of Chile) is the most prestigious public research university in the country, founded in 1842. *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile* (Pontifical Catholic University of Chile) is the most prominent private-traditional university in Chile, established in 1888. Both of them have been dominant universities in the higher education system, participating actively in the definition of policies in education. On the contrary, the *Universidad del Desarrollo* (University of Development) is a new selective and elitist private university, created in 1990 after the neoliberal education reform was implemented under the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet in the 1980s. This university is controlled by a powerful economic group and their students are from a high socio-economic enclave (Mönckenberg, 2007); therefore, the media discourses analyzed depict different political points of view about the education system in Chile.

The context of these discourses is the debate produced after the 2011 student movement, which accused some private universities of receiving economic returns despite the fact that these institutions are not-for-profit organizations by law. The quality of these universities was seriously questioned due to their operations as businesses. In order to receive public funding from the state, universities must be accredited by the National Accreditation Commission. A scandal involving corruption occurred when a legal investigation accused the president of this Commission of being an external advisor to institutions that were in the accreditation process. Some private universities paid him in order to guarantee their accreditation. The government reacted presenting a reform on the accreditation and quality assurance system in higher education. This announcement was made on December 20, 2012. On the days that followed, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* commented about this reform on their editorial pages and published columns by the rectors of the *Universidad de Chile* and the *Universidad del Desarrollo* (in *La Tercera*), and *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile* (in *El Mercurio*).

The Quality Assurance Debate

This discourse analysis addressed two research questions: 1) What were the practical arguments in the media political debate about quality assurance in higher education? 2) How was quality in higher education constructed discursively in Chile's most influential newspapers? In order to answer these questions, in this section the practical arguments of each editorial and column is reconstructed. Following Fairclough and Fairclough's (2011; 2012) approach

presented above, a practical argument is constituted by claims, circumstances, means-goals, and values/concerns premises. In general, these types of arguments are presented “in a problem–solution context. Typically, argumentation starts with a description of the situation as a ‘problem’ and tries to find a ‘solution’ to (a ‘means’ of) overcoming the problem” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2011, p. 246). In this case, the political problem is the quality assurance flaws denounced by the 2011 student movement and the corruption scandal in the National Accreditation Commission. The actual context of the texts is the proposal made by the government (December 20, 2012) to reform the quality assurance system in higher education.

Editorial 1: *Changes in University Accreditation*, published in *El Mercurio*, December 25, 2012, p. A3

Claim (solution): To avoid excessive regulations and state control in education.

Through an accreditation and quality assurance system, the state takes upon its shoulders the responsibility to guarantee students a minimum in quality standards, something that it is not in position to do.

Circumstance (problem): The current quality assurance system has failed. The (right-wing) government inherited these problems from the (center-left) previous administration.

The president (Sebastián Piñera) has announced a draft bill that will completely change the current university accreditation system. “We have inherited a dreadful quality assurance system for higher

education”, he said. After the recent experiences it will be very difficult for someone to say the opposite.

Goals: Restore the public trust in the accreditation system

The old system, although it was the result of a prolonged national debate that took place over several years, in which the most distinguished academic members participated, as well as authorities and members of the parliament at the time, does not guarantee academic responsibility. People no longer trust this system since it has seriously abused its power. The country is aware that several things have happened, ranging from extortion by those who managed the state (accreditation) commission, to corrupt practices that allowed for the violation of the law.

Values or Concerns: Guarantee public-private provision of education services. Reduce the presence of the state in the regulations in order to preserve the “diversity of the system”.

In the previous debate (when the system was created), it was suggested that the state could provide guarantees, control systems with rigid standards that would be established by taxing institutions, which would lead to random uniformity criteria against the diversity of the system. Indeed, the first reaction to the scandals, from both the government and the opposition party, has justly been to strengthen accreditation, making it mandatory, with

greater consequences and, possibly, with more precise and rigid standards.

Means: Incorporation of international agencies in the accreditation processes.

Some guidelines that have been exposed include the opening of international accreditation agencies, something that is clearly positive for the Chilean system. The few experiences that have taken place so far have been extremely valuable.

Editorial 2: *Proposal for Revising the Accreditation System*, published in *La Tercera*, December 22, 2012, p. 83

Claim (solution): Abolish the current quality assurance system, but the new system must guarantee information and not quality.

The corruption scandals in which the National Accreditation Commission has emerged and the problems that the system created in 2006 exhibit the call for its definitive termination. In this sense, the government has made a valid decision by choosing to terminate this commission. However, the orientation that the reform takes rests on the same mistaken assumption, which is the assumption that accreditation guarantees quality, instead of assuring the minimum requirements of reliable operation and information of each university institution.

Circumstance (problem): Multiple state regulations.

The set reform creates multiple regulations and mistakenly aspires to, once again, accredit quality: it establishes the obligatory nature

of licensing, it makes mandatory the accreditation of the university and, at least, four of its academic programs, and it stipulates previous authorizations in order to open new programs.

Goals/Mean: Assure minimum standards and provide reliable information about institutions.

On the contrary, it is required to define the minimum standards for an institution to offer academic programs and degrees, assuring that these standards are strictly achieved, so that from this point onwards several quality levels are generated according to the reform of each institution, where some would be massive and more related to vocational training, and others closer to research.

Values or Concerns: Repetition of past flaws.

Although they are well intended and have the merit to take charge of a scandal that has impacted the public's opinion, changes proposed by authorities run the risk of intensifying existing issues. The control reflex that inspires them will not necessarily help to create a certification that is truly useful to reach a rather good higher education standard. It must not be forgotten that the system –which is only six years old– that that aspires to correct these problems was praised by different fields that saw it as key to assure quality not that long ago. The truth is that the experience of the National Accreditation Commission shows that the fixation on new

and more demanding formal standards does not always help to reach a specific goal.

As sites of discourse production for the elite, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* defend the subsidiary role in Chilean neoliberal education, trying to limit the state presence in the higher education system. They call to avoid over-regulation, stimulating liberty and freedom to choose, a rhetorical and political neoliberal commonplace (McCarthy, 2011). Nevertheless, they draw two different paths to achieve this goal. On the one hand, *El Mercurio* argues in favor of a political debate and general arrangement in the system. On the other hand, *La Tercera* discusses the notion of quality in higher education. This is the most interesting argument, because this newspaper defines quality as a process to generate appropriate and valid information. This information allows parents and students to make decisions about the institutions in the system. Thus, quality is reduced to a set of minimum standardized aspects that summarize the universities' operations. Therefore, quality can work as a marketing device (Vidovich, 2002). Both newspapers defend the incorporation of private agencies in the provision of quality assurance services. Following Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), the editorials of these newspapers *provide reasons to act* in certain ways in the quality assurance system. They are acting as a political actor in higher education, where their *future state of affairs* in the higher education sector is flexible and

self-regulated. Hence, quality is the logical consequence of a market-oriented system.

