

Media discourses about education: the case of standardized tests in Chile¹

Discursos mediáticos sobre la educación: el caso de las pruebas estandarizadas en Chile

Discursos da mídia sobre educação: O caso de testes no Chile

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, we discuss the relationship between media and education based on the Chilean press coverage of the SIMCE standardized test. Using critical discourse analysis and framing, we conclude that the newspapers tend to naturalize the deficiencies of this evaluation instrument and to dismiss the arguments that criticize its continued use. Therefore, the processing of conflicts around this measurement is subject to the normalization that these journalistic discourses provide to the educational field, thus reinforcing the growing influence of the media in the formulation of educational policies, in a process known as mediatization of education.

Keywords: mediatization of education; editorials; framing; critical discourse analysis; SIMCE.

RESUMEN

En este artículo discutimos la relación entre medios y educación a partir de la cobertura en la prensa chilena de la prueba estandarizada SIMCE. Empleando los métodos del análisis crítico del discurso y framing, concluimos que los periódicos analizados tienden a la naturalización de las deficiencias de este instrumento de evaluación y a la desactivación de los argumentos que critican su permanencia. Por ello, el procesamiento de los conflictos en torno a esta medición queda supeditado a la normalización que estos discursos periodísticos proporcionan al campo educacional. Así, se refuerza la creciente influencia de los medios de comunicación en la formulación de las políticas educacionales, en un proceso conocido como mediatización de la educación.

Palabras clave: mediatización de la educación; editoriales; framing; análisis crítico del discurso; SIMCE.

RESUMO

Neste artigo, discutimos a relação entre mídia e educação com base na cobertura da imprensa chilena do teste do SIMCE. Utilizando os métodos de análise crítica do discurso e enquadre, concluimos que os jornais analisados tendem a naturalizar as deficiências deste instrumento de avaliação e a desativar os argumentos que criticam sua permanência. Portanto, o processamento de conflitos em torno dessa medida está sujeito à padronização que esses discursos jornalísticos proporcionam ao campo educacional. Assim, reforça-se a crescente influência da mídia na formulação de políticas educacionais, em um processo conhecido como mediatização da educação.

Palavras-chave: mediatização da educação; editoriais; enquadramento; análise crítica do discurso; SIMCE.

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INTRODUCCIÓN

“In Chilean history, this is the first moment in which the discussion on education has reached such intensity”, said in August 2015 the winner of the National Education Prize, Iván Núñez, who has researched this academic field for more than six decades (Centro de Investigación Avanzada en Educación, 2015). This relentless social conversation about the educational system was installed as of 2006, with the so-called Penguin Revolution² (Santa Cruz & Olmedo, 2012), a situation that deepened with the student movement of 2011. From that moment, the public sphere has focused heavily on the discussion about the Chilean education system, characterized by its market orientation (Bellei, 2015). Since the media have actively participated in this debate, it is necessary to ask how education is discussed in the press.

The relationship between media and education at the political level has been studied since the 1990s, but it has intensified in recent years due to the complex network of interactions that interweave in the formulation of educational policies at the global level (Malin, Hardy, & Lubienski, 2019; Lingard & Sellar, 2013). The media have become a leading actor in the development of educational policies, so much so that today we talk about the mediatization of education to demonstrate its importance in the construction of common senses about education and its social reach (Adhikary, Lingard, & Hardy, 2018; Ford, Porfilio, & Goldstein, 2015). This process assumes that the media have a crucial role in the design, evaluation and implementation of education policies, especially in the context of influence in which the policy cycle begins (Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 1992; Lingard, 2016). This is the space where the conflicting voices are legitimized, the conflicting meanings regarding education are shown, and its participants mobilize their capitals to push or hinder changes in the educational field.

This phenomenon is being explored in different countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Canada, the United States, Australia, England, Finland and, recently, Chile (Mockler, 2018; Erss & Kalmus, 2018; Cabalin & Antezana, 2016), not only due to the importance that education has reached in the nations' development, but also to the power of the media as political actors that contribute to the formation of the public sphere, where social problems and their possible solutions are discussed (Entman & Usher, 2018). In this context, the media have a double function: they are a forum for the production and circulation of discourses on education,

but at the same time they are political actors in the definition of these discourses' limits, through their editorial pages and journalistic frames.

One of the aspects commonly cited in studies on the mediatization of education is that those responsible for educational policies (ministers, politicians, experts, among others) are governed by the logic of the media (Franklin, 2004). The notion of a media logic has been problematic in the discussion about mediatization, since it would imply a reference to the unidirectional impact of the media in society, omitting social interactions and the influence between different fields and the media (Hepp, Hjarvard, & Lundby, 2015). However, Hjarvard (2013) explains that the media logic does not imply a unilateral or linear dependence, but rather corresponds to a conceptual clarification on the structural functioning of the media. Thus, these not only integrate into the operations of other social institutions, but also have the character of an institution.

Considering the above, in this work we are interested in knowing how the main Chilean newspapers, as political actors, build discourses on education. To do so, we will take the case of the coverage done on the Education Quality Measurement System (SIMCE, by its Spanish acronym), the most relevant standardized test of the Chilean educational system.

The SIMCE was created in 1988, under the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, and is passed every year by elementary and secondary school students. It consists of a series of tests that measure student learning in the areas of Language and Communication, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, History, Geography and Social Sciences, and English, and has been heavily criticized by researchers in recent years as it promotes competition between students and schools. That occurs because there is a policy of State economic incentives that rewards the schools that rank better, conditioning the general school curriculum (Insunza, 2015).

We will explain below the research theoretical framework and methodological design, to then present the results and their discussion, with emphasis on the discourses that the Chilean press builds on education regarding the role played by this measuring instrument.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To understand complex social phenomena, people resort to interpretation frames. This notion of framing has its origin in the interactionist sociology of Erving

Goffman (2006), which points to the recognition of the organizational principles of social interaction situations (Sorribas, 2011). The media operate as producers of frames, since they simplify the perceived reality by selecting a fact and excluding others, thereby limiting its semantic field (Sorribas, 2011). Following that premise, the framing theory has been widely used in press studies (Piñeiro-Naval & Mangana, 2018; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Scheufele, 1999; Iyengar, 1996).

One of the most used framing definitions is that of Entman (1993), who states that framing implies an exercise of power by pointing out certain paths of political action, since media discourse defines a problem, diagnoses its causes, issues moral judgments and proposes solutions. In addition, it activates the discussion of the issues in the public sphere (Entman & Usher, 2018).

Thus, the framing operation refers to the way in which the media systematically arrange information about a topic over time (Aalberg, Strömbäck, & de Vreese, 2011), affecting social normative frameworks and people's mental schemes (Castelló & Capdevila, 2013). This way of presenting the information is mainly based on rhetorical strategies or linguistic indicators, as Palau calls them (2013).

Likewise, we know that in the newspapers' editorial pages the political positions, ideological visions and positions on the relevant facts are also openly displayed (Gronemeyer & Porath, 2013). Therefore, the framing of informative texts may or may not dialogue with the ideological positions of editorials in the construction of media discourses on the different fields of society, including education.

