

EDUCATION IN THE NEWS MEDIA

by

Zane Wubbena, BS, MA

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Committee Members:

Michael P. O'Malley, Chair

Larry R. Price

Brad Porfilio

Stephen Gordon

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## **DEDICATION**

The dissertation is dedicated to my dad.

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The production of a dissertation is not an easy undertaking. It requires an unwavering degree of dedication, persistence, and (often blind) commitment to thinking and risk, as the minutes blend to hours, the hours to days, the days to weeks, and weeks to months and years. It is ultimately a product less than the total of its effort. Although I have spent countless hours studying and tracing a literature trail to its roots, literature that often yielded no expression or place in this dissertation, the knowledge acquired from this endeavor is not absent from the final product itself. It has implicitly shaped the research project in numerous ways. It is, therefore, also important to acknowledge the individuals that have helped shape the production of this dissertation in numerous ways.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  | <b>Page</b> |
|--|-------------|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....   | v           |
| LIST OF TABLES .....   | xii         |
| LIST OF FIGURES .....  | xiii        |
| ABSTRACT .....   | xiv         |
| CHAPTER  |             |
| I. INTRODUCTION .....  | 1           |
| Background to the Research Problem .....   | 4           |
| The Rise of Neoliberalism .....  | 4           |
| Global Educational Reform Movement .....   | 8           |
| Global Educational Reform and the News Media .....   | 13          |
| Framing theory .....   | 15          |
| Semi-equivalency framing .....   | 16          |
| Visual framing theory .....  | 17          |
| Statement of the Problems and Research Questions .....   | 18          |
| Layout of the Dissertation .....   | 19          |
| Conclusion .....   | 22          |
| II. ARTICLE I: EDUCATION IN THE NEWS MEDIA: A SYSTEMATIC<br>REVIEW OF RESEARCH (1996–2016) ..... | 23          |
| Abstract .....   | 23          |
| Introduction .....   | 24          |
| Background: Education and the News Media .....   | 28          |
| Method .....   | 33          |
| Search Procedure .....   | 34          |
| Eligible Studies: Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria .....   | 35          |
| Data Extraction and Synthesis .....  | 37          |
| Intra-coder Reliability .....  | 40          |
| Results .....  | 41          |
| Sub-Research Question #1 .....   | 42          |
| Publication year .....   | 42          |
| Authorship classification .....  | 43          |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Refereed journals .....   | 44  |
| Academic subjects .....   | 45  |
| Sub-Research Question #2 .....                                    | 46  |
| Educational topics .....  | 46  |
| Geographical locale .....   | 48  |
| Sub-Research Question #3 .....                                    | 50  |
| Sub-Research Question #4 .....                                    | 50  |
| Article types .....   | 51  |
| Research methods .....  | 51  |
| Data sources .....  | 53  |
| Types of news mediums.....  | 53  |
| News outlets .....  | 55  |
| Sample.....   | 56  |
| Genres .....  | 57  |
| News forms .....  | 58  |
| Date range .....  | 58  |
| Timeframe.....  | 59  |
| Analysis tools.....   | 59  |
| Sub-Research Question #5 .....                                    | 59  |
| Discussion.....   | 63  |
| Limitations .....   | 70  |
| Conclusion and Recommendations for Future Research .....          | 71  |
| References.....   | 74  |
| Appendix A: Inclusion Protocol .....                              | 90  |
| Appendix B: Data Extraction Protocol/Literature Matrix .....      | 92  |
| Appendix C: Frequency of Journals by Academic Subject .....       | 103 |
| Appendix D: Frequency of Outlets by Medium Type and Country ..... | 105 |

### III. ARTICLE II: U.S. NEWS MEDIA FRAMING OF THE CHILEAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM FROM 2006 TO 2016 .....