Column 1: *A New Accreditation for Higher Education*, by Ignacio Sánchez, rector of *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile*, published in *El Mercurio*, December 23, 2012, p. A12

Claim (solution): Mandatory and transparent process of certification for all institutions. Accreditation for 6 years or 3 years when universities have problems.

The process (of accreditation) must be transparent and mandatory for every higher education institution. The number of years of accreditation must be a period related to the length of a student's program of study (a 6 year-long period would be suitable), with a conditional approval of no less than three years for the institutions that do not achieve the standards in the initial process. If at the end of this deadline the deficiencies persist, accreditation must be denied, allowing for the possibility to appeal to the National Education Council.

Circumstance (problem): The need to change the system due to a new educational context.

In the last few weeks the accreditation of higher education institutions has experienced an enormous repercussion in the media due to the irregularities and felonies that the rectors and directive board members of the National Commission for Accreditation have been involved in.

It is a fact that the past Quality Assurance System... was a significant improvement in regards to this situation. Nevertheless, the growth and complexity of the system challenges us to make severe changes.

Goals: Update the quality assurance system in higher education. Establish a superintendence of higher education.

All this work (of quality assurance) requires installing a suitable control system through the creation and implementation of a higher education superintendence, a project that has been in the works in parliament for over a year.

Values or Concerns: Provide information to families to make decisions and exercise their freedom to choose. Transform the crisis into an opportunity of improving quality and equity in higher education.

It is fundamental to ensure that the information that families and applicants receive is true, available and convenient, so that the decisions they make are free and informed. We must transform this institutional crisis of higher education accreditation into an opportunity for its renovation under the current standards that today represent the minimum requirement by the system. A great effort to improve the quality and equity of higher education is what society demands.

Means: Participation of international and national private agencies in the provision of quality assurance services. Accreditation based on outcomes and not

processes, incorporating the opinions of employers about the work productivity of the alumni.

If this is the case, assessment from national and foreign private agencies should be permitted, certified by its quality, where the assignment of its tasks would be specified by the agency, and not by the institution being evaluated, as it currently is. Accreditation for degrees such as Medicine and Pedagogy should still be mandatory; in fact, quality requirements should be increased.

Accreditation must measure results and not just processes, thus an assessment test on graduation, employers' opinion on productivity of alumni, and graduate tracking after they have departed should be a fundamental aspect of its work.

Column 2: *Ensure Quality and Respect the Law*, by Víctor Pérez, rector of the *Universidad de Chile*, published in *La Tercera*, December 23, 2012, p. 42

Claim (solution): Establish a superintendence of higher education that supervises quality education, the material capacity of universities, universities' operations, and the enforcement of the not-for profit law in higher education.

As it currently stands, there is an agreement in the country to establish a higher education superintendence, and not a higher education consumer rights service.

This superintendence must guarantee students: a) that the education that is given by an institution assures quality in regards to the education the students are going to receive and that it

provides the infrastructure, equipment and human resources that the students' vocational training requires; b) that the university, to ensure its viability and quality, is the owner of its assets and that it reinvests all of its surpluses in favor of the students themselves and of the quality of education that the university gives; c) that the higher education institutions are supervised in an independent and efficient manner, so that the correct functioning of the system and the quality of the educational activities given are guaranteed, and thus the quality of graduated professionals; and d) that the law that forbids profit in universities is enforced.

Circumstance (problem): Deregulation produced by the neoliberal education reform. Subsidiary role of the state. Proliferation of low-quality private universities.

The higher education system in Chile is deregulated. Since 1990, with the Education Constitutional Organic Law, one of the last initiatives approved by the dictatorship was to allow for the creation of new private universities that proliferated without establishing minimum shield mechanisms that would guarantee their quality and applicability, and limiting to the maximum state intervention, leaving the self-regulation of activities to the owners of these universities, for the sake of autonomy. Currently, none of this has changed.

Goals: Ensure quality in higher education.

Only if these basic features are contemplated by the law, will the superintendence be able to ensure the quality of education, safeguard law enforcement and leave behind authorities' statements that for years have pointed out that "we do not have the power to participate." It is only today, when they have felt both social and political pressure that they have mysteriously found in the legal order the facility to intervene and have actually started to do something.

Values or Concerns: Transparency and respect for the law.

As with state universities, the General Comptroller of the Republic must regulate the use and management of the entire public resources that private universities directly or indirectly receive, which must be under the law for transparency; and the transactions using public resources, which belong to every Chilean citizen, must be extended via the Public Market Portal.

In the current scenario, there is no reason for evident profit situations in private universities to still be tolerated, these derived from the false application of a law that explicitly forbids it, to be left without regulation and penalties whatsoever. Even more when it is done using tax resources and when there is still no law that regulates lobby and its information traffic, interests and/or money.

Means: Prohibition of outsourcing between companies with the same owners of the universities.

This is why it must be forbidden for societies (real state agencies, of professionals, among others) related to private universities controllers, or their family members, to profit, whether it is through concluded contracts among them or through money loans from the universities to related business companies, without interest charges.

Column 3: *Quality, Innovation, and Competition*, by Federico Valdés, rector of the *Universidad del Desarrollo*, published in *La Tercera*, December 23, 2012, p. 42

Claim (solution): Autonomous superintendence of higher education to promote quality, innovation and competition.

The higher education superintendence must have an important degree of autonomy, so it is not under the pressures of the current government. Furthermore, it must be part of a system that encourages the quality of teaching, competence and innovation; one that has a general outlook and does not differentiate between private and state universities.

Circumstance (problem): Discrimination between public and private universities. Private universities unfairly criticized.

Unfortunately, the topic related to the superintendence has been hoisted by some people who do not believe in the value of the private initiative in higher education, as a way of hindering the

institutions that have come to strengthen the system in the last decades.

Goals: Recognize the role of new private universities in society and their contribution to innovation and competition in the system. Restore the trust in private universities.

The contribution these (new private) universities lies precisely in their creativity and innovation capacity; in their boldness to question the models of the existing universities in Chile and in their willingness to do things differently, looking at what is going on in the most innovative educational centers in the world.

A positive aspect of the creation of this superintendence is that it will help to restore the trust in a system that, although it works well, has been unjustly attacked as a whole, because of the transgressions of certain authorities that we all know, and that undoubtedly deserve to be banned.

Values or Concerns: Protect the private initiative in education and freedom of education. Avoid too many state stipulated regulations.

It is also important that it respects and promotes freedom of education and choice in a university system that is still undergoing a strengthening process. Therefore, it should be an organism that collaborates with the development of the institutions and not suffocates it instead. This new institutionalization must be in

charge of the current diversity that exists nowadays and of the fact that more than half of the students are in new universities.

Means: Allow businesses between companies with the same owners of these universities, depending on market prices.

In addition, it is important that this new controlling organism puts an end to the speculations about what is permitted and what is not. It needs to make clear, once and for all, that the transactions with related companies –such as the ones every private and state university in Chile have– are legal when they are set and valued at market prices, but that they should be revealed for the sake of transparency.