The framing of media discourses on education has been studied, among other reasons, because it is argued that the media are powerful agents in building a sense of panic about public education (Stack, 2007), since they provide the public with representations about what is considered a good or bad education. The creators of public policies are susceptible to these contents and even promote new policies in response to media coverage (Stack, 2007; Lingard & Sellar, 2013). Specifically, coverage on national and international standardized tests is usually based on statistics on the results obtained, enhancing both competitiveness in the school system and the authority of experts who provide data on education (Warmington & Murphy, 2004).

In this vein, Warmington and Murphy (2004) characterize the coverage of tests in England as predictable, ritualistic and based on pre-established

journalistic formats, alien to educational dynamics. On the other hand, after reviewing a series of articles and editorials on the results of the PISA and TIMSS tests published in national and local newspapers in Canada, Stack (2007) also concluded that when there are poor results in this type of exams, the media deliver recommendations made by companies and government agencies without a critical understanding of these solutions. I.e., in the media coverage there is a reproduction of the quantitative information about the tests, and not an analysis of what this implies for education and school communities.

In that context, Shine and O'Donoghue (2013) report the results of a case study that analyzes how the Australian West newspapers present teachers in the context of educational changes, specifically, in the implementation of standardized tests at the school level. In their results, the researchers conclude that, in general, the coverage of the Australian West newspapers regarding the introduction of standardized tests shows teachers as subversive, resistant to the implementation of accountability measures, as opponents of the evaluation and willing to stop the implementation of these reforms.

In that same country, the study by Doolan and Blackmore (2018) on the perception of school directors regarding the media coverage of standardized test results states that, although some families choose to change their children to schools that have obtained positive coverage, this does not necessarily apply to social contexts of greater poverty. In these cases, even if a school obtains negative coverage, the effects are minor because the parents are not exposed to the media that disseminate it, or because they do not have the resources and information necessary to change their children to better schools.

In the case of Sweden (Rönnerberg, Lindgren, & Segerholm, 2013), the State education system has transformed the media into vigilantes for the actions of schools and municipalities, often using their reports, instead of an in-situ research. Thus, the media acquire a leading role in the public discussion about education, as shown in this study, which aimed to critically analyze the journalistic discourses of the main Chilean newspapers about SIMCE.

Examining this framing operation on the SIMCE allows us to understand how the media operate in the context of influence of educational policies and thus become political actors in the public definition of education.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used is qualitative and comes from the multidisciplinary scope of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), which exhibits within its lines of development approximations on discourses *in* and *on* education (Rogers, 2011, 2008). Among the first are analyzes that fundamentally investigate learning situations, either in the classroom or in non-formal instances where materials such as oral, written, visual or audiovisual texts (lessons, pedagogical manuals, teaching supplies), face-to-face dialogic interactions (conversations between teachers and students, peer conversations,) and those digitally mediated (websites, social networks) (Rogers, 2017; Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui, & O'Garro, 2005). Among the latter are the analysis of documents that delineate educational policies in institutional contexts (laws, government programs) (Hyatt, 2013; Mulderrig, 2011; Saarinen, 2008a, 2008b), and of media's news pieces or reportages that investigate critical aspects of these projects or reforms (Santori, 2018; Cárdenas, Cabalin, & Montero, 2017; Thomas, 2009).

One of the most influential research approaches in this field has been the one proposed by Norman Fairclough. This author suggests that the critical analysis should consider two focuses in addition: a) communicative events and b) the discourse order (Fairclough, 1995), to establish concrete relationships between the language in use and the broader sociocultural structures (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000). Thus, a specific communicative event, such as a newspaper editorial, is located in a total structure of conventions and norms that define a discursive order that is proper to it, as is the case with the economic and commercial environment in which the processes of manufacturing, propagation and media consumption are located (Fairclough, 1995).

On the one hand, each event is constituted by three categories: 1) *textual practices*, which cover the production of oral, written, visual texts, etc., whose analysis focuses on the description of its contents and its forms; 2) *discursive practices*, which include the articulation between the texts and the social practices where they are inserted, i.e., the way in which the discourses assume features that are characteristic of the practice to which they belong, whose analysis focuses on the interpretation of the socio-cognitive aspects that underlie its use in the immediate communicative contexts, and 3) *social practices*, which contemplate more abstract levels of organization, such as the situational, institutional, political, historical, etc. context, which

circumscribe the discursive practices in the struggles for power, dominance and ideological control.

On the other hand, each order is constituted by two categories: a) the *discourses*, which correspond to the ways in which language is used to represent certain social practices based on specific areas of experience and knowledge, and b) the *genres*, associated with the patterns with which the distinctive types of social activity model the use of language with specific purposes and structures. The above is outlined in figure 1.

According to Fairclough (2009), studying language changes from a complex perspective implies creating an interdisciplinary dialogue between different knowledge areas. From this approach, we understand that to critically analyze an editorial it is necessary to incorporate diverse theoretical and methodological trends that allow us to notice the links of this genre with other discourses and fields of society. Therefore, our research proposal integrates linguistic, socio-cognitive and sociopolitical dimensions (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; van Leeuwen, 2008; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2002; van Dijk, 2014, 2012, 2011, 2009, 2002, 1999), with the aim of describing, interpreting and explaining how is constructed the media representation of the Education Quality Measurement System in Chile, the scope of which is outlined in figure 2.

Additionally, we conducted a framing analysis of all the news published in the Chilean newspapers El Mercurio and La Tercera³ during 2014, to compare the results of the analysis of the editorials with the trends of the analysis of these informative pieces. The framing study was descriptive and consisted basically of measuring the frequencies of keywords, sources and the definition of the problem and its possible ways of resolution.

Therefore, this framing analysis exercise simply attempted to account for some prototypical ideas contained in the news about SIMCE, to detect the classic framing functions defined by Entman (1993) and explained in the theoretical framework, and to complement the discourse analysis with keywords and sources, since both elements are fundamental to the rhetorical strategies built in the media framing operation. The sources also provide information on the discourses valid in the journalistic coverage (Díaz & Mellado, 2017).

