

Education cover page: The visualization of educational policy in the press¹

La educación en portada: la visualización de la política educacional en la prensa

A educação na primeira página: A visualização da política educacional na imprensa

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ABSTRACT

Considering cultural studies in education, this article presents a visual framing analysis of the covers published by the Chilean newspaper *Las Últimas Noticias* during the debate on the educational reforms of 2014 and 2015. This newspaper framed the discussion from the approach of human capital in education and criticized the initiatives proposed by the government of Michelle Bachelet. The article emphasizes the ideological role that the media plays in the public discussion on education.

Keywords: mediatization of education, visual framing, cultural studies in education, media.

RESUMEN

Considerando los estudios culturales en educación, en este artículo se presenta un análisis de framing visual de las portadas publicadas por el diario Las Últimas Noticias durante el debate sobre las reformas educacionales de 2014-2015 en Chile. Este periódico encuadró la discusión desde el enfoque de capital humano en educación y criticó las iniciativas propuestas por el gobierno de Michelle Bachelet. El texto destaca el carácter ideológico de los medios en la discusión pública sobre la educación.

Palabras clave: mediatización de la educación, framing visual, estudios culturales en educación, medios de comunicación.

RESUMO

Tendo em conta os estudos culturais em educação, este artigo apresenta uma análise de 'framing visual' das primeiras páginas sobre educação no jornal chileno "*Las Últimas Noticias*" publicadas entre 2014 e 2015. Em plena discussão sobre as reformas educacionais, este jornal enquadró o debate focalizando-se no capital humano em educação e criticou as reformas propostas pelo governo de Michelle Bachelet. O texto destaca o carácter ideológico dos meios de comunicação no debate público sobre a educação.

Palavras-chave: mediatização da educação, framing visual, estudos culturais na educação, meios de comunicação.

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INTRODUCTION

Education in Chile has become a subject of high public interest after the student movements of 2006 and 2011 (Bellei, Cabalin & Orellana, 2014). In fact, the last presidential campaign of 2014 was marked by the discussion around this issue. The elected candidate was Michelle Bachelet and she announced for her second term as president of Chile (2014-2018) a reform of the educational system. Among her campaign promises was the proposal to consider education as a social right (Programa de Gobierno, 2013), as opposed to the neoliberal reforms implemented since 1980 in the country (Bellei, 2015). It was an aspiration for radical change that mobilized various social actors in the public sphere. The media, especially the print media, actively participated in this debate.

Usually, the relationship between the media and education has been analyzed from a pedagogical point of view within the classroom. However, a growing line of research has sought to study this relationship between media and education from a sociocultural and political point of view, in what is known as the “mediatization of education” (Coudry, 2012; Rawolle & Lingard, 2010). This process of mediatization involves considering the media as relevant actors in the definition of public policies in education and in the production and circulation of discourses about them.

The mediatization of education is intertwined with cultural studies in education (Giroux, 1995; Leonardo, 2010), which call for a study of this field beyond the school and in relation to social, political and economic structures. It is about putting education in the sphere of production of symbolic goods in society, where its representations acquire meanings and also mark the public definitions that are adopted on it.

Considering the above, this article aims to analyze how education was represented on the front pages of one of the Chilean journals with the greatest circulation during 2014 and 2015, during the debate on educational reform. With this, we intend to problematize the relationship between media and education at a political-ideological level, following the proposal of cultural studies in this field.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: VISUAL FRAMING AND EDUCATIONAL MODELS

The theory of mediatization assumes that in modern society the mass media have modified social relations at all scales (Hjarvard, 2013, Verón, 1997). In this sense, Verón (1997) points out that mediatization alters the relationship between the media with institutions and actors, and the relationships of institutions with and between social actors. In the case of education, the process of mediatization has meant that the design of policies in this field exceeds the classical notion linked to the centralized exercise of power of a government. Today, in democratic societies and with an increasingly widespread public sphere, the processes of public policy formulation are polycentric and highly mediatized (Esser and Strömbäck, 2014). The media thus become a site for the production of discourses and images about educational policies. Koh (2009) calls this phenomenon “the visualization of educational policies”. This author studied how an educational reform in Singapore was represented in a documentary produced by the government and concluded that changes in education in that country were portrayed as a necessity for the global economy.