The columns by the rectors also illustrate how the *institutional location* influences the agents' discourses. All rectors agree with the creation of a superintendence of higher education, but they promote different missions and objectives for this new institution. The rector of *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile*, a private-traditional university, gives a detailed structure of the superintendence for guaranteeing transparency and valid information. Rector Sánchez agrees with *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* in the incorporation of private agencies in the certification. However, he disagrees with the newspapers about the role of the state and he demands the increase of standards in quality assurance. The notion of quality in his column is defined in terms of outcomes rather than process. Therefore, quality is associated with accountability more than evaluation.

Mixing quality with accountability is a common characteristic in an “audit culture” (Apple, 2007).

In this case, quality, accountability, and improvement are presented as synonyms. However, evaluation “for improvement focuses on identifying what worked, how and why it worked, and how performance can be improved. Evaluation for accountability focuses on the processes and outcomes: the visible and the measurable, tracking the paper trails to predetermined outcomes” (Blackmore, 2009, p. 861). In this case, this audit is also made by employers. Thus, “good” education is functional to the labor market. Rector Sánchez demands a typology of university, because there are research universities and colleges in Chile, but they are all called universities without distinguishing the educational role. In this case, Sánchez uses his role as a rector of a research university to exert pressures on the political system due to the social prestige and symbolic capital of his institution. For Sánchez, the crisis is an opportunity to improve quality and equality in education, but he does not define the terms of this equality, overlapping its meaning with quality. This “phenomenon of discursive conflation results in quality tending to absorb or subsume equality” (Gillies, 2008, p. 691). Thus, equality works only as an abstract aspiration, because the material product of this discursive construction is the standardized results of a process based on programs-outcomes, which is summarized as quality in higher education.

The two columns published in *La Tercera* are an actual political debate rather than an educational debate. The rectors of the *Universidad de Chile*, Víctor

Pérez, and of the *Universidad del Desarrollo*, Federico Valdés, are represented by the newspaper as opponents. Their columns are published on the same page, offering two radical positions about quality in education. However, they do not discuss quality; rather, they discuss the public and private role in education. First, Pérez situates the origin of the crisis in the neoliberalization of education during in the early 1990s. This is the political context of the educational debate in Chile, but it was ignored in the editorials and in Sánchez and Valdés' columns. On the contrary, rector Pérez indicates that neoliberal promoters reduced the role of the state in education and the result is a deregulated system where some private universities only make businesses rather than provide "good" education. Thus, quality assurance is related to the role that the state plays in the system, controlling the universities' operations.

The historical demand of the *Universidad de Chile* has been to increase public funding from the state. Currently, it receives only 14% of its budget from the state. It has to be financed with degree fees, passing the financial burden on to its students. For this reason, Pérez asks for more requirements to access public funding in efforts to avoid competition for these resources among more participants. He demands transparency in the system and the regulations of lobbies, because in his opinion some private universities use their political and economic connections to steer policies in higher education. His main claim is to impede the for-profit spirit in higher education, which is prohibited by law, but some universities receive returns due to illegal economic maneuvers. In order to achieve this goal, Pérez proposes an array of procedures conducted by the

governmental agency (especially, surveillance over academic and economic operations). Thus, for Pérez, quality is a public domain that only the state can guarantee. He reduces quality to a public bureaucracy that implements a “ritual of verification” (Blackmore, 2009, p. 861). However, it is clear that quality, as a topic, is an excuse to discuss the role of the state in education.

In this vein, Valdés, the rector of the *Universidad del Desarrollo*, uses his column to defend the contribution of new private universities to the higher education system. Valdés accuses an unfair social criticism against these institutions. His main argument is that these institutions are the “incarnation” of the freedom of education. Their characteristics are being flexible, innovate, competitive, efficient, and modern. On the contrary, public universities are inefficient and bureaucratic. New private universities, including his university, are primary examples of the concept of a “global modern university.” Rather than talking about quality, Valdés is selling a type of university that connects with “economic and vocational goals” (Potts, 2012, p. 159). His defense is about the private initiative in education. In this sense, the state must act only in the provision of funding in equal proportions for all institutions, without distinguishing between private or public universities.

Moreover, the regulation of the system must be situated in the market where economic competition is key, not in the state, following neoliberal logic. As Olssen and Peters (2005) indicate, “increased competition represents improved quality within neoliberalism” (p. 326). Thus, quality is represented as a market product based on innovation, competition, and flexibility. In this column, research

or teaching as concepts are not present in the definition of quality, which is treated as the result of market-oriented operations. With this rhetoric strategy, quality is recontextualized, which means an “appropriation of an external discourse which may be incorporated into the strategies pursued by particular groups of social agents within the recontextualized field” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 83). Through recontextualization, dominant discourses are internalized or inculcated in social fields, as the current use of quality assurance in the new governance of education illustrates.

Final Remarks

As the reconstruction of practical arguments has shown above, educational agents developed different argumentative strategies to promote particular views of quality assurance in education. This is a political debate where power is operating, because each agent provides reasons to act in a given direction. The rectors and the newspapers reacted to the governmental proposal of modifying the accreditation system. The general agreement is the quality assurance system must be reformed. However, they have discrepancies in the ways of solving the problem and they define the problem in different ways, depending on their institutional location.

The discursive construction of quality assurance is ambiguous and its definition depends on the institutional location of education agents. Like accountability, quality in education is “both a ‘cherished concept’ and a ‘chameleon’, with contested meaning because of its financial, ethical, legal and normative dimensions” (Blackmore, 2009, p. 861). Quality is assumed as a

neutral concept without effects on educational practices. This reductionism entails the subordination of pedagogic rationality and the supremacy of punitive and audit rationality. Evaluation is exerted to apply sanctions or to consecrate practices in a “ritual of verification” (Blackmore, 2009, p. 861). Therefore, quality assurance can work as a “marketing device” (Vidovich, 2002, p. 399) or as an excuse to discuss the roles of the state and the private initiative in education.

In this public-private debate of quality assurance, there are two political stances present that characterize the debate about the accreditation processes in a globalized education field. For instance, in Europe and the US, the origin of accreditation was different in political terms. In the former, the underlying intention “was control of new ‘for-profit’ higher education providers... At the same time, a key concern driving the development of private accreditation schemes, particularly in the US, has been protecting higher education from intrusion and regulation by the public authorities” (Stensaker, 2011, p. 758). Following the latter position, neoliberal promoters demand a limited number of regulations to guarantee freedom of choose. Under this logic, quality assurance is a guide to help make decisions in the educational market. For this reason, the public debate about quality in Chilean education —a market-oriented system— is characterized by economic commonplaces: accountability, flexibility, standards, innovation, efficiency, and management, among others. With this argumentative repertory, education is seen as an “input-output calculation” (Ball, 2013, p. 104).

However, promoters of state regulations do not contend this notion of education, because they only reduce quality to state intervention. This view does

not recognize the changes in the governance of public bureaucracy, where the current state policies are administered mainly by experts who exert neoliberal governmentality, where “the authority of teachers and academics, who are the producers of professional and disciplinary knowledge, is superseded by bureaucratic authority in judging the validity of that knowledge” (Suspitsyna, 2010, p. 571). This scheme reproduces the traditional neoliberal power relations from the state and do not problematize the role of education in society. Thus, the new public management operates with neoliberal logic.