In short, our analysis plan consists of three phases. Initially, we cover the contents of the editorials and locate the most prominent significance patterns, accounting for their thematic relationships in a vertical (through

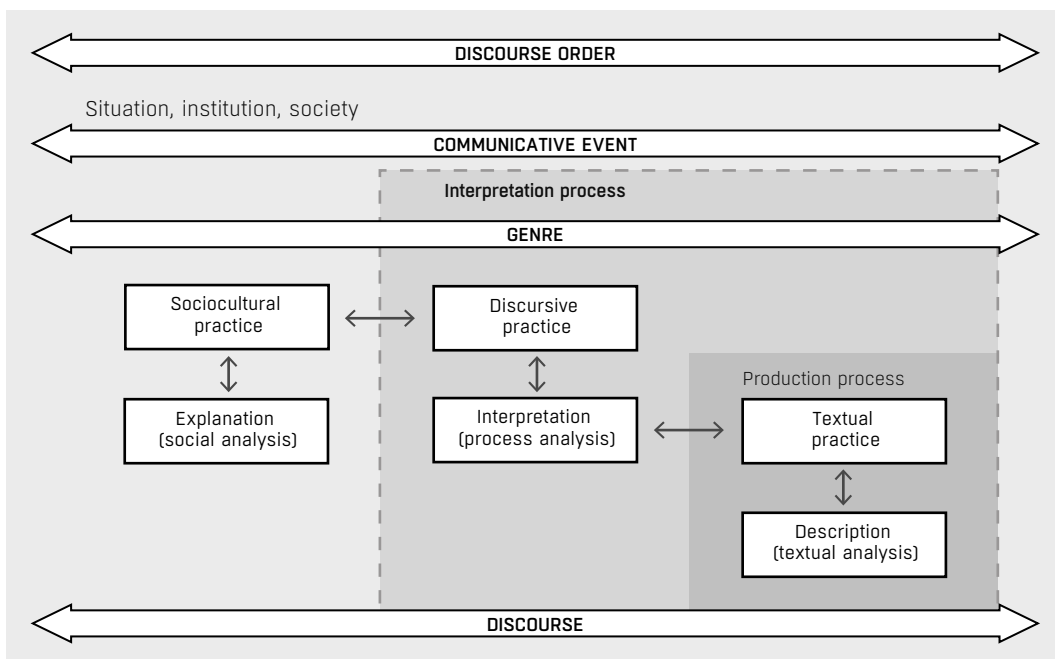


Figure 1. Dimensions of discourse and discourse analysis proposed by Norman Fairclough

Source: Own elaboration base don Titscher et al. (2000).

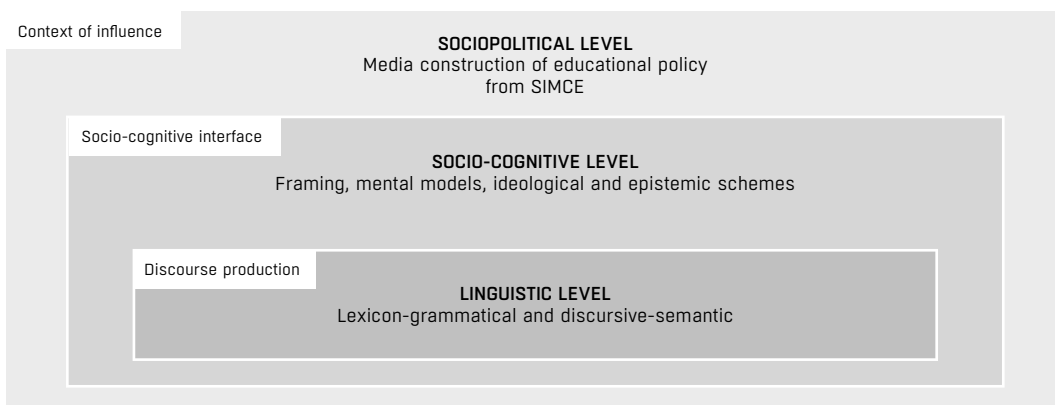


Figure 2. Research proposal on the media representation of SIMCE

Source: Own elaboration.

each editorial) and horizontal (through all editorials) axis. At the same time, we conducted the framing study on the news corpus, rescuing three aspects: first, the identification of the main problem linked to the SIMCE test through sets of keywords extracted from the linguistic analysis of the editorials; second, the suggestion of treatment presented to solve the problem, and third, the sources and actors mentioned in the news, in addition to the postures expressed by the sources regarding the application of the test.

For the third case, we made a distinction between sources and actors, since sources are equivalent to individuals, representatives of institutions or documents that are cited in textual form or paraphrased in the news. Sources appear as authorized voices to deliver statements to the media on a subject; instead, actors are only referred to as part of the group affected by the problem. Regarding the positions, the framing indicates whether the sources cited: 1) are in favor of SIMCE; 2) are against SIMCE; 3) consider that the test

Publication date	ID	Editorial title	Newspaper
06-13-2014	EM1	<i>Resultados del Simce</i> (Simce results)	<i>El Mercurio</i>
06-15-2014	EM2	<i>Desempeños educacionales en el Simce</i> (Simce's educational performances)	<i>El Mercurio</i>
06-16-2014	LT1	<i>Resultados del Simce y calidad de la educación</i> (Simce results and education quality)	<i>La Tercera</i>
10-12-2014	EM3	<i>Deficiencias en escritura escolar</i> (School writing deficiencies)	<i>El Mercurio</i>
11-30-2014	LT2	<i>Injustificada restricción al Simce</i> (Unjustified restriction to Simce)	<i>La Tercera</i>
12-02-2014	EM4	<i>Prohibición de informar en Simce</i> (Ban on reporting on Simce)	<i>El Mercurio</i>

Table 1. Editorials analyzed by publication date

Source: Own elaboration.

has both advantages and disadvantages, or 4) have a neutral or non-consignable position.

Once these phases were conducted, we articulated the discursive practices with the social practices, through the reconstruction of the contexts of influence at a micro and macro level, and the recognition of common points between the results of the editorial analysis and the news framing. Thus, we move from textual regularities to the elucidation of a major social, cultural and political conflict. Among the steps we followed were: 1) characterize the predominant participants and the processes in which they are involved; 2) distinguish the main arguments and their relationships; 3) describe the most frequently used rhetorical strategies; 4) recognize other public discourses referred to and account for their recontextualization; 5) reconstruct the communicative and situational contexts involved; 6) establish the most general informative framework and clarify its functions, and 7) interpret and explain the main social representations in conflict.

CORPUS DESCRIPTION

The corpus is composed of editorials and news about SIMCE published in *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* during 2014, since we defined the year in which the Educational Reform of Michelle Bachelet's government (2014-2018) was discussed as the immediate analysis framework. Among the selection criteria are those news and editorials that: 1) incorporate in their headline, subhead or epigraph the words "SIMCE", "educational evaluation", "educational policies" and/or "standardized tests"; 2) refer to the SIMCE Commission created by the Ministry of Education⁴, and 3) refer to the "Stop SIMCE" campaign.

This article shows cross-sectional results of the total corpus, consisting of 64 news pieces and six editorials, but due to the granularity of this analysis we only use three editorials to exemplify their fundamental scopes and link them with the framing findings (table 1).

Regarding the news analyzed, these were the ones shown in table 2.

RESULTS

Below, we review three trends detected in the media coverage made by *La Tercera* and *El Mercurio* newspapers on SIMCE in 2014. First, we identify the existence of a main problem linked to the test and a suggested solution. Secondly, we confirm the presence of a specific political context in which the discussion about SIMCE is interwoven with the debate about the Educational Reform. Finally, we show the discursive strategies that allow sustaining the indicated crossings, both in the editorial genre and in the news.