Another space where it is possible to observe the visualization of educational policies is on the front pages of newspapers, as they impact people, attract new readers and synthesize the information presented in the interior pages (Popp & Mendelson, 2010). The cover of a newspaper “results from a an operation of selection based on criteria of hierarchy, authority and balance on the visible and omissible” (Carmona & Jaimes, 2015, p.74). Considering this distinction between the visible and omissible, we have studied the covers on education of the newspaper *Las Últimas Noticias*. The analysis is based mainly on the theory of framing or journalistic framing from a critical perspective (D’Angelo, 2002). That is, we assume that media content holds political and value positions on public affairs (Antezana, 2012). This ideological dimension is also found in the text and images of the covers.

Education is one of the areas with the greatest political tensions in the global context (McCarthy, 2011). People put their hopes of the future and the resolution of the problems of the present on education. It is a fundamental concern for governments and, generally speaking, the

citizens place it in the polls among the main social issues. In the case of Chile, education has been an arena of intense ideological dispute during the last decade, which has put in tension the very foundations of the neoliberal model in the country (Santa Cruz Grau & Olmedo, 2012). Therefore, the media have also acted as political actors in the educational debate, trying to frame the discussion and provide the framework for interpretation of the social facts related to this field. This framing operation has been extensively studied in political communication (Entman, 2010; Checa, Lagos, Peña y Lillo & Cabalin, 2012).

Framing is a theory about the effects of mass media on an individual and collective level, since the frames of interpretation provided by the media organize socially shared principles that persist in time, in a dynamic process of negotiated signification (Fahmy, 2010). In the dimension of media images, the visual framing analysis helps to determine the way to interpret a news event, since the journalistic images offer an alternative representation of the reality, a visual one, that facilitates its recall, simplifying the information and making it understandable (Fahmy, 2010). Images also establish an emotional link with the readers, create the illusion of consensus, and convert abstract concepts into metaphorical images (Poop & Mendelson, 2010). Thus, the operation of orienting the understanding of a social phenomenon refers to an ideological-cultural perspective and a construction of meaning that synthesizes “the manner in which the media and the public represent a particular topic or issue” (Cantrell Rosas-Moreno, Harp & Bachmann, 2013, p. 4). Along the same lines and following Carmona and Jaimes (2015), who studied the covers of the newspaper *El Mercurio de Valparaíso* on an environmental issue, we assume that “the visual sign (...) on the cover is inextricably tied to the linguistic code (...) and intertwines with other codes that characterize a particular culture in a particular historical moment and space” (p. 74). Thus, the images and texts on the front page of a newspaper contain a particular way of representing social events: in this case, educational reforms in Chile.

To guide the analysis of the covers, we have established that behind every educational project there is a philosophical and normative notion about the role of education in society. These conceptual

dispositions create models in education, which underlie any educational initiative. Robeyns (2006, pp. 79-83) explains the three main models in education: human capital, rights and capabilities.

The human capital approach to education was developed by economists at the University of Chicago in the 1960s, primarily by Gary Becker and Theodore Schultz. The theory of human capital considers education relevant because it creates skills and helps to acquire the knowledge necessary for the human being to participate in the productive process as a worker. That is, education is an investment that impacts on the productivity of a subject. With this, the person obtains gains that are associated with the different levels of education (Robeyns, 2006). On the other hand, the rights approach is related to the consecration of education as a human right in 1948. This approach implies that every human being has the right to receive a decent education even when this contravenes the economic terms of the human capital approach. Here, the intrinsic importance of education in the development of people and society is prioritized. It has a moral and political perspective, by being at the opposite pole of the human capital approach (Robeyns, 2006). Finally, an alternative model to human capital is the capabilities approach, developed by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum in the 1990s. Capabilities are understood as the real opportunities to achieve a better state of being and doing. In this approach, education is important intrinsically and instrumentally. Receiving a good education expands the capacities of the people, but the society must refrain from forcing a purely instrumental education. The scope of this approach is broad and states that all sources of inequality of persons should be considered in educational projects (Robeyns, 2006). Considering these concepts associated with education, we conducted the analysis of the covers that we present below.