This chapter has shown the impact of the 2011 student movement on the public discussion of education and how a particular concept in education (quality assurance) is discursively constructed and mediatized by the mass media. Educational authorities are part of this production process, participating actively in the media debate of education. As such, in the following chapter, I illustrate how education journalists are also active participants in the mediatization of educational policies in Chile in the way that they choose experts and knowingly set an agenda when they publish their stories, showing great power dynamics between the media and how education is portrayed.

CHAPTER 7

MAKING EDUCATION NEWS: NEWSWORTHY CRITERIA IN THE MEDIATIZATION OF EDUCATION POLICIES

“News, however, cannot picture reality or provide correspondence to the truth.

News can only give, like the blip on a sonar scope, a signal that something is happening. More often it provides degenerate photographs or a pseudo-reality of stereotypes. News can approximate truth only when reality is reducible to a statistical table: sport scores, stock exchange reports, births, deaths, marriages, accidents, court decisions, elections, economic transactions such as foreign trade and balance of payments” (Carey, 2009, p. 59)

“They tried to manipulate me and I tried to manipulate them. Right? And it’s [a] parasitic relationship. The parasite is useful to ... the organism. But it’s still a parasite. And they know that.” (Stack, 2010, p. 112). In this way a former Canadian Minister of Education is defining his relationship with education journalists as mutual hypocrisy. Many educational policy makers hold this derogatory view in relation to journalists. However, as I have indicated in the previous chapters, the interaction between the education and media fields is a complex issue in the study of educational policies. The education media coverage is produced by specific agents: education journalists. These professionals report and develop stories that impact the field of education’s practices (Levin, 2004).

This process of newsmaking is a key subject in the current mediatization of education policies.

Considering the above, this chapter describes how education journalists fashion their newsworthy criteria. In the following section, the interaction between education and journalistic fields is illustrated through empirical examples. Next, I explain the characteristics of the journalistic field from a Bourdieuan perspective. I then present the major findings that emerge from a thematic analysis of the interviews.

Mediatized Education

As I have noted in Chapter 2, Rawolle (2010) understands the mediatization of educational policies as a practice, where agents in the journalistic and education fields perform different strategies changing the power relations in both fields. Each field contains particular logics of practice or ways of acting in the field. Education policy agents (government, policy makers, and education journalists, among others) develop diverse practices and strategies that impact on the education and media fields.

One of these strategies is the construction of media representation of educational agents. For instance, Blackmore and Thomson (2004) have analyzed the depictions of head teachers in media print in England and Australia. For these authors, “education is of interest to media because it is an area of high government expenditure, but also because it is most often seen to be the solution to a wider set of social and economic woes” (p. 302). They state that print media depict head teachers as the main actors responsible for the success or failure of

schooling system, increasing the pressure on them. Moreover, the media “seductively personalizes the policy agendas that produce competitiveness and divided schooling” (p. 316). This competitive character of education is also reinforced by the media coverage of international standardized tests. In her analysis of articles and editorials about the results of PISA and TIMSS published in national and local US newspapers, Stack (2007) found that in relation to bad results on such exams, the media provide recommendations made by businesses and government agencies without a critical examination of these as viable solutions. In addition, “bad teachers” are often blamed for poor results, contributing to their negative image.

In a similar type of work, Goldstein (2011) utilizes visual and textual material published in the *New York Times* and *Time Magazine* to analyze the depictions of teachers, teachers’ unions, and the implementation of NCLB during the Bush administration. She concludes that negative images of teachers’ unions were constructed. Teachers were presented as in opposition of NCLB and thus as opponents of better education. This author indicates that: “in the NYT articles that portrayed unions negatively, unions were consistently presented as too powerful, against school reform (and hence, against children), and as part of the status quo” (p. 558). One of interesting arguments of Goldstein (2011) was that education journalists are not prepared to evaluate the impact of an educational policy and they simplify reforms.

Ben Levin (2004), an influential education scholar and former Deputy Minister for Education in Canada, agrees with this critical view about the

coverage of education in the media. He describes his experience in the government, indicating that the media have “the tendency to oversimplify complex issues, the tendency to want to assign blame, and the tendency to neglect what is important in the long-term” (pp. 277-278). Using a parallel argument, Warmington and Murphy (2004) indicate that media coverage in the UK educational assessment results is “predictable, simplistic, ritualistic, and based upon long established media templates” (p. 299). A similar position is established by Rotherham (2008), who argues that journalists do not have the ability to judge the quality of educational research and that the media emphasize controversy.

Despite this critical opinion about the journalistic field, only some studies on the mediatization of educational policies have incorporated interviews with education journalists in order to analyze their professional routines (e.g. Blackmore & Thorpe, 2003; Stack, 2010). In one of these works, Stack (2010) interviews education journalists and education policy makers in Canada. Using Bourdieu’s concept of symbolic capital¹⁰ as an analytical concept, she concludes that the controversy between these agents is a product of their need of mobilization of symbolic capital in order to obtain recognition in their respective fields. However, this valuable study does not include a detailed description of the newsworthy criteria in education. In order to deepen on this issue, it is important to understand the characteristics of the journalistic field.

¹⁰ “*Symbolic capital* refers to degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration or honour and is founded on a dialectic of knowledge (*connaissance*) and recognition (*reconnaissance*)” (Johnson, 1993, p. 7, emphasis in original).

The Journalistic Field

The media and journalism have been fundamental in expanding the boundaries of knowledge as much as it was essential for the development of democracy and the modern state (Carey, 2007). The press helped to shape communities interested in public affairs, strengthening the processes of building a historical memory that the nation-state needed and designed what we now know as public sphere (Habermas, 1986). In this public sphere, power relations are stressed and negotiation between different stakeholders takes place. The media is involved, but also shapes public discussions. Therefore, the relationship between the press and power has become one of the most critical points in the practice of journalism, because there is a consensus on the positive impact of the free press on the strengthening of democracy. This notion of being an essential component of democracy unfolds strongly from mid-twentieth century, especially in the West, through a process of consolidation of journalism as a profession (Carey, 2007).

This understanding of journalism impacted the formation of the professional identity, which rested on a journalistic ideology defined by five core values: “public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy and ethics” (Deuze, 2005, p. 447). However, for Hanitzsch (2007), rather than understanding journalism as an ideology, he claims that there exists a journalism culture supported by “institutional roles, epistemologies, and ethical ideologies. These three constituents further divide into seven principal dimensions: interventionism, power distance, market orientation, objectivism, empiricism, relativism, and

idealism” (p. 371). This culture would explain the news decision-making process and the formation of professional identity of journalists.