PROBLEM AND TREATMENT: SIMCE AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

The news analysis shows that in 57 of 64 cases it was possible to identify a problem associated with the SIMCE test. The groups of keywords that were repeated the most when characterizing these problems were: "results; measurement; evaluation", followed by "quality; excellency; academic level; standards", "performances" and, finally, "inequality; stigmatization; segregation and socioeconomic status". The editorial analysis helped us to delimit these problems in greater detail, based on two predominant thematic relationships: the link between low performance and

Newspaper	Date	Title
El Mercurio	02_01_2014	1. <i>Agencia de Calidad licitará la elaboración de las preguntas del Simce a centros de estudios</i> (Quality Agency will tender the preparation of Simce's questions to study centers)
El Mercurio	03_11_2014	2. <i>Masificación de la educación preescolar redujo su impacto en puntajes de prueba Simce</i> (Massification of preschool education reduced its impact on Simce test scores)
El Mercurio	03_20_2014	3. <i>La mitad de los cursos del sistema escolar será evaluada por el Simce este año</i> (Half of the courses in the school system will be evaluated by Simce this year)
El Mercurio	03_21_2014	4. <i>Agencia de Calidad analiza acotar cantidad de pruebas Simce que se aplican en el sistema escolar</i> (Quality Agency analyzes reducing the quantity of Simce tests applied in the school system)
El Mercurio	06_10_2014	5. <i>Educación entrega resultados de 15 pruebas Simce y creará consejo para hacerle cambios</i> (Education delivers results from 15 Simce tests and will create a council to make changes)
El Mercurio	06_11_2014	6. <i>Simce detecta que la brecha socioeconómica casi se duplica entre 4º básico y 2º medio</i> (Simce detects that the socioeconomic gap almost doubles between 4th grade and 2nd grade)
El Mercurio	06_11_2014	7. <i>40% de los niños de 4º básico no dominan los contenidos mínimos en Matemática</i> (40% of children in 4th grade do not master the minimum content in Mathematics)
El Mercurio	06_11_2014	8. <i>Alumnos de colegios públicos ponen mala nota a su convivencia y seguridad</i> (Students of public schools qualify as bad their coexistence and security)
El Mercurio	06_12_2014	9. <i>Alumnos guardias y equipos con psicólogos, los planes municipales para mejorar clima escolar</i> (Guards students and teams with psychologists, municipal plans to improve school ambiance)
El Mercurio	06_13_2014	10. <i>Colegios con lucro tuvieron peor Simce que los que no buscan ganancias, pero en sectores más vulnerables superaron a liceos públicos</i> (Profit schools had worse Simce results than those that do not seek profits, but in more vulnerable sectors they outperformed public schools)
El Mercurio	06_15_2014	11. <i>Simce: alumnos de 11 liceos Bicentenario superaron desempeño del Instituto Nacional</i> (Simce: students from 11 Bicentenario schools exceeded the performance of the Instituto Nacional)
El Mercurio	06_17_2014	12. <i>"Afectados" por reforma migrarían a colegios de menos Simce</i> ('Affected' by reform would migrate to schools of less Simce)
El Mercurio	06_18_2014	13. <i>Las claves de los colegios vulnerables que lograron destacar en el último Simce</i> (The techniques of vulnerable schools that managed to stand out in the last Simce)
El Mercurio	01_18_2014	14. <i>51% de directores piensa que formación docente es la clave para mejorar calidad</i> (51% of principals think that teacher training is crucial to improving quality)
El Mercurio	06_23_2014	15. <i>Bióloga logra que liceo alcance mejor puntaje en Simce de Ciencias</i> (Biologist manages for a school to achieve the best score in the Science)
El Mercurio	06_24_2014	16. <i>Talleres y creaciones literarias, claves en las comunas vulnerables que lideraron el Simce</i> (Literary workshops and creations, crucial in the vulnerable communities that led the Simce)
El Mercurio	07_16_2014	17. <i>Agencia de la Calidad propone test formativo en cuatro niveles y eliminar Simce de 2º básico</i> (Quality Agency proposes formative test on four levels and to eliminate Simce from 2nd grade)
El Mercurio	07_17_2014	18. <i>El desempeño de las niñas en las mediciones de matemáticas estaría influenciado por estereotipos</i> (Girls' performance in math tests would be influenced by stereotypes)
El Mercurio	07_23_2014	19. <i>Expertos difieren sobre fin de prueba Simce en 2º básico</i> (Experts disagree about the end of Simce test in 2nd grade)
El Mercurio	07_25_2014	20. <i>Simce de Educación Física: 25% de niños tiene riesgo de enfermedad cardiovascular</i> (Physical Education Simce: 25% of children are at risk of cardiovascular disease)
El Mercurio	07_25_2014	21. <i>En colegios públicos de mejor Simce, 21% de los maestros tiene buena evaluación docente</i> (In best Simce public schools, 21% of teachers have a good teacher evaluation)
El Mercurio	07_26_2014	22. <i>Expertos proponen cambios en clases de educación física, tras críticos resultados del Simce</i> (Experts propose changes in physical education classes, following critical results of Simce)