METHOD AND ANALYSIS

We have established the front pages as a unit of analysis in this paper, because they not only draw the attention of potential readers, but also show the editorial decisions of the newspaper and the assignment of importance of social facts (Cantrell Rosas-Moreno et

al, 2013). Palau Sampio (2013) argues that “in spite of its strategic importance as a showcase for content and a transmitter of the informational essence of the media, studies devoted to analyzing press covers, especially in the Spanish sphere, are not abundant”. To help fill this gap, we have analyzed the covers of *Las Últimas Noticias* (LUN). It is one of the newspapers with the largest national circulation (more than 90,000 copies per day), of a mass-popular nature (Santa Cruz A., 2014) and its covers have been the object of analysis in previous works, because they are provocative and, sometimes, sensationalist (Romero Lizama, 2013). It is a media belonging to the newspaper company El Mercurio SAP, one of the most important media holdings in the country.

The sample of the material was restricted to all the covers that considered education as the main theme. The registration period was between January and December 2014 and 2015, when in Chile there was an intense public debate about the educational reforms of the government of President Bachelet. In total, 19 covers were considered (8 in 2014 and 11 in 2015), which were captured from the website www.lun.com

Applying the notion of visual frame, we performed a qualitative content analysis, where we construct—with the images and texts of the covers— macro categories according to the educational models reviewed above and the topics of greater discussion in the public debate on education. The analysis was based on an inductive taxonomy, that is, on a system of classification of data according to emerging categories. Then, we established the thematic axes, understood as recurring concepts that characterize the covers. Thus, we develop four macro categories: (i) crisis of the educational system; (ii) employability and market; (iii) education policy and criticism of reforms; (iv) costs and educational strategies (explanations for phenomena).

We ordered the covers by macro category and chronologically according to day and month, but without considering the year. This is explained by the fact that, this way, it is easier to recognize the

“milestones” that define the traditional thematic coverage of the routine of the Chilean press, which is organized from repetitive events (Salinas & Stange, 2015). In the case of education, these events are organized as follows:

- March: start of classes at all levels of education.
- May 21: speech by the President of the Republic (public account and political commitments for the year).
- November-December: University Selection Test (PSU)² and closing of the academic year.
- December-January: application to higher education.

With the above scheme, we classified the 19 covers and 14 of them (78%) correspond to the indicated milestones in Table 1.

Below we present the results of the analysis, where we have grouped the covers according to the four macro categories indicated.

FRAME 1: CRISIS IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

Five of the analyzed covers correspond to this category. Three of them are part of the mediatic milestones traditionally covered: two are from May and appear as responses to some of the issues addressed in the presidential public account held on the 21st of that month; the third is from December and presents the coverage of the results of the University Selection Test (PSU). The remaining two are from June and November, addressing an issue of media relevance at the time. Although they correspond to different years, the two covers published in May have one feature in common: both delve into complex situations that affect teachers and schools.

The cover of May 25, 2014 (<http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2014-05-25>) presents a sky-blue

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
1	-	1	-	5	1	1	1	1	1	5	2

Table 1: Classification of daily covers *Las Últimas Noticias*, 2014, 2015

Source: Own elaboration.



Figure 1. Examples of analyzed covers

Source: Own elaboration.

background. The headline in yellow letters says “The crossroads of the emblematic schools of the middle class” and in slightly smaller letters, of the same yellow, an epigraph that says “Sustainers³, experts and attorneys comment on the law that forces them to choose to be free or private and paid “. The text is located in the lower half of the cover. The upper half shows the drawing, very tenuous, of the facade of an old small house; it has two floors, with a large central door and many windows and an attic on the roof. There is only one illuminated window, which stands out since it is the same yellow of the letters of the cover; it is located in the center on the lintel of the door. In blue letters, of different sizes and in handwritten typography, surrounding the façade, the names of some schools: Colegio Centenario de Temuco; Colegio Antilhue (La Florida); Liceo Ruiz Tagle; Liceo San Pedro Poveda; Instituto Miguel León Prado.