Regarding the issues that would influence journalists’ decisions, Donsbach (2004) has classified four features of the newsmaking process: news factors, which refers to the traditional components of news (conflict, prominence, factuality, among others); institutional objectives that are related to status of the employment of journalists; the power of news sources who exert pressures and manipulate journalists; and finally, subjective beliefs, because the “journalist’s predispositions towards an issue or an actor can affect his or her news decisions” (p. 135). From a psychological approach, this author concludes that news decisions can be explained through a “need for social validation of perceptions and a need to preserve one’s existing predispositions” (p. 136). Following this premise, journalists would define what news is considering their own values and opinions about social events. However, abundant literature in journalism studies has shown that external influences, such as organizational, economic, political, and cultural factors, affect journalistic decisions (Benson, 2002; Benson & Hallin, 2007; Mellado, 2011). Newsmaking is a complex process that exceeds the professional identity and the definition of journalism itself.

Considering the above, Bourdieu’s theory of fields (described in Chapter 2) provides a valuable explanation of the field of journalism. The fields of cultural production and education were of importance in Bourdieu’s works (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964/2003); however, he did not dedicate attention to the journalistic field until the end of his career. In *On Television*, Bourdieu (1998) developed a

theoretical and critical evaluation of the field of journalism. This book was highly criticized by journalists and scholars who accused Bourdieu of simplifying the operations of the journalistic field, representing it as a homogenous category without particularities (Marliere, 1998). However, Bourdieu's work on journalism is an interesting sociological description of the journalistic field's practices.

According to Bourdieu (2005), journalism is a "very weakly autonomous field" (p. 33), because it depends on the economic field in the context of the commercialization of news production. Audience ratings, the struggle for advertising, and the precarious state of this profession determine the economic dependency of journalism. At the same time, paradoxically, journalism loses its independence from the economic field as it extends its influence over other fields of cultural production and politics. Bourdieu (1998) illustrates this point:

The journalistic field exercises power over other fields of cultural production (especially philosophy and the social sciences) primarily through the intervention of cultural producers located in an uncertain site between the journalistic fields and the specialized fields (the literary or philosophical, and so on). (p. 74)

For Bourdieu (1998, pp. 23-29), the characteristics of journalistic practices are the circular circulation of information (homogeneity of contents due to the competence among journalists and media); the permanent and structural amnesia of journalists (the value of newness, the de-contextualization of news, the lack of history of the events); the presence of 'fast thinkers' (pundits with habitual

presence in the media); the democratic demagogy (the influence of politicians and policy makers in the media), among others.

Rodney Benson (2006; 1998) has proposed the development of an analytical framework based on the theory of fields to examine the journalistic field. For Benson (1998), journalism is a part of the field of cultural production that contains small and large scales of production. Journalism is situated in the large-scale production, closer to political and economic powers in the field of power. The applications of field theory in the journalistic field involve examining the content, but also the production and reception processes and their interrelations with other social fields (Neveu, 2005). Precisely, I have studied the interrelations between media and education fields in the context of the mediatization of educational policies in Chile, examining the production process of education news in order to detect how journalists fashion their newsworthy criteria.

Education-Journalistic Agents

As I have described in Chapter 3, since the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990), Chile has developed a neoliberal system in different social spheres. The most evident example of free-market fundamentalism can be observed in the educational system. This process of marketization is also a characteristic of the current media system. This situation has produced homogeneous media coverage about the most important public debate in the country.

However, neoliberal education has been a common issue on the agenda of the mainstream media after the 2006 and 2011 student movements; both movements have altered the public debate about education in Chile. For example, Chilean printed media published 961 news reports only in June 2006, when the activities of the high school student movement were most intense (Domedel & Peña y Lillo, 2008). In 2011, during the university student movement, education was a media event in national and regional press (Gascón i Martín, 2012). Thus, education has become news events in the newsmaking process of the Chilean press, showing the ongoing mediatization of educational policies in the country.

In order to understand this newsmaking process in education, Chilean journalists were interviewed. The critical approach was used as the sampling scheme of the interviews, where “individuals, groups, or settings are selected that bring to the fore the phenomenon of interest such that the researcher can learn more about the phenomenon than would have been learned without including these critical cases” (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007, p. 112). Following this approach, I have utilized a purposeful selection of interviewees: only education journalists from printed and digital newspapers were considered as potential participants because this sector constitutes the main forum in the education policy discussion (Couldry, 2012). These media outlets —three printed and one digital located in Santiago, the capital— were reviewed in order to identify interviewees. I identified 10 education journalists and seven of them accepted to be interviewed. This sample is considered appropriate in a qualitative research that attempts to describe and understand the experiences of participants (Onwuegbuzie & Leech,

2007). The selected participants have at least one year of experience covering educational issues.

Semi-structured interviews were used and addressed the following topics: the news criteria used in education journalism, the relationship between the media and educational institutions, the role of journalists as educational actors, the definition and selection of news sources in the coverage of education, the restrictions in their professional work, and the editorial approach of the media in education coverage. The interviews lasted between 45 and 60 minutes.

Making Education News

The interviews were analyzed using an inductive critical thematic-discourse analysis approach. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), “thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within data.” (p. 79). Hence, themes encompass relevant aspects about the data. They are “general propositions that emerge from diverse and detail-rich experiences of participants and provide recurrent and unifying ideas regarding the subject of inquiry” (Bradley, Curry, & Devers, 2007, p. 1766). The inductive analysis of the interviews is made through a codification process that organizes the data directly from the terms used by participants. I have identified three categories about newsworthy criteria in education media coverage (professional definition – external influence – contextual disposition) and six general codes that cluster around them (holistic education – education policy capital – elitist domain – student movements – public relations in education – quantitative hegemony).

I consider major themes as nodal discourses that articulate the newsmaking process in education. In this case, I identify these discourses: journalistic logic in education news; power in the education field; and mediatized educational context. These discourses characterize the education media coverage according to the participants. For personal reasons or contractual restrictions of their employers, journalists requested anonymity. The presentation of results respects this agreement between researcher and participants. Personal or organizational information will not be disclosed in order to maintain confidentiality. Interviews were conducted in Spanish; therefore, excerpts from the interviews have been translated.

Following Bourdieu's works on journalism (1998; 2005), the journalistic field is a weak autonomous field, because the political and, above all, economic fields exercise powerful pressures to influence the logics of practices in the field of journalism. However, journalists interviewed for this study rejected this dependence on the newsmaking process of education news. According to them, the traditional journalistic logic defines the issues and the type of coverage in education. This professional disposition mainly includes public service and public interest. In this sense, the importance of the educational system for society, as a whole, demands media coverage. For these journalists, education has a 'holistic' character that justifies media attention. Education is a social sphere that includes all people, because the majority of the population attended schools and have children attending schools and universities. For example, a journalist explained:

You studied, your children are going to study, your parents studied, your neighbors studied, so in one way or another, education impacts us all. For example, every time the SIMCE (schooling standardized test) is given, there are 230,000 children involved in a single [educational] measurement. That means there are 80,000 families that are waiting for the results of SIMCE, from the parents to the siblings of the children who took the exam.