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Abstract .....                                     | 109 |
| Introduction.....                                  | 110 |
| Theoretical Framework and Research Questions ..... | 112 |
| Content-Related Framing: Issue Frames.....         | 114 |
| Content-Related Framing: Source Frames.....        | 115 |
| Formal Framing: Episodic-Thematic Frames .....     | 116 |
| Interaction: Content and Formal Frames .....       | 118 |
| Method .....                                       | 119 |
| Data Collection and Sample.....                    | 119 |
| Coding Instrument and Procedures.....              | 121 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Descriptive information .....                            | 121 |
| Content-related framing .....                            | 122 |
| Formal framing .....                                     | 123 |
| Inter-coder Reliability .....                            | 123 |
| Results .....  | 124 |
| Research Question #1: Issue Framing .....                | 125 |
| Research Question #2: Source Framing .....               | 127 |
| Research Question #3: Episodic-Thematic Framing .....    | 128 |
| Research Questions #4 and #5: Framing Interactions ..... | 130 |
| Discussion .....   | 133 |
| Limitations and Directions for Future Research .....     | 139 |
| Conclusion .....   | 141 |
| References .....   | 143 |
| Appendix A: Data Source .....                            | 153 |
| Appendix B: Codebook .....                               | 160 |

IV. ARTICLE III: VISUALLY FRAMING A PEDAGOGY FOR SPACE  
DURING THE 2011 CHILEAN STUDENT MOVEMENT .....

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Abstract .....  | 164 |
| Introduction .....  | 165 |
| Background and Context: The 2011 Chilean Student Movement ..... | 168 |
| Theoretical Framework: Spatial Educational Theory .....         | 172 |
| Learning in Conceived Space .....                               | 172 |
| Studying in Lived Space .....                                   | 174 |
| Teaching in Perceived Space .....                               | 176 |
| Method .....  | 177 |
| Sample .....  | 177 |
| Data Collection .....   | 178 |
| Positionality .....   | 181 |
| Visual Data Analysis .....                                      | 182 |
| Visually Framing the 2011 Chilean Student Movement .....        | 183 |
| What Did Learning in Conceived Space Look Like? .....           | 183 |
| What Did Studying in Lived Space Look Like? .....               | 187 |
| What Did Teaching in Perceived Space Look Like? .....           | 190 |
| Conclusion .....  | 194 |
| References .....  | 197 |
| Appendix A: Creative Commons License .....                      | 204 |
| Appendix B: Permission to Reprint .....                         | 205 |
| Appendix C: Permission to Reprint .....                         | 206 |
| Appendix D: Manuscript Acceptance .....                         | 207 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Appendix E: Invitation to Submit Full Manuscript ..... | 208 |
| Appendix F: Call for Papers: Special Issue .....       | 209 |
| V. CONCLUSION .....                                    | 211 |
| Overview and Findings .....                            | 211 |
| Directions for Future Research .....                   | 216 |
| Culminating Project .....                              | 219 |
| REFERENCES .....                                       | 221 |

## LIST OF TABLES

| <b>Table</b>   | <b>Page</b> |
|--|-------------|
| 2.1. Search Terms for Locating Relevant Literature.....                        | 35          |
| 2.2. Variables Targeted for Data Extraction.....                               | 38          |
| 2.3. Frequency of Authorship Classification.....                               | 44          |
| 2.4. Frequency of Publications by Journal and Academic Subject.....            | 45          |
| 2.5. Frequency and Classification of Educational Topics in the News Media..... | 47          |
| 2.6. Frequency and Classification of Geographic Locale.....                    | 49          |
| 2.7. Frequency of Different Theoretical/Conceptual Frameworks.....             | 50          |
| 2.8. Frequency and Type of Research Articles.....                              | 51          |
| 2.9. Frequency and Type of Research Methods.....                               | 52          |
| 2.10. Frequency of News Outlets by Type of Medium and Country.....             | 56          |
| 2.11. Frequency of News Genres for Data Collection and Analysis.....           | 58          |
| 3.1. Frequency of News Items by Outlet and Year Interval.....                  | 120         |
| 3.2. Frequency of News Items by Issue and Year Interval.....                   | 126         |
| 3.3. Frequency of News Items by Source and Year Interval.....                  | 128         |
| 3.4. Frequency of Interaction between Issue and Episodic-Thematic Frames.....  | 131         |
| 3.5. Frequency of Interaction between Source and Episodic-Thematic Frames..... | 132         |
| 4.1. Coding Scheme: Dimensions of Spatial Educational Theory.....              | 179         |