Visually the facade is linked to the title. The old house suggests prestige, ancestry and tradition. Therefore, the schools that are named are related to this significant area. It should be noted that more than the time of existence of each one, what really distinguishes them is their leadership in obtaining Simce scores⁴. That is, they are “quality” schools. The text of the headline feedback this position, as it qualifies them as “emblematic”. They

are emblematic, yes, for a particular class: “the middle class.” The epigraph mentions the “sustainers, experts and parents”, that is to say, many of the interested parties. It is “society” that reflects about it and against the law project by using the “force” concept: they do not want to, but they must do it and this decision affects a majority group of people, “the middle class.”

The second cover to which we refer is May 27, 2015 (<http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2015-05-27>). The background is dark gray and suggests a blackboard with numbers written ($12 \div 6 = 2$) in the first third of the image, then two more rows of numbers not visible because of the headline, in yellow, which states: “The hard x-ray of Chilean teachers”. On the last third of the page, at the center, the hand of an adult writing with chalk. In the upper left, in smaller yellow letters, the epigraph reads: “Center of the U. of Chile released a research with surprising figures”.

The image is consistent with the headline. It would be the hand of a teacher who writes on the blackboard, the headline refers to “Chilean teachers”, the operations written on the blackboard are simple mathematics. It indicates that the situation of the teachers is “hard” (difficult) and structural, because they realize an “x-ray”. Teachers are also experienced or “old”, traditional (they

write with chalk on a chalkboard, but this is hardly used anymore), appeal to the reader's imagination that easily recognizes the stereotype of a teacher. This "hard x-ray" is made by another actor of prestige: University of Chile, and is also based on quantitative data (figures), that is, on scientific research (therefore, they are "real" and reliable data) and they cause "surprise": things appear that were not expected.

The three remaining covers are rather critical to the Chilean educational system, but they stop at what was happening at the time, there is no structural or long-term criticism. The one of June 1, 2014 (<http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2014-06-01>), using a beige background that appears to be the diffuse image of a wall, shows the face of a child of white complexion, short black hair looking up and holding his chin with his left hand (suggests Auguste Rodin's sculpture "The Thinker") that occupies the left half of the cover (vertical cut). It is a color photograph, the child appears to be dressed in an educational establishment's uniform (red and white), looks about 10 or 11 years old and smiles. In yellow letters, without epigraph, in the right half of the title page: "33 schools give ideas to improve education".

The front page seems to raise the question of who should think about education. Or who really are the ones who think about it. The number 33 is not a random number, it is cabalistic: at 33 years old, Jesus Christ died, there are 33 schools that are thinking. They symbolize it with a child, a schoolboy, the object of their concern and work. Schools are thinking about children. By omission and contrast, it is not thought by the authority, the State, who should do so. Moreover, in the middle of a discussion about educational reform. The (certainly) private establishments are doing it. Education must be improved. This is what the headline indicates.

The cover of November 9, 2015 (<http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2015-11-09>) again presents in the background a chalkboard (dark gray) written with white chalk. Formulas are diffused, in one of which one can read "Chile" as a chemical compound. In the middle, centered, a headline in yellow letters that says: "The shocking claim of Chilean scientists"; below, also in yellow letters but smaller, the epigraph: "They signed a manifesto in which they say that 'our governments have chosen ignorance'". Standing, on the right side of the headline and occupying almost the entire page (vertically), a man in profile, with a white coat, of white complexion, black hair and glasses, covers his face

with his right hand, his left hand languid at his side.

Again on this front page the crisis of education is shown, because those who must deal with it do not. This time the claims come from Chilean scientists, who label the government as ignorant. It is not a single person or a particular ministry, the statement includes "many" and even "all". The criticism is to the government that, in addition, "chose" the ignorance. Which is even more serious. The scientist (or his depiction on the cover) in the photograph cannot accept the situation (that is why he covers his face).

The last cover that closes the cycle is of December 27, 2015 (<http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2015-12-27>). It is part of a milestone linked to education: the results of the PSU. The cover shows a photograph in the background. Headline and epigraph are organized in the left half of the page in yellow letters, at the bottom a subhead in white letters. It shows a student, in a medium plane. He is in school uniform, white shirt, gray vest. Very short hair. The photograph was taken in the hall of a high school, against a white and brick wall. Students are seen walking down a corridor behind the subject's shoulder. The epigraph says: "Ignacio Díaz, of Linares, obtained 850 points in History". The headline: "National score prepared himself by watching documentaries on YouTube." And the subhead: "The best plan B if you did not score enough points".