Table 2. Continues on next page

Newspaper	Date	Title
El Mercurio	09_16_2014	23. <i>En 10 años Las Condes logró que todos sus colegios municipales sean de excelencia</i> (In 10 years Las Condes made all of its municipal schools of excellency)
El Mercurio	10_08_2014	24. <i>Simce: alumnas logran seguir instrucción, pero solo 9% expresa bien sus ideas en un texto</i> (Simce: students manage to follow instructions, but only 9% can express their ideas well in a text)
El Mercurio	10_20_2014	25. <i>Colegios con igual gasto tienen más de 100 puntos de diferencia en el Simce</i> (Schools with equal spending have more than 100 points of difference in the Simce)
El Mercurio	10_25_2014	26. <i>Estudio identifica más de mil colegios con posible lucro que tienen un Simce destacado</i> (Study identifies more than 1000 possibly profit schools that have an outstanding Simce)
El Mercurio	10_25_2014	27. <i>Estudio identifica más de mil colegios con posible lucro que tienen un Simce destacado</i> (Study identifies more than 1000 possibly profit schools that have an outstanding Simce)
El Mercurio	11_03_2014	28. <i>En 16 comunas, todos los colegios están bajo el promedio Simce y se reabre el debate por límite a nuevas escuelas</i> (In 16 communes, all schools are below the Simce average and the debate to limit new schools is reopened)
El Mercurio	11_07_2014	29. <i>Pese al alto uso de tecnologías, 6,3% de los jóvenes sabe analizar la información que obtiene</i> (Despite the large use of technologies, 6.3% of young people know how to analyze the information they obtain)
El Mercurio	11_29_2014	30. <i>Sin debate de parlamentarios se aprobó norma que restringe información de resultados Simce</i> (Without debate between parliamentarians, a rule that restricts information on Simce results was approved)
El Mercurio	11_30_2014	31. <i>Alianza: Norma que restringe información sobre el Simce debe ser enviada al control del TC</i> (Alianza: norm that restricts information on Simce must be sent to the CT control)
El Mercurio	11_30_2014	32. <i>Comisión Simce alista informe que recomendaría reducir pruebas y aborda publicación de resultados</i> (Simce Commission prepares report that would recommend reducing tests and addresses publication of results)
El Mercurio	12_01_2014	33. <i>Mineduc publicará resultados Simce por cada colegio, pese a indicación de senador Montes</i> (Mineduc will publish Simce results for each school, despite Senator Montes' indication)
El Mercurio	12_02_2014	34. <i>Hoy parte marcha blanca de clasificación de colegios por Simce y criterios de calidad</i> (Today starts the testing period of classification of schools by Simce and quality criteria)
El Mercurio	12_03_2014	35. <i>Senado dio cuenta de 143 indicaciones al presupuesto en menos de siete minutos</i> (Senate revised 143 indications to the budget in less than seven minutes)
El Mercurio	12_04_2014	36. <i>Durante este año, 52 apoderados han solicitado el puntaje Simce de sus hijos</i> (During this year, 52 parents have requested their children's Simce score)
El Mercurio	03_24_2014	37. <i>"Chile no puede seguir confundiendo desempeño con calidad"</i> ("Chile cannot continue to confuse performance with quality")
La Tercera	02_01_2014	38. <i>Informe propone equilibrar dificultad de preguntas del Simce</i> (Report proposes to balance difficulty of Simce's questions)
La Tercera	02_27_2014	39. <i>La fórmula de los colegios municipales que tienen lista de espera para matricularse</i> (The formula of municipal schools that have a waiting list to enroll)
La Tercera	03_04_2014	40. <i>Licitan 5 mil preguntas del Simce en cerca de \$ 2.900 millones</i> (Tender of Simce' 5000 questions in about \$ 2.9 billion)
La Tercera	04_12_2014	41. <i>Ocho de cada 10 directores adecuan pruebas de sus colegios para preparar el Simce</i> (Eight out of 10 directors adapt their schools' tests to prepare the Simce)
La Tercera	04_20_2014	42. <i>Simce: reducirán frecuencia de pruebas y número de alumnos</i> (Simce: test frequency and number of students will be reduced)
La Tercera	06_11_2014	43. <i>Mineduc: resultados del Simce muestran una realidad "indignante"</i> (Education Ministry: Simce results show an "outrageous" reality)
La Tercera	06_12_2014	44. <i>Anuncian intervención en el Instituto Nacional por resultados Simce</i> (Announce of an intervention at Instituto Nacional due to Simce results)
La Tercera	06_12_2014	45. <i>"La brecha no se estrechará con los arreglos institucionales que propone el gobierno"</i> ("The gap will not close with the institutional rearrangements proposed by the government")

Table 2. Continues on next page

Newspaper	Date	Title
La Tercera	06_12_2014	46. <i>"El único proyecto que tiene impacto en la inclusión en el sistema es el fin al copago"</i> ("The only project that has an impact on inclusion in the system is the end of copayments")
La Tercera	07_16_2014	47. <i>Prueba Simce: Agencia de la Calidad propone disminuir periodicidad y cobertura</i> (Simce Test: Quality Agency proposes to reduce periodicity and coverage)
La Tercera	08_04_2014	48. <i>"Si hablamos de educación pública de calidad, Las Condes ya lo logró"</i> ("If we talk about quality public education, Las Condes already has it")
La Tercera	09_01_2014	49. <i>Carlos Henríquez: "Hay desequilibrio entre el número de pruebas Simce y el apoyo a los colegios"</i> (Carlos Henríquez: "There is an imbalance between the number of Simce tests and the support for schools")
La Tercera	09_15_2014	50. <i>Comunas pobres con peor PSU y Simce son las que más destinan fondos a educación</i> (Poor communes with the worst PSU and Simce are the ones that most allocate funds to education)
La Tercera	10_08_2014	51. <i>Más del 40% de estudiantes tiene problemas en escritura, sin importar colegio de origen</i> (More than 40% of students have problems in writing, regardless of their school)
La Tercera	10_09_2014	52. <i>Unicef critica que sistema chileno forma a alumnos con baja autonomía</i> (Unicef criticizes that the Chilean system trains students with low autonomy)
La Tercera	10_17_2014	53. <i>El colegio municipal de Melipilla que dio vuelta la cifra roja en el Simce</i> (The municipal school of Melipilla that overcame bad results in Simce)
La Tercera	10_21_2014	54. <i>Las diferencias que marca el Simce en la Región Metropolitana</i> (The differences showed by the Simce in the Metropolitan Region)
La Tercera	10_26_2014	55. <i>El 50% de los colegios con más bajo resultado en Simce es subvencionado</i> (50% of schools with the lowest results in Simce are State subsidized)
La Tercera	10_28_2014	56. <i>Cuestionan "exceso" de recursos para Simce</i> ("Excess" of resources for Simce is questioned)
La Tercera	11_01_2014	57. <i>Casi dos tercios de alumnos de 8° básico sabe menos que uno de 5° en matemáticas</i> (Almost two thirds of 8th grade students know less than one in 5th grade in math)
La Tercera	11_10_2014	58. <i>Estudio muestra que niños con más actividad física tienen mejores resultados en Simce y PSU</i> (Study shows that children who do more physical activity have better results in Simce and PSU)
La Tercera	11_15_2014	59. <i>"Para lograr todos sus propósitos, el Simce debe cambiar"</i> ("To achieve all its purposes, the Simce must change")
La Tercera	11_19_2014	60. <i>Boicot de estudiantes a Simce reabre debate sobre la prueba</i> (Student boycott of Simce reopens test debate)
La Tercera	11_28_2014	61. <i>Simce: indicación de senador Montes pone fin a ranking de colegios</i> (Simce: Senator Montes indication ends school rankings)
La Tercera	11_29_2014	62. <i>Agencia respalda cambios en entrega de resultados Simce</i> (Agency supports changes in delivery of Simce results)
La Tercera	11_30_2014	63. <i>Alianza irá a Contraloría y al TC para frenar restricción a ranking Simce</i> (Alianza will go to Comptroller and CT to stop restriction to Simce ranking)
La Tercera	12_01_2014	64. <i>Mineduc: padres podrán conocer datos Simce</i> (Education Ministry: parents will be able to know Simce data)

Table 2. News analyzed

Source: Own elaboration.

social stratification, and the relationship between segregation logics and school stigmatization.

We can see this in the EM2 editorial (Simce's educational performances), whose purpose is to disseminate and weigh the results corresponding to different curricular areas and levels of education measured by the SIMCE. Although this editorial

anticipates in its headline the delivery of results, in fact it is dedicated to defending the SIMCE and opts for the suppression of these indicators. Instead, this information is replaced with other more favorable external measurements, such as those from the last PISA test. These data are recontextualized with the objective of assessing school segregation in a global

perspective, a comparison that would leave Chile in a more advantageous position regarding other countries whose educational systems would be recognized as better.