## LIST OF FIGURES

| <b>Figure</b>   | <b>Page</b> |
|---|-------------|
| 2.1. Flow Diagram Illustrating the Literature Screening Process.....          | 41          |
| 2.2. Frequency Distribution for Research Included in Review (1996-2016).....  | 43          |
| 2.3. Types of News Mediums Used in Previous Research .....                    | 54          |
| 2.4. Thematic Map Illustrating Common Findings from Previous Research .....   | 60          |
| 3.1. Frequency Distribution of Episodic-Thematic Frames by Year Interval..... | 130         |
| 4.1. Learning in Conceived Space .....  | 183         |
| 4.2. Studying in Lived Space .....  | 187         |
| 4.3. Teaching in Perceived Space .....  | 190         |

## **ABSTRACT**

The dissertation examined the relationship between education and the news media. In particular, I examined educational policy and pedagogy in the news media. In this sense, education served as the subject of investigation, and the news media served as the object for analysis. Previous scholars have demonstrated a particular interest in this field of study. In this dissertation, I work to join the conversation of these scholars. This dissertation was designed using an article-based format, which included introductory and concluding chapters that bookend three, self-contained articles suitable for publication in an academic journal. In the introductory chapter, I situated the dissertation within the background and context of neoliberalism, market-oriented educational reforms, and the mediatization of global educational policies. In the first article (Chapter II), I employed a systematic literature review method to examine research on education in the news media from 1996 to 2016. This study unified what has been a fragmented field of study. In the second article (Chapter III), I conducted a media content analysis of U.S. news media framing of the Chilean educational system over a 10-year period. This study empirically refined our understanding of public discourse in the United States of the Chilean market-oriented educational system. In the third article (Chapter IV), I drew on news media images to illustrate what a pedagogy for space looked like during the 2011 Chilean student movement. This study broadened how we conceptualize education beyond the classroom for social transformation. The dissertation ends with a call to establish a research agenda on education in the news media as a distinct field for academic study.

## I. INTRODUCTION

One of the most important activities scholars can engage in during this time of economic rationalism and imperial neo-conservatism [and neoliberalism] is to analyze critically the production and circulation of these discourses.

—Michael Apple, *Comparing Neo-Liberal Projects in Education*, 2001, p. 421

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the entire surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere.

—Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, 1848/2010, p. 16

I would prefer not to.

—Herman Melville, *Bartleby, The Scrivener: A Story of Wall-Street*, 1853, p. 8

In 2005, Milton Friedman, the “grandmaster of free-market economic theory” (Noble, 2006, para. 1) from the University of Chicago and the 1976 winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics, advocated in the mainstream business press, *The Wall Street Journal*, that with natural disaster comes opportunity to transform the institutional structure of education. He advocated for school choice, an idea he first introduced to the public in 1955 (Friedman, 1955), as a structural reform for transforming public education into a market. In his influential news commentary over half a century later, in reference to rebuilding New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, he argued:

Most New Orleans schools are in ruins, as are the homes of the children who have attended them. The children are now scattered all over the country. This is a tragedy. It is also an opportunity to radically reform the educational system.

If, by a political miracle, Louisiana could overcome the opposition of the unions and enact universal vouchers [as a form of school choice], it would not only serve itself, it would also render a service to the rest of the country by providing a large scale example of what the market can do for education when permitted to operate. (Friedman, 2005, paras. 1, 9)

In this example, Friedman, as an instrumental policy agent, weaponized one of the most highly circulated and influential online and print news media outlets in the United States, using it as an instrument to deliver a message to the American public about how to improve public education. He recommended that structural reforms were needed to improve American schools. And, if his advice was heeded, New Orleans would provide an example for the larger-scale implementation of market-oriented educational reforms throughout the country.<sup>1</sup> His wholehearted advocacy and support for school choice and free-market policies resonated with the neoliberal discourse that has increasingly homogenized the representative nature of educational policy and pedagogy around the globe.<sup>2</sup> In this sense, Friedman's example most aptly "shows a contemporary

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<sup>1</sup> Scott and Holme (2016) "deploy the terms market-oriented policies and market-based policies to refer to education policies that incorporate elements of capitalism into their design" (p. 251).