The cover highlights a student of a regional public high school. True, he got a national score, but not necessarily because of the teaching at his high school, but because he saw educational videos on the Internet. On the one hand, it seems that anyone can prepare and could perform well in the test, but it is an exception. With this, the individual character of educational success is emphasized. On the other hand, the contribution of the public school in its formation is questioned in an ironic way, by omission (visible/omissible distinction). The cover is focused on the individual, it is about his own abilities. He appears as an autonomous subject who, as a result of his resourcefulness, manages to overcome the obstacles (to study in a public high school) and to succeed.

The five covers indicate that the government of Michelle Bachelet would not perform well in education. On the contrary, it would be individuals (owners of schools, teachers, scientists and the "successful" students) who would know the solutions to problems in this field. The educational crisis, then, could be resolved if those who really know take charge of education.

FRAME 2: EMPLOYABILITY AND MARKET

This category presents covers whose main focus is higher education and, specifically, the profitability of the different professional careers that can be accessed in the system. Seven covers cover three major themes: (i) prices, i.e., the cost of access to higher education; (ii) the employability related to the returns obtained after graduating from a career; and (iii) some practical aspects related to the PSU.

Three of the covers are part of the journalistic milestones mentioned initially. One of them is from May and is linked to the repercussions of the presidential public account, the other two are from November and December and are about the registration to take the PSU and entrance to the university. The remaining four are concentrated in the months of July and November.

The May 29, 2015 cover on prices (<http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2015-05-29>) has a blue background. In the first top third of the page are the headline and epigraph in yellow, the bottom two thirds show a photo. The headline says: "Average prices of all universities" and the epigraph: "The four most expensive are over 4 million pesos per year." The photo shows an inn of attention to customers. At the center several computers, flat screens in rows, we can see the heads of those receiving the public and the public itself (young people and, apparently, their parents). Careful faces. The photo is similar to that of an AFP⁵ customer service office or other similar service. Education is one more service, an expensive one. The concern is in the price of this service and surely in how it can be financed in a market transaction. It would be a massive service, where there would be no major differences except for the cost. They are all equal (customers) and institutions (no difference in quality) and should receive the same treatment. We are facing the massification and anonymity, this time, of education. The market reduces the individual to a specific type that homogenizes it and assigns it a price.

The covers referring to employability –what is obtained when studying a certain professional career– have the following headlines: "The 100 careers in which it is more difficult to find a job" (July 28, 2015, <http://www.lun.com/Default.aspx?Dt=2015-07-28>); "New ranking of the best paid careers" (November 4, 2014, <http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2014-11-04>); "The

careers with better employability" (November 6, 2014, <http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2014-11-06>); "The 75 best paid careers in Chile in 2015" (November 18, 2015, <http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2015-11-18>). One of them has a blue background, all the headlines and epigraphs are in yellow letters. The images of the remaining three are linked to the careers that stand out in the rankings and present young subjects from some easily identifiable career: theater in one case, some healthcare career and a teacher writing on the blackboard who, unlike the previous situations, is an adult.

We are facing familiar scenes. Indeed, every year the same cycle is repeated: choosing a career for students who finish school. The less profitable ones: theater and kinesiology, indicated in the epigraphs and the shown in the images; the most profitable are those related to the field of health. This is the only case in which a young woman appears on the cover, who, more than a doctor –because of her age– seems a doctor's assistant or a nurse. The surprise is pedagogy, for good or for bad? It is not clear.

The two covers related to the PSU address two different moments: before and after the test. They operate as an instructive with recommendations on what to do. One of the headlines says "PSU Special" (November 20, 2014, <http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2014-11-20>) in large letters with a blue border. The epigraph, with yellow letters, specifies "11 days remaining for the test". With a response sheet as a background, the subhead indicates "Scores needed for the careers with more jobs, 10 YouTube channels to review the test, 4 parties after the battle, tricks to not lose time in reading comprehension and 3 questions that never miss in math". The second cover says "PSU: what to do if you did not do that well" (December 28, 2014, <http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2014-12-28>) and the epigraph points two points highlighted in red: "Top careers that do not need PSU; what specialties need people and pay well."