The above is reflected linguistically in the use of metaphors and metonyms, the former used to describe how the socioeconomic origin negatively affects student performance –i.e.: “the *importance* of origin...” (Simce’s educational performances, 2014)–, and the second ones to exchange the place for the event, with the purpose of demonstrating –through a false analogy– that certain countries, more developed than Chile, exhibit wider performance gaps according to their social composition. When judgments are incorporated against the evidence, it seeks to delegitimize those who resort to socioeconomic origin as an argument.

In EM2 (Simce’s educational performances), the “reality”, “load or ballast” and “responsibility” topoi also stand out. The first is explicitly stated –i.e.: “It has become commonplace to argue that Chile is the most segregated school country in the world...” (Educational performance in Simce, 2014)– to argue that the comparisons with derive in this argument should consider other variables, but those are never mentioned. The second serves to affirm the existence of these asymmetries and their academic costs, while the third works in conjunction with a “concession”, i.e., once the permanence of this ballast is admitted, responsibilities must be assumed to reduce the effects of the social stratification in student performance.

Regarding socio-cognitive features, in EM2 (Simce’s educational performances) the general epistemic strategy is to naturalize educational gaps as a reality, which does not depend so much on the instrument as on the organization and management of public policies. The deontic modality is used, in this sense, to encourage modifications that take advantage of the available evidence, i.e., changes that cause improvements in the model without affecting SIMCE’s permanence or scope. SIMCE’s importance is then dismissed when contrasting it with other factors that would have a greater impact on the stratification of the educational model and its subsequent logics of stigmatization.

The corollary of the editorial EM2 (Simce’s educational performances) uses a treatment recommendation, which includes “carefully choosing effective policies”, for example, “dedicated to promoting the transfer of those teachers (who achieve good performance in standardized tests) to the most vulnerable sectors” (Simce’s educational performances, 2014). With this,

not only is the problem of inequality redefined, but measures are being taken to counteract the effects attributed to SIMCE, in order to subtract preponderance and implicitly displace responsibility for segregation from the measurement system to the school system.

In the case of LT1 (Simce Results and education quality), its particularity lies in resizing the problem of educational inequality, which is also presented as a reality –i.e.: “current asymmetries” (Simce Results and education quality, 2014) that SIMCE can contribute to regulate–. In this regard, along with naturalizing this scenario, it chooses to recriminate the restrictions that try to be imposed on establishments and parents regarding the publication of results and the selection of students, based on a common and non-conflicting experience. From this framework, the treatment recommendations are clear: the debate is focused on school management and school programming measures that can improve educational quality, disregarding SIMCE’s limitations or its eventual elimination.

In the case of LT2 (Unjustified restriction to Simce), it addresses the law indication that alters the SIMCE’s result delivery format, which, in concrete, eradicates the creation of rankings by educational establishment. This derives in to three prominent thematic relationships: the first links public access to information with the family’s ability to choose; the second connects this capacity with the freedom of education based on the diversity of school projects (paid, State subsidized and free), and the third associates this educational offer with healthy competition and the search for quality.

Once the conflict points regarding the accessibility of information, on the one hand, and the rights of families, establishments and students, on the other, have been stipulated, LT2 (Unjustified restriction to Simce) proceeds to recommend the treatment to this problem. These suggestions are in line with the improvement of the measurement system, specifically with regard to including skills that are not currently considered by the test and introducing other instruments that complement the information available to families and the school community, without giving up, of course, the development of comparative ranking, a measure that should be restored shortly.

The three editorials are consistent with the framing of the news corpus, since the most suggested treatments to solve the problems reported are: “Modify conditions external to the SIMCE that would influence their results”, with 32 mentions, and “modify the SIMCE: that is, maintain the general structure of the test with

some minor modifications”, with 15 mentions. The options “end the SIMCE” or “replace it with another test or measurement method” only obtained one mention each. Likewise, within the treatment possibilities suggested by the sources of the news pieces, the four most mentioned were: “Decrease the number of test questions and/or their periodicity”, followed by “continue publishing their results”, “improve the congruence between classes and test”, and “improve teachers’ quality”.

CONTEXT AND ATTRIBUTION OF RESPONSIBILITY: THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Another important aspect derived from the editorials’ analysis is the political context in which they were published. The discussion about Educational Reform, however, appears marginally in the framing analysis, with only three mentions linked to the treatment of the problem. In all three cases, what is postulated is that the profit in education does not influence SIMCE’s poor results, and that another reform that does not focus on the ownership of schools is necessary. However, at the level editorials’ linguistic analysis, this discussion appears completely permeated by the situation that installs the processing of this reform and allows to identify in greater depth the ideological character of the media discourse on SIMCE.

In LT1 (Simce results and education quality), for example, the report of results by levels and curricular areas is mentioned; nevertheless, it bases on that background to guide the debate around the selection processes currently conducted by primary and secondary schools with a view to shaping their enrollment under specific economic, academic, value, etc., criteria. Two crucial thematic relationships emerge from these cases: the first is established between the logic of selectivity and quality assurance, and the second is established between the regulation of educational offer and school discrimination.

Among the topoi identified in LT1 (Simce Results and education quality), the “numbers” to assign credibility and legitimacy to the results presented stand out. “Reality” is used to naturalize the existence of educational gaps that, despite this, continue to justify the application of the instrument, pointing to the benefits of having a diversified composition. The one of “utility and advantages” is used to relieve the contributions that SIMCE’s application entails, especially if this allows to guide the parents’ educational options. Finally, the “danger and threat” topoi is used

to predict future damages –especially for the most vulnerable students– if the determination was made to eliminate the SIMCE under “segregationist” and “egalitarian” arguments. Simce and education quality, 2014).

Regarding the fallacies, it is important to “affirm the consequent” in order to make the correct educational programming subject to successful returns, SIMCE being the guarantor of this correlation. In addition, *petitio principii* is used to attribute the validity of the evidence presented to the results provided by the SIMCE, as if the application of the test alone proved its effectiveness and usefulness. *Argumentum ad hominem* is used to impute to the counterpart ignorance –or rightly indifference– about the motivations of the parents who choose for their children those establishments that regulate their educational offer. With *secundum quid*, the good performance of State subsidized schools is taken as a reference to associate an efficient educational administration with a higher quality of education.

Through rationalization in LT1 (Simce Results and education quality), it is possible to incorporate SIMCE into an institutional regulatory framework, which gives reliability to its measurements. Hence, these data can reveal, guide and clarify the educational management guidelines that the system itself constrains and reinforces, because they recreate the school reality from a supposedly balanced representation of its advances and challenges. Therefore, some evidence is reordered to legitimize the role of SIMCE as a predictor and guarantor of educational quality. Along with this, it appeals to an argument according to which, if the best results are correlated to high socioeconomic levels, school establishments rely on the discrimination of their students to obtain outstanding performances. This strategy of recontextualization is vital to introduce in the social debate the interests of parents and school organizing bodies (sustainers), which seeks to create opposition to the reform that wants to eliminate selection and copayment.