<sup>2</sup> There are no free-markets. Take, for example, one of the stated purposes and functions of the Federal Reserve (2016): "Regulation entails establishing the rules within which financial institutions must operate—in other words, issuing specific regulations and guidelines governing the formation, operations, activities, and acquisitions of financial institutions" (p. 74). In essence, government sets the rules by which markets operate, whether they are financial markets or, in this case, an educational market.

phenomenon in the analysis of education policies: the strategic role of the media in the definition of policy problems, and in the production and circulation of their solutions” (Cabalin, 2015, p. 2). The market-oriented educational reform system and its ever-present representation in the news media and throughout society largely emerged on the policy agenda with the rise of neoliberalism globally (Klein, 2007).

In this dissertation, I examine education in the news media. I examine the news media’s representations of educational policy and pedagogy. Scholars throughout the world, from Chile to the United States and Australia to Finland and many places in-between, have contributed much insight to this area of critical research (Cabalin, 2014; Feuerstein, 2014, 2015; Gabriel & Nina-Lester, 2013; Gautreaux & Delgado, 2016; Goldstein, 2011; Shine, 2015; Yettick, 2015). In this dissertation, I work to join the conversation of these scholars. I examine the news media’s textual and visual representations of educational policy and pedagogy respectively. This dissertation is important because it contributes to our knowledge of how representations of textual media facilitate the reproduction of neoliberal market-based educational reforms in the United States and elsewhere. Moreover, it is important because representations of visual media can help to broaden how we conceptualize pedagogy in its instances of resistance to neoliberal educational policy. In this sense, the reproduction of neoliberalism holds within itself the fruits of its own resistance. I examine the media’s representations of educational policy and pedagogy through a series of three, self-contained empirical journal articles. In the remainder of this chapter, I situate the dissertation within the background and context of neoliberalism and the mediatization of global educational

policy reforms. Then, I discuss the problem and research questions driving this dissertation before discussing the dissertation layout and some concluding remarks.

## **Background to the Research Problem**

### **The Rise of Neoliberalism**

Neoliberalism signifies the current political and economic order in the United States and throughout other developed countries around the globe. As a political and economic base, it is considered a maturing stage of capitalism that connotes the entire social order in which everything is articulated (Wubbena, 2016), because it aims to “bring all human action into the domain of the market” (Harvey, 2011, p. 3). For instance, Ford (2013) writes, “neoliberalism involves privatizing subjects, spaces, goods, services, and social relations that were once public” (p. 300). Wubbena (2016) writes that the origins of the current neoliberal order can be traced to the Mont Pelerin Society that was created in the 1940s by economists, such as Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek. The mission of the society was to circulate and spread the ideas of laissez-faire economic liberalism. Its members argued for economic competition, free-markets, and limited government, where the primary role of government was to establish the rules by which the market operates (Boas & Gans-Morse, 2009). However, the economic ideas advocated by the society would continue to lay dormant, just under the surface of mainstream thought, until their emergence and widespread acceptance in the 1970s.

Keynesian economics became the primary political and economic system upon which social relations were based from post-WWII until the 1970s. While much of the world was rebuilding in the aftermath of WWII, the United States emerged as a dominant force on the global stage (Malott & Ford, 2015). During this period, economic growth

and welfare flourished in the United States. This flourishing was based on the idea of demand-side economics, where government involvement and intervention in society focused on achieving things like full employment, high union membership and job protection, and increased civil rights for marginalized populations (Wubben, 2016). The strengthening of the social democratic process during the Keynesian era posed a threat to the elite run democracy (Chomsky, 1999, 2002, 2013). This threat created what Crozier, Huntington, and Watanuki (1975) called a crisis of democracy. For instance, Crozier et al. wrote, “The democratic expansion of political participation and involvement has created an ‘overload’ on government and the imbalanced expansion of governmental activities, exacerbating inflationary tendencies in the economy” (p. 161).