As a whole, these covers operate in the register of cost and benefit, that is, how much is invested –economically– in higher education and what are the economic benefits that can be earned. It is, then, a financial investment and is measured in those terms. They are market-oriented careers whose goal is individual: the aim is for the person who studies to

get employment and through it, economic resources. And for those who did not get the scores required in these careers, there are also options. The market does not leave anyone out. The market integrates, does not exclude, according to this proposal of meaning.

The latter type of information is related to the target reader of this particular media, which is fundamentally of medium-low and low socio-economic stratum. The interlocutive strategy used points to the relational pair of teacher-student or parent-child, where the media assumes the guiding voice that “illustrates” the reader on what to do.

The information is organized based on a measurement system already internalized by the users: the ranking. The same device that is used to catalog the best-selling books, the most watched television programs or the most sought-after summer tourist sites.

FRAME 3: EDUCATION POLICY AND CRITICISM OF REFORMS

There are four covers that relate to this proposal of meaning. The newspaper takes a critical stance toward the educational reforms promoted by the government. The media is “worried” about the consequences of educational policies on free education for both primary and secondary education as well as university education. In addition, it defends the rights of people around their freedom of choice.

Two of the front pages are part of the educational milestones: in January, the cover mentions the collective processes of inscription in educational establishments and in May, it responds to the promises and commitments assumed by the government and presented to the country in the presidential speech of 21 of May. The other two are from September and October.

The cover of January 28, 2015 (<http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2015-01-28>) shows, on a blue background, the image of a colored roulette wheel. On it, in yellow letters, the headline without epigraph in the lower half. In the center of the roulette, a young man dressed in school uniform (gray trousers, white shirt and blue tie) appears with open legs and arms. The roulette has 8 lockers, each with a different color in the range from red to yellow; in each box there is a school or high school shield. The headline says: “Educational reform: get to know the tombola to enroll your children.”

Beyond the iconographic confusion between a roulette wheel and a tombola, the cover suggests that it is luck alone that can determine the type of education that

the boys and girls will receive. Parents are responsible for finding a school for their children, but unlike what happened before the reform, they will no longer be able to choose the establishment that best suits their tastes, projections and economic possibilities. Now they do not have this option. Thus, students cease to be subjects to become an object of an educational policy. The tombola for the selection of schools is a common practice in various educational systems in the world, but on the cover is simply represented as chance and even as a danger to parents.

This cover is related to that of October 8, 2015 (<http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2015-10-08>), which also on blue background, has a headline in yellow letters that occupy the first half of the cover and says: “Ranking with the 22 freedoms that Chileans value the most.” The two epigraphs indicate: (i) “Fundación para el Progreso and Adimark interviewed 1,512 people throughout the country”; (ii) “Top 3: respect for life, deciding how to educate children and own a property without the State owning it.”

Among the 22 most valued freedoms is deciding how to educate children. The valuation is in having the option, in letting them exercise a right that is individual. The newspaper justifies these options when referring to two entities of some prestige in the country and a sample of Chileans, whose number would endorse the list. Again it is a ranking, which seems to be the tonic that defines the way our society operates. The discourse on freedom of choice in education is permanently associated with globally promoted neoliberal educational policies (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

The two covers on gratuity (May 23, 2015, <http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2015-05-23> and September 9, 2015, <http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2015-09-09>) state: (i) “Rectors of Inacap and AIEP fear that students will be exempt from gratuitousness”, the epigraph explains: “According to their calculations, Bachelet’s announcement affects 210,000 of their students”; and (ii) “The 783 schools that will become free in 2016”, the epigraph adds: “List of establishments ordered by region”.

The image of the first cover shows three young men with notebooks in their hands, looking at what is written in the notebook of the young man in the center. They look calm, they do not expect bad news. Nothing worries them. Although it seems that a black cloud is approaching, they have not seen it. Those who

did and are concerned about them are the rectors. They are only two specifically, but represent the rest of the rectors of professional institutes. Gratuitousness is a problem that “affects” 210,000 of their students and is a “problem” that has been created by the announcement of President Michelle Bachelet. A decision that impacts the future of thousands of students, the neediest.