At the socio-cognitive level, the immediate context model that is reconstructed from LT2 (Unjustified restriction to Simce) refers, on the one hand, to the scenario of processing the 2015 Budget Law, which included in the education item the provision discussed, and, on the other hand, to the stage of discussion around the educational reform that was happening in the Congress. In this editorial, the concomitance between these two legislative events is induced, merging both scenarios and subsuming their participants in

the same scope of action and suspicion regarding their intentions and objectives. Specifically, the restriction of information and the “eagerness to eliminate profit, selection and copayment” (Unjustified restriction to Simce, 2014) are put on the same level, to cross-examine any transformation that may affect the market-oriented education model prevailing in Chile.

In accordance with these guidelines, an imprecise ideological scheme is configured in most of its variables, in order to generalize the opposition received by the current system. LT2 (Unjustified restriction to Simce) only offers details of the arguments attributed to the promoters of the measure under discussion, claiming the role of SIMCE as an apolitical instrument and, therefore, without ideological burden. Although it is presumed that the knowledge provided comes from an authorized voice, in LT2 (Unjustified restriction to Simce) the origin of the statements is not clear, nor is the source of many of the propositions taken for granted.

The metaphors used in LT2 (Unjustified restriction to Simce) acquire a temporal and orientative dimension –i.e.: “one more step has been taken towards restricting the family’s ability to choose”– (Unjustified restriction to Simce, 2014), implying that this decision marks the beginning of a reformist process that will change the long-term private or subsidized education with selection and copayment. This frames the nature of these changes as reprehensible, specifically through the lexical selection of items such as “cut”, “deterioration”, etc. Thus, a context of alleged radicalization of “egalitarian” measures is suggested, and the defense of the educational model as we know, exacerbated (Unjustified restriction to Simce, 2014).

Among the fallacies found we observe *post hoc ergo proter hoc*, used to connect two events distant in time, such as the announcement of the educational reform and the subsequent parliamentary indication that allows to alter the format of the results delivery. With this, it would be argued that said modification is, in fact, aligned with the egalitarian purpose embraced in the reform. Additionally, *petitio principii* helps to emphasize that this limitation not only violates the freedom of families, but also goes against “private talent” (Unjustified restriction to Simce, 2014) in education, euphemism with which causality is established between logically unrelated facts, suggesting a harmful and chain consequence. This type of fallacy, called *ignoratio elenchi*, is also used in EM2 (Simce’s educational performances) to incorporate an argument disconnected from the current debate, as happens when associating the effect

that the attacks on the SIMCE would have on creating high expectations about the educational reform.

DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES: DEPERSONALIZING AND CONSENSUS

A final aspect of the editorials’ analysis that intersects with news framing is the way in which the sources and actors involved in the discussion about the SIMCE are represented. News framing is congruent with the *depersonalization* of editorial discourse, which is achieved through two main strategies: on the one hand, actors linked to school communities are invisible and, on the other, the different positions regarding the test are balanced. In this case, the most mentioned actors are “experts” and “representatives of the Executive Branch”, with 27% of mentions each, followed by the “actors of the school community”, who represent 15% of the total of actors identified. When we review the sources, however, the group of experts and representatives of the Executive Branch have 37% and 24% of mentions, respectively, while the actors of the school community are replaced by documentary sources with 10% of the total mentions.

In 71% of the cases it was not possible to define a clear position in the news’ sources, while in 16% there stated reasons to be both in favor and against the evidence, depending on the aspect considered. Only 13% of the sources cited openly expressed a position regarding the test: 10% of them in favor and 3% against. This means that in the news coverage the dissenting voices are marginalized, while those that tend to agree on SIMCE’s pros and cons are the type of source most used. We will also see that, since the use of sources is not common in editorials, it is the way of referring to the actors that determines the positions and their validation.

At the linguistic level, in EM2 (Simce’s educational performances, 2014) *depersonalization* is frequent through the morpheme ‘it’ (ie: “it has been heard...”, “it is not considered...”, “it is based...”), which is usually used to avoid mentioning the ideological adversary, i.e., every time certain criticisms are recontextualized around SIMCE, this formula is used to model a homogeneous, albeit anonymous, opposition. It also highlights the use of relational and existential processes that seek to naturalize a set of assertions with which the Chilean educational context is described (i.e.: “but the reality is...”, “this is a clear exaggeration...”), in order to put the enunciators out of the spot and neutralize the debate based on an apparent agreement.

LT1 (Simce results and education quality, 2014) also uses depersonalization with the morpheme 'it' (i.e.: "it is observed", "it is evident", etc.) to suppress the agents in charge of the test execution and of evaluating its results, giving the impression of an automated procedure that eliminates human motivations and intentions. Material processes are also used (i.e.: "The test *reveals*...", "This last measurement does not *show*...", etc.) by virtue of which inanimate entities are created, closing the field of action and impact of the measurement system, without identifiable participants.

At the linguistic level, in LT2 (Unjustified restriction to Simce, 2014) nominalizations acquire by far the most prominent presence, so that the agency of specific actors is omitted, and complex propositions appear as subjects in clauses of high grammatical density (i.e.: "Limit by law the delivery of results is consistent with the idea of an egalitarian education", etc.). Only occasionally is the use of individual human participants detected as subjects of mental, verbal and material processes (i.e.: "And that *many parliamentarians* have recognized that they did not notice this indication...", "Their *promoters* point out that the Simce has only helped to 'make a merchandise' out of education...") and groups (i.e.: "Both *houses of Congress* approved a parliamentary indication...").

When active processes are used in EM2 (Simce's educational performances, 2014), three classes of actors are incorporated: personified abstracts (i.e.: "These *countries* and *similar ones* possess..."), nominalized abstracts (i.e.: "that *educational policy* should not try to reduce..."), and human or humanized under the label of the inclusive us (i.e.: "our country", "our educational system", "our students", etc.). Then, although the establishment of an ideological opposition is evident, the groups and positions in dispute are vaguely characterized, if not to denigrate their approaches (i.e.: "unfounded", "light", "biased", "exaggerated", etc.). Additionally, the predicaments do not value people, but rather their ideas, which concern mostly doubts about the instrument, continually discrediting them. That said, the representation imposed on social actors is exclusion and, in certain sentences, generalization, specifically when the critics to the measurement system are relativized.

At the socio-cognitive level, in LT1 (Simce's results and education quality) the participants' construction and their roles is made on two levels: on the one hand, the enunciators are depersonalized in order to present an extended, objective and stable approval of SIMCE,

tending to refute the arguments that give the test a central responsibility in the reproduction of educational inequality; on the other hand, said actors, although displaced from their place of grammatical agents, turn out to be the establishments themselves and the parents, who endorse the mechanisms with which the educational offer is regulated and its autonomy is guaranteed.

In LT2 (Unjustified restriction to Simce) predicaments are aimed at evaluating a series of substantive actions that blur speech agents, causing their executors to be negatively valued, albeit indirectly –i.e.: "The reasons arguments for limiting the application of these tests *are debatable*..." (Unjustified restriction to Simce, 2014)–. Thus, the text is usually based on the indeterminacy and passivation of the social actors that: 1) intervene in the decision-making process that modifies the delivery format of SIMCE's results (representatives of the Education Ministry), 2) support this measure (its promoters), and 3) are affected by it (teachers, families, students).