In response, the neoliberal economic order as imagined by individuals such as Milton Friedman rose to the surface, becoming a prevailing thought to resolve the crises of inflation and low levels of economic growth and to limit the expansion of socialistic-communistic ideas spreading from the Soviet Union to countries throughout the world, like Chile in Latin America. The United States worked to curb the influence of the Soviet Union in Latin America by helping Chile transform into the world’s first national neoliberal experiment (Klein, 2007). As Harvey (2011) describes, this experiment began when the Chilean Military General, Augusto Pinochet, rose to power as the country’s dictator in a coup d’état on September 11, 1973, where Chile’s democratically elected president, Salvador Allende, was ousted. During this time, the CIA engaged in systematic covert action projects using the Chilean press to propagate a positive image for the Pinochet military government (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013).

In the mid-1970s, Milton Friedman and a group of Chilean economists trained at the University of Chicago, known as the “Chicago Boys”, provided Pinochet with guidance for the reorientation of Chile’s economy to neoliberalism (Friedman, 1975). The Pinochet dictatorship privatized state-owned enterprises throughout the Chilean society. Since the 1980s, neoliberal efforts to privatize the public sector have “been widely emulated across the globe” (Ostry, Loungani, & Furceri, 2016, p. 38).

The global rise and circulation of neoliberalism provides the backdrop for the rise of market-oriented educational policies not only in Chile but also in the United States and elsewhere. Scott and Holme (2016) define market-oriented policies as “education policies that incorporate elements of capitalism into their design” (p. 251). These market-oriented educational policies include school choice, such as tuition vouchers and charter schools, merit pay, school closures, and high-stakes standardized testing among others (Scott & Holme, 2016). In Chile during the early 1980s, the Pinochet dictatorship privatized the public educational system through school vouchers, the purest form of school choice. In the United States, however, Friedman (1955) proposed school vouchers in the mid-1950s. He argued that government should provide funding since public education could be considered a public good, but the government was not required to provide education to the public (Scott & Holme, 2016). Unlike in Chile, however, school vouchers failed to take mainstream hold in the United States. Ravitch (2010) suggests that school vouchers were critiqued early on because they were “stigmatized as a dodge invented to permit white students to escape to all-white public schools or to all-white segregation academies” (Ravitch, 2010, p. 114). However, in the United States there has been a steady push for market-oriented reforms. For instance, the most recent U.S.

president, Donald Trump, has stated, “I will be the nation’s biggest cheerleader for school choice” (Donald J. Trump for President, 2016, para. 2). What this statement illustrates is the continued political commitment to privatize the U.S. public educational system.

This political commitment can be understood as a shift in the economic purpose of education, which has been taken up by scholars concerned with the political-economics of schooling. As early as Louis Althusser’s (1971/2001) essay, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* and Bowles and Gintis’ (1976/2011) influential book, *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*, critical scholars have acknowledged the role of education in the reproduction of capitalist ideology and social relations. For Althusser, the school inculcates students “with the ideology which suits the role it has to fulfill in class society” (p. 105). Bowles and Gintis, however, provided one of the first substantive engagements implicating schooling in the reproduction of the conditions of production and ideology in capitalist society. They posited a correspondence principle. According to Bowles and Gintis’ correspondence principle, the educational systems operate “through a close correspondence between the social relationships which govern personal interaction in the work place and the social relationships of the educational system” (p. 12). For example, the school’s authority and control includes social relationships “between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, and students and their work replicate the hierarchical division of labor which dominates the work place” (p. 12). Gottesman (2013) considers Bowles and Gintis’ book the “most sophisticated and nuanced Marxian social and political analysis of schooling in the United States” (p. 6).