The second cover shows a wooden frame in which it is possible to appreciate two pads to erase chalkboards. Both are used. One is red and black and the other green. A blank board, a ne start with a clean sheet? Or a change whose future consequences are uncertain? The chalkboard is a symbol that has already been used by the newspaper previously and is linked to the iconic representation of education, but now it is presented without anything written. A new list, this time geographically organized, of schools that will now be free. In this case, this representation could be interpreted as a benefit of the reform, but it does not indicate who propitiated this change. It seems that those responsible for the negative aspects can be identified, but not those who promote solutions that seem positive.

FRAME 4: EDUCATIONAL COSTS AND STRATEGIES

There are three covers that fall into this category. Two of them are part of journalistic milestones: the presidential public account of May and the beginning of the academic year in March. The third is from August and could be linked to the return to school after the winter break.

Two of the front pages pose their headlines in the form of questions. One of them says “Why are textbooks so expensive?” (March 13, 2015, <http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2015-03-13>), while the other inquires about what could be another curiosity: “Why do the students of Carmela change schools in the middle of their last year of secondary education? (August 8, 2014, <http://www.lun.com/default.aspx?dt=2014-08-08>).

The first cover displays a photograph that uses the entire available surface. On it, in yellow letters is the epigraph; located at the top and in larger letters of the same color, the headline occupies the lower third of the cover. The photograph shows several rows of books on a white wooden shelf. The books are cataloged, suggesting that they belong to a library. In the center, the back of a young man, with a white shirt, with his hands taken, looks at the books with his head bowed. The epigraph reads: “Feria Chilena del Libro says that

it will not sell them anymore because their prices raise without concrete reason”. The question posed is based on an assumption that books are expensive and the answer is not given, because a bookstore (which apparently is consulted about this issue) indicates that it does not know why they go up in price. The solution: not to sell them anymore. Who are affected? Students and their families. The responsibility for this situation is not indicated: is it the market? Is it the State? Doubt and bewilderment are sown.

The second cover is divided, vertically, in two. At the right is the headline in yellow letters. The epigraph is in the lower left and says, also in yellow letters: “Students improve their grades’ ranking for PSU if they go to other high schools.” The photograph shows a student in the uniform of the Liceo Carmela Carvajal. It does not show head or feet. She is in profile, she seems to be walking, she has a backpack hanging over her shoulder and her uniform tie in her hand. The school to which it alludes is one of the emblematic establishments of the public education. It is characterized by the high degree of academic exigency and by its good results in the different measurements made (Simce, PSU). The question posed in the headline can be read as a recurring fact. It generalizes a situation as if it always happened and it is considered as a strategy (based on the deception) of the students to obtain better grades in other establishments and, therefore, to have better grades and ranking at the moment of applying to the university. Thus, this high school is also questioned, which would lead the students to opt for these strategies. It can be interpreted as an indirect questioning to the university selection system.

The cover of May is especially striking. On a blue background, the big headline in yellow letters occupies two-thirds of the cover. It says: “Details of the school transportation card that includes beach and parties”. The epigraph at the top indicates: “Complete report on the presidential account of 21 of May.” Three subheads that are not related to education, although they are part of the presidential account, mention: “The cry of Cecilia Rovaretti with announcement of the Law Ricarte Soto”; “Know how to apply for the 450 thousand work grants”; “Meet the man who shouted ‘I love you’ to Michelle Bachelet.”

Despite the political importance of the speech of 21 of May and the relevance of education as a subject of public debate, the scope of the school transportation

card is emphasized. This is a benefit for students that significantly reduces the value of the ticket in the public transportation (buses and subway). It is subsidized by the State. This is in response to a demand from the mobilized students, who had requested to extend their coverage to facilitate both the study and the work they do outside the established academic hours. The headline changes the focus of this concern and achievement of the student movement. It seems that what is being granted is a waste for the State, because they would be financing non-academic activities. The State does not raise serious issues or make the profound changes that society demands and would only be responding to student pressures. It is also critical of the 2011 student movement and its demands.