This illustrates that the journalistic value of “public service”, as Deuze (2005) indicates, is operating in the definition of education news. Therefore, an education event must contain this quality of public interest in order to transform it into education news. This logic of practice in the field of journalism is also characterized by other traditional news factors: conflict, prominence, and power. This trilogy of news factors, according to the journalists, can be observed mainly in the higher education sector in two elements: the enormous amount of money involved in the operations of tertiary educational institutions and the presence of powerful political and economic agents in their administration. Moreover, the 2011 student movement demanded radical changes in higher education sector due to its privatized nature, as I have described in Chapters 3 and 6. A journalist said:

For me, higher education has a greater importance because of the level of economic resources is extremely large. It is handled in a way that is distinctly different from the way in which primary and secondary school are handled. You also have many players that want to enter into the system. In addition, there are many rogues

that have been denouncing the system for some time. In fact, several Ministers of Education have been forced out due to the pressures of distinct groups, like the student movement.

Journalists agreed with the notion that the 2006 and 2011 student movements have played a crucial role in the education debate, which is one of the arguments in this dissertation. These movements extended the limits in the discussion of education. Education as a news event burst into the public sphere and with this phenomenon a particular category of news source has become relevant: the educational expert. Indeed, journalists indicated that experts in education are among the most recurrent sources in their newsmaking process. The government, authorities of educational institutions, and experts are the most common sources of the education media coverage.

In their professional routines, journalists establish their own criteria to decide how an expert can or cannot be a valid media source in education. Using a Bourdieuan approach (1998), pundits acquire symbolic capital in the education debate thanks to the selection process made by journalists. This symbolic capital can be understood as “educational policy capital” (Ladwig, 1994, p. 346), which determines the positions of the different agents in the field of education, considering their power, influence, credentials, and presence in the media. A journalist explained the criteria for being a valid expert source in education:

Prestige defines who may or may not talk about education in the media. In addition if a person has produced academically or has written papers on a given theme. Another aspect is if he or she has

experience in the field and if he or she is capable of making a more systemic analysis.

Moreover, experts must have media expertise if they want to be a usual source. This expertise is evaluated in terms of their capacity to explain difficult educational issues in a common sense language for a large audience, considering in addition the demanding deadline of the media. Experts with this internalized media logic are habitually cited by the journalists, who have a strong personal relationship with some of their sources. This relationship includes the 'pedagogical role' of the experts during the newsmaking process. When journalists have a complicated issue on their agenda, they call these recurrent experts searching for orientation and explanations. This knowledge interchange is based on the 'off the record' practice and mutual respect. However, this close relationship can affect the required professional detachment between journalists and sources, which is part of the journalistic culture (Hanitzsch, 2007). A journalist illustrated this relation with sources:

They always want to teach you and they are always very willing too. It is because sources, like old academics, have time, so they give you that time, and they send me papers. They suggest themes. I go to their offices to see them and we have breakfast or lunch and we talk about the themes.

Despite the fact that journalists assume this academic dependence, they are aware of the personal and political agendas of experts in the educational debate. Journalists do not believe in the objective character of educational agents,

because they think that the government, authorities, and academics have particular and ideological interests in education. Thus, their relationship with the educational sources is skeptical. For the interviewed journalists, there are not neutral agents in the public education debate. For example, experts try to mobilize their 'educational policy capital' in order to promote certain modifications in the field of education, "articulating policy agendas or politically building support for a particular educational policy or choosing to critique one or another policy agenda" (Ladwig, 1994, p. 345). A journalist indicated:

Here (in education) there isn't anyone that doesn't have an agenda. So here is one part of the situation. I believe that there isn't anyone in the system that doesn't have interests. If I talk with A or B, they are both going to have a hidden agenda: ending for-profit education, for example. The system is extremely small and you know what every one of the actors is thinking.

Therefore, journalists assume that educational agents compete for imposing their particular agenda and gaining presence in the media. They have strategies, tactics and symbolic resources to influence the field of education's practices through the media. With this, journalists recognize that the interactions between the education and media fields contain power relations and political interests. This is the second theme that emerges from the analysis.

The education and media fields are part of the field of power (Bourdieu, 1996). According to Swartz (2013), the field of power "is that arena of struggle among the different power fields themselves (particularly the economic and

cultural fields) for the right to dominate *throughout the social order*” (p. 62, emphasis in original). The mediatization of educational policies is an expression of this struggle, because presenting an issue in a particular media narrative affects the construction of social reality. As I have indicated in Chapter 4, media framing impacts the distribution of power in society, favoring certain social groups over others (Entman, 2007). Indeed, news itself “is a form of social regulation” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 84). Power is a key piece in the newsmaking process, because organizational and structural elements influence the definition of what education news can be reported and, finally, published. A journalist commented:

My director has a particular interest in education. He originally had a lot of interest in higher education. I think that he has his own political interests in education.

The journalists recognized that education is a particular issue of interest for their superiors and for the owners of the media where they work. They know the editorial orientation of their media, which in the majority of the cases does not always coincide with their own opinions about the education system. In this case, they resolve this discrepancy by evoking the journalistic culture defined by Hanitzsch (2007) in terms of their impartial and ethical professional work. They know that education is a sphere of political and economic dispute, where powerful agents have multiple and interrelated interests. In order to avoid editorial pressures, journalists try to balance the coverage using an ‘objective’ presentation of education news. A journalist described this newsmaking aspect:

If we are talking about the shared financing (parents pay an extra amount of money each month in voucher or subsidized schools) in elementary and secondary education, we interview people that are in favor of share financed schools, those that are studying shared financed schools and the people against shared financed schools. In this way, I have never had major problem in editorial terms.

However, the most evident proof of the importance of power relations in education coverage is when journalists talked about their audience. They recognized that they are writing for the political and economic elites that use the influential newspapers as a source of information and as a forum to discuss public affairs. Although initially journalists justified education media coverage as a matter of public interests that affects all people in the same way, they assumed that their target audience is the Chilean elite. For the journalists interviewed for this study, people in advantageous power and social positions are more interested in education issues than people with less power in society. Education news, hence, is an elitist topic produced especially for the elite. A journalist explained that:

The elite clearly have a great interest in education and that interest is even greater when it comes to higher education. The presence of the elite is accentuated in higher education, where you can obtain economic benefits much more quickly.

Thus, the newsmaking process is an 'elitist domain', which also includes governmental authorities, educational authorities, educational experts, student

leaders, and the education journalists themselves. The elite compete for controlling the circulation of policy ideas in a mediatized education policy process. The supposed open and public educational debate is shaped and regulated by a well-educated small sector of the population. This scheme reproduces the “circular circulation of information” that Bourdieu (1998) described as a practice in the field of journalism. A journalist exemplified this point:

We write for the Ministry, for the experts, who are at the same time the sources and part of the elite, for the educational system actors and for other media.