Although research continues to support the correspondence principle between education and future labor power (Anyon, 1980, 1981; Bowles & Gintis, 2002; Golann, 2015), the more recent efforts to privatization of public education through market-oriented policies can be understood as a shift to create an education marketplace, where education serves as a means for capital accumulation (Brogan, 2013; Lipman, 2011; Malott & Ford, 2015). Hence, public education has been called upon—in an implicit and non-direct way—to alleviate the crisis of capital and overaccumulation through its global expansion into a marketplace for profit and economic growth. As Marx and Engels (1848/2012) wrote, “The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the entire surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere” (p. 16). What Marx and Engels are expressing here is the common understanding today of globalization.

### **Global Educational Reform Movement**

Sahlberg (2011) explicates a descriptive for understanding the continual expansion of market-based educational reforms across the globe called the Global Education Reform Movement (GERM). Sahlberg suggests that GERM emerged in public discourse and policy practice in countries like Chile, the United States, and elsewhere during the 1980s. For instance, in 1980, Chile’s military government drastically implemented a market-based educational system while under the Pinochet dictatorship, lasting from 1973 until returning to democracy in 1990. However, even after returning to democracy, market-based educational reforms continued. In the United States, however, market-based educational reforms have emerged more subtly.

First, U.S. education was considered a local and state responsibility prior to the 1980s, although federal involvement had been growing since the 1950s (Wubbena, 2016). In President Reagan's 1983 State of the Union Address, education was rescaled as a national responsibility for the purpose of global economic competitiveness (Collin & Ferrare, 2014). Subsequently, the U.S. Department of Education released the *A Nation at Risk* report on April 26, 1983 (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). This report facilitated widespread circulation of an educational crisis throughout the nation, suggesting that U.S. global competitiveness was "being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people" (p. 5). With the input of journalists in New York City, the release of this report was made more reader-friendly with "simple, direct and powerful language that is found more commonly in the op-ed pages than in federal policy reports" (Yettick, 2013, p. 1).

School choice is one feature of global educational reform that can be traced back to Friedman (1955) essay, *The Role of Government in Education*. While school vouchers had been implemented in Chile, school choice reached public discussion in the United States during the 1990s with Chubb and Moe's (1990) influential book, *Politics, Markets, and America's Public Schools*. Chubb and Moe argued that the problem with public education was the democratic nature of its institutions. To achieve school improvement, institutional reforms were needed to bring public education under the rule of the market.

Accordingly, school choice policies have been theoretically based on the notions of supply and demand from neo-classical microeconomics (Buckley & Schneider, 2003). From the supply-side, school choice is based on competition within a marketplace, where incentives drive school operators to compete by supposedly providing increased

educational quality while decreasing operational inefficiencies (Goldhaber, 1999).

School operators that fail to provide a desirable level of educational quality or that fail to reduce inefficiencies, with respect to competing operators, close while those providing similar services with greater quality and increased efficiency prosper and increase their market standing (Chubb & Moe, 1990). Competition from the supply-side, however, relies on the driving force produced from the demand-side.

The demand-side of school choice is driven by parental choice. Parental choice is based on the proposition that consumers and customers (i.e., parents and students) are fully informed rational actors who make decisions by choosing schools from a marketplace based on their preferences in order to maximize the utility or happiness from an expected outcome, such as a test score (Goldhaber 1999). However, there are caveats to this proposition. Individuals are not fully informed, their preference can shift depending on how information is framed, and they may value different outcomes. That is, people do not make rational choices, although it is easier to assume so for economic modeling (Jabbar, 2011). For instance, by framing logically equivalent information in terms of gains and losses, individual decision-making shifts from being risk-averse to being risk-seeking (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). Nonetheless, expected utility theory, which underlies the parental choice paradigm, assumes invariance regardless of how information is framed and, thus, provides a “straightforward calculation of the utility that a consumer receives from a potential outcome and the probability of this outcome relative to all other possibilities” (Jabbar, 2011, p. 447). In turn, the demand-side folds back onto the supply-side when parental preferences drive competition between school operators that are responsive to parental demand (Chubb & Moe, 1990). The inter-relation between

the demand and supply sides has produced a variety of school choice options, ranging from school vouchers and charter schools to magnet schools among others. However, school choice is subsumed within the larger framework of global educational reforms.