DISCUSSION: A MARKET-ORIENTED SYSTEM IN THE FRONT PAGES

As we have seen, the covers of the newspaper *Las Últimas Noticias* (LUN) can be studied from an ideological-cultural scheme in the process of production and circulation of discourses on education. During the debate on educational reforms in Chile during 2014 and 2015, LUN provides, with its images and texts on the front page, a point of view to interpret social events related to the field of education. Through the visual frames detected in our analysis, we can conclude that a dominant frame is the conception of education from the human capital approach, outlined in the conceptual framework. That is, education understood as an investment. Thus, education is assumed to be an economic field where the dominant relationship is cost-benefit. Education is reduced to a purely instrumental and economic dimension (employability ranking, better salaries, more demanded careers, etc.).

This vision of education coincides with the Chilean market-oriented educational system (Bellei, 2015), where public policies have led to the conception of education as a commodity that can be sold and bought in a commercial relationship (success based on the competition and the results of the PSU and Simce standardized tests). With this, we appeal to the “individual entrepreneurial culture”, which Peters (2001) defines as a neoliberal-educational structure that promotes personal fulfillment through competition in the labor market after transit through the education system. For this competition to be possible,

it is necessary to establish the classification between winners and losers. Thus, there are rankings that rank, consecrate or denigrate. The rankings abound on the covers dedicated to education on LUN. It is a way of simplifying reality, but also of prescribing a social order. It is the conversion of subjects, schools and universities into numbers. It is no longer a question of communities, but rather of ordered numbers from “best to worst” in the era of cognitive capitalism (McCarthy, 2011).

The visual frames on education are all episodic, based on anecdotes, without general questions to the system as a whole. It seems to be a strategy of depoliticized narration, but by stopping on some covers it is possible to notice the political and policy discussion sphere that the newspaper maintains. The LUN covers on educational reforms promoted by the Michelle Bachelet administration are critical and uninformative. Gratuitousness –one of the student demands– is represented as a “problem” with affected people and a clear responsible: the government. However, the most striking case is the cover of January 28, 2015, dedicated to the end of the selection in schools that receive state funding. It tried to graph a tombola, but it is, in fact, a roulette wheel. The tombola implies a random system of school assignments so that all families have the same probability of accessing the school of their choice. Therefore, it is possible to maintain that the image does not correctly inform the process of choosing schools once the law is approved. The end of selection, profit and co-payment were presented by the government as an “inclusion law”, because in theory they could stop educational segregation in Chile, which is one of the highest in the world (Mizala & Torche, 2012).

The representation of “roulette” now suggests that parents will not have the option to choose the school for their children, putting their future in serious jeopardy. For many low and middle-class parents, education is the only “inheritance” they can pass on to their children, but according to the cover of LUN, that possibility is now being curtailed by the State and the educational reform of the government. In the roulette, the representation of a student who turns without destination is a wake-up call to parents, who now lose “control” of their family’s education. Therefore, educational reform is not only a “problem”, but also a “danger”, which alters the normal functioning of a family on one of its most sensitive spheres.

Journalistic products –like the front pages of a newspaper– are certainly conditioned by material schemes of production and attraction of readership, by the routines of media professionals and by the structure of the media system, among other things (Salinas & Stange, 2015), but also have an ideological component that cannot be ignored. It is what we have tried to emphasize in this article, following

the approaches of the cultural studies in education that promote to analyze the educational system in relation to the sociocultural context and of symbolic production (Cabalin, 2015). The visual framing analysis presented in this text allows us to observe how the media also operate as political actors in the social construction of discourses and representations about education.

FOOTNOTES

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2. The University Selection Test (PSU) is a standardized university admissions examination (<http://psu.demre.cl/la-test/que-es-la-psu> / Characteristics-psu).
3. Sustainer (*sostenedor*) is a person to whom the State transfers the funds to administer a subsidized school. The Chilean State does not administer schools directly. Money is provided directly to the local governments (*municipalidades*) in the case of municipal schools, or to these *sostenedores* in the case of private subsidized schools. (*Note of the translator*)
4. National system of evaluation of learning outcomes, founded in 1988 with the aim of institutionalizing various initiatives in the field of evaluation that had been developed in Chile since the 1960s (<http://www.agenciaeducacion.cl/simce/que-es>).
5. Pension Fund Administrators.

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