This elitist dialogue was deeply affected by the 2006 and 2011 student movements, as the journalists stated. This perception is also shared in the academic discussion about the effects of these movements. For example, regarding the 2006 high school student movement, Matear (2007b) indicates that “the protests secured substantial media coverage and appear to have provided the impetus for opening a full public debate on the future of education in Chile” (p. 67). I have argued in Chapter 4 that the elite social groups reacted to control the education policy agenda and, especially, the conservative media tried to contend the student demands in order to avoid structural changes in the Chilean educational system. However, the student movements overcame the limits of the public debate in education. This process of extension and discussion of policy ideas was possible, among other factors, thanks to the wider media coverage of the movements, showing the importance of the media in the analysis of education policy production. The next theme deals with this issue.

Among the changes produced by the 2006 and 2011 student movements in the public discussion of education, the proliferation of education news is one of the most significant. Indeed, some newspapers created special sections dedicated to education after the 2006 student movement. Education media coverage has been constant since that moment. This process has been accompanied by the growing interest of educational institutions in being part of this media coverage. Thus, the practices in the field of education are including the practices of the media field. Professional journalists are now staff members of the educational research centers and think tanks. They play an important role in the mediatization of educational policies, because they try to include their experts in media discussion of education. The journalists interviewed for this study recognized that there is an intensive public relations work in education. For example, they receive at least 10 press releases weekly from these institutions. Moreover, the public relation agents offer issues that can become education news. A journalist illustrated this point:

Universities are always offering you themes and seminars. They offer you many options because they want to offer you a theme so the name of their university appears in the media. It a way to advertise themselves. Sometimes I take these themes, but I change the focus of the theme given.

This marketing strategy from educational institutions is a logical consequence of the Chilean market-oriented education system, where institutions struggle to recruit students each year. These institutions use the media in order to

gain access to the public and show their work and importance in the educational debate. However, they do not receive equal media coverage, because journalists classify what universities or research centers can be valid sources of information. This hierarchy operates also as a newsworthy criterion, because if educational studies were conducted by these institutions their results can likely be published as news. Also, the educational experts who work for these universities or think tanks have more chances of being news sources. A journalist said:

The truth is that after many years, one knows who are the premium sources in education.

The quality of these ‘premium sources’ are mainly based on in their academic and expert knowledge and their political connections. They must be active participants in the public education policy discussion. Moreover, in the majority of cases, they must be quantitative researchers, because journalists need numbers and percentages to publish educational research as news. They justified their predilection for quantitative studies due to their objective to generalize results to the population. This newsworthy criterion in the journalistic field replicates a discussion in the field of education about the value of qualitative and quantitative research. For instance, Bush’s administration established that only experimental research in education could be considered scientific research in the US (Eisenhart, 2006). However, in the work of education journalists, this distinction is not a product of a political or epistemological stance; it is only a practical way of doing news in the national newspapers. A journalist explained:

I publish more quantitative studies than qualitative ones because the editors ask for percentages. The other day, some researchers called me to offer me a study that was really good. It was about the incorporation of students from low-resource areas into university, but they only interviewed 25 students and didn't indicate a national trend. I need something that is systemic.

This positivist view of education news rests on the premise that news reports are based on "impartial facts" and these facts can be represented by numbers. This 'quantitative hegemony' also explains why school or university rankings are commonly published as news. School rankings categorize private and public schools in different levels regarding their results in the national standardized tests. The media publish these rankings as 'objective' information about the current state of the educational system. However, journalists were critical of rankings and their competitive nature, but they justified the publication saying that many parents are interested in the results of their children's schools. Even, some journalists have received phone calls from parents asking for information about the performance of given schools.

Parents like to know where their school ranks, if their school did or did not improve, if their school passed from 10th to 9th place. Extensive reports have been done on the top ten schools, which are bilingual, because parents like to see where their kids placed and everyone calls you.

The 'best' schools, according to these rankings, are generally attended by students from a high socioeconomic status. Their parents are part of the elite and they want to see their schools in the media. Therefore, the media coverage in education is also part of the mobilization of symbolic capital of the elite.

Final Remarks

As interviewees illustrate, "making news is a heavily interpretative and constructive process, not simply a report of 'the facts'" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 85). Indeed, the newsmaking production in education is a dialectical process where different educational agents participate, trying to steer the media coverage to promote certain policy issues. Education journalists assume that there are no educational agents who are neutral or impartial in the public discussion of education. Hence, the public agenda in education is a site of struggle, where the practices of the fields of education and media are interrelated.

Power is evident in the selection of news sources. According to the analysis of the interviews, the 'valid' voices in the field are the governments, authorities of certain educational institutions and specific educational experts. The experts have "educational policy capital" (Ladwig, 1994, p. 346), which allows them to speak as a source of 'authentic' academic knowledge. Experts have acquired importance in the implementation and discussion of policies in different countries (Fairclough, 2003). In the public education policy discussion, their discourses constituted "regimes of truth" in Foucauldian terms (Foucault, 1980). They are authorities for the media, because they supposedly have the technical ability to explain the educational issues in a scientific and understandable manner,

but experts have political agendas and they represent certain ways of seeing the world (e.g. think tanks). Moreover, educational experts have the capacity to present and interpret numbers, which is an important criterion in the newsmaking process due to its quantitative predilection.

In Chile, the 2006 and 2011 student movements surged into the public sphere, changing the media coverage in education. This phenomenon has accentuated the mediatization of educational policies in the country and the newsmaking process has acquired the character of a political space of negotiation between different policy agents. Thus, education journalists have also become agents in this media discussion over education, showing their important role in the social construction of policy education discourses, which have been the main research object in this dissertation.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION: THE MEDIATIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

According to Argentina's former Minister of Education, Juan Carlos Tedesco, "The place where Chile holds its educational discussion is a particularity."¹¹ With this quote, the former Trans-Andean Secretary of State tried to illustrate that there are very few countries in which education is so intensely focused on by the public. This can be explained by the fact that education is one of the few places in Chile where it is still possible to have an ideological debate. This research has attempted to study this notion by looking at the interrelationship between education and media fields.

The 2011 student movement has been the most important social mobilization in Chile since the restoration of democracy in 1990. The students changed the public agenda, producing a national debate over the neoliberal education system implemented during Pinochet's dictatorship. This debate showed that education can be a sphere for political discussion, where the different actors produce and circulate discourses that reinforce or challenge the hegemonic neoliberal paradigm in Chile. These discourses are parts of a constant flow of meanings about education in the context of the circulation of ideas in the policy production process.

The mainstream media have become a space where ideas about education are contended, but the media establish the dominant position of certain ideas in the discursive struggle among the different educational agents. The media are a crucial actor in the definition of the discourses in the field of education, because

¹¹ Interview in the newspaper, *La Tercera*, August 18, 2014, pp. 20-21.

ideas in a field “do not work by floating freely, rather, they need to ‘become embedded in concrete communities of discourse’” (Wuthnow, 1989, p. 552, cited in Couldry, 2008, p. 385). The media evaluate, criticize and propose changes to education policies. This attitude entails a series of values and ideological tendencies that bear on the distribution of power in society. This process of mediatization extends education beyond the classroom, demanding focused attention on the political and social context of education.