Sahlberg's (2011) GERM describes the manifestation of the neoliberal social order in education, especially in forms that extend the function of market-based approaches to education beyond school choice and its variants, making it applicable to traditional public education as well. Sahlberg suggests GERM has been illustrated by an informal global educational policy agenda based on at least five common features:

- Standardization in education is based on the shift from inputs to outputs. This shift assumes that high performance standards will improve the quality of expected outcomes for teachers, students, and schools. Standardization has been enforced through external testing and evaluation systems to assess adherence to performance standards and the imposition of testing mandates that homogenize educational practices globally.
- Core subjects in education include a heavy reliance on math and literacy, including reading and writing. These core subjects have been the targets of assessment at all scales from the local and state to the national and international levels. For example, international assessments include the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), and Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) while the national assessment in the United States includes the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). At the state level, public schools take tests mandated and created by the state. For instance, in Texas the

state-mandated test is referred to by the acronym STAAR (State of Texas Assessments of Academic Readiness).

- Low-risk ways to achieve learning goals in education minimizes risk-taking in favor of a focus on achievement tests. As Biesta (2014) notes, politicians “demand that education become strong, secure, predictable, and risk-free” (p. 2). The focus on expected outcomes reduces experimentation, innovation, and creativity of both teachers and students alike while also minimizing risk taking, making it logical for teachers to narrow the curricular focus to test content. Teachers often must utilize prescriptive teaching techniques.
- Corporate management models in education are utilized over models based on human growth and development and pedagogy. Corporate management models are emulated from the business world, namely for efficiency and profits. This practice damages the field of education by limiting the ability for adaptation and growth facilitated by education experts. Best practice initiatives, such as learning from past mistakes and learning from one another, are halted for practitioners (e.g., school administrators and teachers).
- Test-based accountability policies in education are employed to inspect, accredit, promote, reward, and punish. These accountability policies can have far-reaching consequences, yet are based on narrow measures of achievement. Failure on a test not only impacts a single student, but it may also result in a lower evaluation for the teacher or a lower school rating. Schools are often under the constant threat of sanctions or closing altogether. One of the consequences of which is to restructure schools in the form of school choice.

Although GERM provides the guiding framework for educational policy reforms that have been continually implemented in the United States and elsewhere, in Chile the logic of GERM has been deeply contested through student resistance. This resistance has taken the form of mass student protests throughout Chile in both 2006 and 2011 (Cabalin, 2012). However, GERM continues to be a permeating force in the United States.

### **Global Educational Reform and the News Media**

GERM provides the news media with currency for the global circulation of neoliberal, market-oriented educational policy discourses (Gautreax, 2015; Gautreax & Delgado, 2016). The importance of education in the media can be understood as a form of mediatization. Lundby (2009) suggests mediatization refers to “the transformations in society and everyday life that are shaped by the modern media and the processes of mediation” (p. 4). Since the 1980s, U.S. public educational policy has become largely dependent on the news media for the dissemination of educational discourse (Wubbena, Ford, & Porfilio, 2016), and the mediatization of global education has increasingly shaped how politics is performed and what policies are enacted (see Rawolle, 2010; Rawolle & Lingard, 2014).

The mediatization of global educational policy reforms within the neoliberal context has occurred because in democratic societies both media and education are located on a spectrum between the political system and the economic system. Since the core function of the media is economic (i.e., they sell their audiences to their advertisers; Herman & Chomsky, 1988) and education has shifted to internalize the market-logic of neoliberalism, both media and education increasingly depend on the neoliberal order (Strömbäck, 2008; Rawolle, 2010; Rawolle & Lingard, 2014; Wubbena, 2015, 2016).