In LT1 (Simce Results and education quality), predicaments are also not aimed at qualifying the individuals themselves, but rather their performance and scope, from which certain inferences are derived that are also negatively valued –i.e.: "The interpretation is difficult to contrast, but –once again– it *implies a lack of awareness* of the motivations..." (Simce results and education quality, 2014). In all cases, the level of abstraction of these constructions is high, which obscures the designation of responsibilities and discourse sources.

The *perspectivation* in LT1 (Simce results and education quality) responds to a strategy of social consensus building, reinforced by the installed presumption about the role of experts attributed to analysts, who qualify SIMCE positively from a certain specialized knowledge. From this implicit position, distance is generated in relation to the controversies raised by the instrument, and the arguments that support them are mitigated. To do this, the deontic modality is used to force the counterpart to support and rectify their interpretations, and the epistemic modality is used to attenuate the normalizing character of SIMCE, separating it from the damages that the contested selection and copayment practices entail.

In LT2 (Unjustified restriction to Simce) the *perspectivation* is high and uses a set of evaluative marks that favor a heteroglossic enunciation. Even when the author's voice resorts to depersonalization, it



Figure 3. Synthesis of results by studied dimension

Source: Own elaboration.

gathers various conflicting points of view from which SIMCE's role as a regulatory device for education quality is supported and refuted alternately. In this sense, those arguments that correlate the instrument's social function with the effects of educational segregation are mitigated, and those arguments that validate both the application of the test and the development of comparative rankings are intensified, with a view to ensuring the families' ability to choose in a scenario of open and competitive education options.

Figure 3 is a summary of the results that accounts for the analysis dimensions.

FINAL DISCUSSION

The trends of news framing and prominent patterns at the linguistic and socio-cognitive level in the analyzed editorials coincide both in the diagnosis of the problem linked to SIMCE and in its potential solutions, on the one hand, and in the modes of representation of the actors involved in the debate, on the other. However, the discussion's political context appears at a much deeper argumentative level, which makes it possible to recontextualize the initial problem associated with SIMCE in the framework of positions for or against Educational Reform. Therefore, the editorials, as an

opinion genre, contribute to verify this exercise, much more than the informative texts.

Both in the news framing and in the editorial discourse we can see that there is disparity in the test results, due to the socioeconomic composition of the students, and the consensual idea that the educational system expresses a flagrant social inequality. However, the coverage made by these newspapers does not correlate the application of SIMCE with the maintenance of that inequality, nor with the schools' stigmatization after the publication of the scores. It is assumed, therefore, that SIMCE is not the cause of inequality and social stigmatization present in the Chilean educational system, and that the right thing is to maintain the test and to optimize the situations of the less favored schools so that they can increase their performance.

This problem-and-treatment suggestion that can be identified in the discursive and framing analysis is consistent with the position regarding the Educational Reform expressed by the newspapers. Thus, from the three focus in dispute and that predominate in the corpus, there are at least two oppositions that are subject to resignification. First, the segregation/selection opposition seeks to stress those factors that would allow questioning/justifying the economic and academic gaps of a discriminatory/competitive school context, which would legitimize SIMCE's role as guarantor of the system quality, or delegitimize it for becoming a reproductive device of social stratification. In this regard, the editorials advocate the publication of SIMCE's results the right of parents to choose for their children those schools with the best performance.

Second, there is a resignification of the opposition choice/equality, which would allow to safeguard/counteract private and public interests and projects, legitimizing SIMCE's function as guarantor of freedom of paid and subsidized education, or else delegitimizing it because it is an educational market regulator mechanism, which leaves free education as a universal right. In this regard, editorials promote student's selection as part of a constitutionally protected freedom, suggesting that the establishments cannot take care of the baseline conditions of inequality with which the students face the application processes.

Both oppositions would impact, at a macro level, in the context of influence that places SIMCE in the field of educational policies, and, at a micro level, in the context of influence that places SIMCE in the field

of educational management. We observe, therefore, that both media respond to quite stable discursive production parameters, sometimes identical, that often configure non-agency enunciation spaces, of an expert and authorized nature, whose proposals respond to an instrumental rationality of a technocratic, disciplinary, legal and political order. From this, the ideological confrontation between SIMCE's defenders and detractors is exacerbated, although the tension points end up being negotiated based on a series of knowledge and implications oriented to the homogenization of opinion differences, naturalization of the evidence that expose the deficiencies of the instrument, and the deactivation of the arguments⁵ that criticize its ankylosing and permanence. This means that a false consensus is proposed on this evaluation, which does not exist in the educational literature or among the educational actors.

Therefore, it is concluded that there is a clear dependence between the discussion of the SIMCE's results and the validity of the Educational Reform promoted by Michelle Bachelet, since the test would ensure the search for educational quality within a heavily privatized system. The students' performance and the prestige of the schools is measured under a criterion of competition, which needs the standardized tests and the manufacture of rankings to exist, in line with the comparative logics that govern in an increasingly globalized world. Freedom of education, of choice and selection, are understood in a general framework in which the goal is to preserve profit in education, something consistent with the neoliberal model in which newspapers such as *La Tercera* and *El Mercurio* operate.

Both media define both the problems derived from the SIMCE and those that come from the most extensive educational crisis that the country has experienced in recent years. Consequently, the processing of the identified conflicts is subject to the normalization that these journalistic discourses provide to citizens. From this dominant position, they proceed to explicitly recommend how these should be resolved, combining a framing strategy that aims to persuade, particularly, the institutional agents that can transversely influence the promotion of educational policies, ordering them to re-legitimize this instrument, avoid possible modifications, and protect corporate interests within the education system that still prevails in Chile.

NOTES

1. This paper is the result of a research on the relationship between media and education, where the FONDECYT Initiation project No. 11170005, *El discurso social sobre los profesores en Chile: Medios de comunicación e identidad docente en un contexto mediatizado* (The social discourse on teachers in Chile: Media and teaching identity in a mediated context) is framed, and the project of the Bicentennial Initiative of the Universidad de Chile, *El proceso de construcción social de la política educacional: El caso del SIMCE* (The educational policy social construction process: The case of SIMCE). Funding from PIA-CONICYT Basal Funds for Centers of Excellence Project BF0003 is gratefully acknowledged.
2. Because the students in Chile are colloquially known as “penguins” (Translator’s note).
3. They are the most influential newspapers in Chile. They belong to families that own the most important media conglomerates in the country, El Mercurio S.A. and Grupo Copesa, which concentrate 80% of the readers and 83% of the advertising investment of the industry (Asociación Chilena de Agencias de Medios, 2015).
4. It was created in 2014 under the government of Michelle Bachelet to review the test and propose improvements in its application. It was composed of researchers and academics in education from different universities, public organizations and study centers in Chile.
5. “Deactivation of arguments” refers to those syntactic and grammatical operations that take the actors (agents) out of the discourse focus, especially those who could take responsibility for those arguments, which has already been developed in the analysis.

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