As I have described in my dissertation, currently educational policies are discussed in, through, and by the media. For example, in Chapter 4, the most conservative and influential Chilean newspapers defended neoliberal ideas in education. In their editorials, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* called for gradual changes in the education system through an institutional agreement between the government and the opposition. This would neutralize the students’ political actions and their potential impact on the formal congressional debate. These changes, according to *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, should be oriented by the beliefs of the government of Sebastián Piñera, but grounded on technical and economic reasons. Only this rationality would guarantee “well-designed” education policies. With this, the discussion on education is void of political content and presented as an area of consensus. However, public policies are created to solve social problems, but these policies are more than a technical text. Public policies are defined discursively and spread ideologies, values, social meanings, power relations and particular interests (Bacchi, 2000).

The mobilized students in 2011 were also aware of the importance of the media for the success of the movement. As I have illustrated in Chapter 5, they utilized the digital social networks to contend the hegemonic neoliberal discourses displayed by the traditional media. In the case of Student Federation of the University of Chile (FECH), the increased use that this organization gave to its Facebook page was made on the basis of specific mobilization strategies, such as the call for marches, debates and conferences, in addition to permanently highlighting its opponents as responsible the conflict. However, the students also mediatized their movement through the new social media producing their own discourses about education and denouncing the flaws of the educational system.

One of these problems was the inaccurate procedures to regulate quality of higher education institutions. As I have shown in Chapter 6, after the 2011 student movement, the government announced a reform to change the quality assurance system. This proposal generated an intense media debate over quality education, where the media and educational authorities produced discourses to influence in the new set of regulations proposed by the government. In these media discourses of quality assurance, students, professors, teachers, and parents were excluded. Democratic accountability or democratic participation of education agents were not parts of these discourses. Quality assurance was discursively constructed as a domain for experts, who had to design and administer quality standards for all educational institutions and agents.

These procedures regulate and discipline, being a “form of power vested in scientific truths and measurements” (Ball, 2013, p. 80). Moreover, quality is

understood as a tool for increasing competition in the educational market, strengthening the entrepreneurial notion of education in a neoliberal global context. Thus, quality is transformed into an economic value more than an educational goal. In this process of re-contextualization of education, the media play a crucial role through the sophisticated construction of education news.

In Chapter 7, I have studied this newsmaking process. The journalists interviewed for this study recognized that media education coverage is a matter of interest for the elite, because education itself entails power relations and different positions in the social space. Therefore, education news is not only the material product of journalistic logic; education news is the product of an array of structural and organizational factors. The media, as companies, have political and economic interests in education. In a neoliberal system, educational institutions compete for recruiting students. In order to attract more attention, they use indirect marketing in media education coverage and buy direct advertising in the media. In Chile, educational advertising is an important source of revenue for the media. Moreover, the media have ideological positions that include a particular view about the educational system. In the case of the most influential Chilean newspapers, they support and promote a market-oriented structure in education. Therefore, journalistic logic is accompanied by an intricate network of powerful factors in news production.

For this reason, the public discussion over education must be addressed critically, in order to analyze how discourses and the views of them are

constructed. Given that education is one of the most relevant fields for a country's development, the discursive strategies around it must be understood.

In this sense, this research has reflected on the role of the media in the design, implementation and evaluation of educational policies. The media help shape the public sphere, where different sectors are trying to impose certain solutions to social problems. In the context of discussion about global educational changes, critical analysis of how these communicative spaces are articulated is essential.

As I have argued, the media are a constitutive of part modern society. As Appadurai (2003) points out, the notions of time and space, local and global identities and full-scale social relations have been impacted by the mass media. This media landscape, using one of his terms, is a feature of globalization due to the incessant flow of transnational information.

In the public sphere, a deliberative space is established, that characterized—in theory—a democratic system of government. It is there where power relations and negotiation among different stakeholders are undertaken. The press is involved, but at the same time, it shapes the public discussions. As we have seen in this research, when political content is taken out of public policies and technology prevails, experts constitute themselves as the privileged speakers in the discussion, excluding the rest of stakeholders in the design and implementation of policies. The technocratic hegemony converts the debate about public policy into a matter only for specialists, rather than making it a national issue.

Mediatization theory provides a conceptual framework for understanding the leading role of the media in the practices of individuals and in the development of institutions. When we refer to the mediatization of education, we realize an increased interaction between education and media fields. The media produce and circulate narratives about education, which alter their practices. The media are a site for the production of discourses and representations about educational actors and the educational system as a whole.

Through the mediatization of education, the media act in different contexts of educational policies, promoting certain values and rejecting others. To do this, they legitimize some discourses about the policies and neutralize those that oppose them, affecting the flow of ideas in the educational field. To extend these limits, a deliberative public sphere that allows the democratic construction of educational policies is required. Considering that public policies are more than technical interventions by governments and are also projects for the establishment of a certain type of society, they must be analyzed, criticized and democratically evaluated. A space for this discussion is, in fact, in the media and in the public sphere.

Returning to Bourdieu's field theory, which has served as the conceptual underpinning for understanding the mediatization of educational policies, educational and media fields are in permanent tension and various actors (government officials, experts, students) use their capital to influence the design of educational policies. In fact, education policy enters into mediatization not by accident, but through processes, as part of agenda setting and the pruning of

educational themes and actors of interest for news making. The process is active on both sides of the mediatized field; it is not just structural or the product of journalistic logics. This tension between agency and structure rides this whole dissertation.

In summary, the intersection of media and education in the new articulation of mediatization has witnessed the explosion of education outward into the commodified public sphere from the once cloistered institutions of education practice and deliberation. For this reason, this research opens new doors for the analysis of educational policies from a critical standpoint. Education policies are no longer defined only in the bureaucratic structure of the state, but in a much more dynamic space, altering the map of actors and discourses involved in their definition. The media have mediated education to such an extent that it is no longer possible to undertake a reform in the field without considerable communication and public campaign work to attract public attention and persuade the public of the changes necessary for the system. Meanwhile, experts and educational authorities “come out” to the public sphere to dispute these initiatives and their discourses affect the “text” of educational policies and public perceptions about education. Despite its limitations to consider only written media texts and no other spaces of public debate on education, this research has contributed to understanding how educational policies in a highly mediated context are produced today.

Finally, this dissertation has suggested that the walls that structure contemporary educational systems have all but collapsed under the weight of

powerfully commodifying discourses generated via electronic mediatization. In effect, the mass media have imploded into education beyond the classroom. This new phenomenon requires the incorporation of media studies in the analysis of the production and circulation of educational policies in a neoliberal context. The dimensions of the policy sphere in education are intricate, demanding an interdisciplinary approach in the study of educational policies. This research has addressed this challenge.

As this study has shown, the interactions between the fields of media and education are complex. It is a line of work in expansion that can enhance the analysis of education policies and the role of the media as political actors in that field. This dissertation attempted to contribute to this knowledge area from a critical perspective.

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