This neoliberal order generates possibilities and constraints for understanding the reproduction and resistance of education in the media. As social life increasingly becomes mediated, global educational discourses function to legitimize the reproduction of neoliberal, market-based educational reforms (Cabalin, 2014). In this sense, the media constitute a central actor in the global dispersion of not only educational discourse but also neoliberal discourse. While the media serve as a central agent in the discursive dissemination of global educational reforms, they also serve as a conduit for supranational policy actors through their articulation and representation of educational policy. However, dominant representations do not determine their acceptance among the public. But the reproductive nature of these discourses holds within themselves the fruits of their own resistance (Giroux, 1983). It is important for critical scholars to not only observe how media discourses reproduce the neoliberal educational system, but it is also important to understand how discourses hold within themselves the possibilities for resistance. Therefore, in this dissertation I would like to shine a light on the complex relationship between the news media and education. In particular, I would like to examine education in the news media. In order to do so, in the next chapter I provide a historical background to ground the relationship between education and news media.

In this regard, scholars have increasingly been concerned with the representation of education in the news media. This research has particularly focused on the print and online (including textual and visual) news media of global educational policy issues and reforms. Some of this research has examined the media content of different educational policy issues (Tamir & Davidson, 2011), including teacher unions (Goldstein, 2011), teacher evaluation (Gabriel & Lester, 2013), charter schools (Rooks & Munoz, 2015),

think tanks (McDonald, 2014), educational research (Yettick, 2015), civil rights (Moses & Saenz, 2008), international testing (Yemini & Gordon, 2015), bilingual education (Tarasawa, 2009), cheating scandals (Catalano & Gatti, 2016), and student protests (Cabalin, 2014) among many other topics. Other research has examined the effects of different textual representations on individuals support for global educational reforms. For example, this research has examined the framing effects of media on topics like teacher education (Liu & Tsao, 2013) charter schools (Feuerstein, 2015) and school vouchers (Brewer & Gross, 2005). Scholars have employed different theoretical perspectives in their research of education in the media. One of the most utilized perspectives for examining education in the media is framing theory.

***Framing theory.*** In general, framing theory, despite variations in its different forms, is committed to the idea that social actors, such as the political and economic elites, and the agenda-setting media select and highlight aspects of available information for audience members while excluding other, perhaps equally important information (Entman, 1993). This type of framing has been called frames in communication (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Druckman, 2001; Goffman, 1974). Most research concerned with frames in communication examines media content. In this content, the selection and exclusion of information serves the purpose of a general policy actor that helps to establish and maintain public “debate within the bounds of acceptable premises” (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, p. 298). Entman (1993) has produced one of the most widely shared definitions of framing, suggesting that to frame is to “select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context ... to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or

treatment recommendation” (p. 52). Frames in communication interact with and shift the frames in thought or preexisting cognitive structures or schema of media consumers (Druckman, 2001). The interaction between frames in communication and frames in thought produce what is called a media or framing effect (D. Scheufele, 1999).

***Semi-equivalency framing.*** One important type of media framing is semi-equivalency framing. Semi-equivalency framing signifies two types of frames that lead into the media content of a topic or issue but diverge in the development of its discussion by drawing attention to different contextual cues (S. Iyengar, personal communication, August 14, 2016). This media framing stems from both the psychological tradition and the sociological tradition. From the psychological tradition, semi-equivalency framing draws on generic or formal frames from equivalency framing (B. Scheufele, 2004; D. Scheufele, 2000). Equivalency framing is based on “how [logically] equivalent information is presented” (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016, p. 10; see Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). For example, would you rather eat ground beef from a package that said 20% fat or 80% fat-free? From the sociological tradition, emphasis framing focuses on what “aspects of an issue are emphasized in elite discourse” (Druckman, 2001, p. 228). Although generic frames are applicable to most media content as opposed to emphasis frames (de Vreese, 2005), both generic frames and emphasis frames can be linked, allowing issues and sources to be framed within differing contexts. The main type of semi-equivalency framing includes episodic-thematic frames. Iyengar (1991) first examined episodic and thematic news frames and their relationship to how people attribute responsibility to social issues. While the episodic frames depict social issues as tied to specific events or actors, thematic frames place those events or actors within a

broader, often historical context. In terms of framing effects, thematic frames shift recipients' attribution of responsibility to society and policymakers, whereas episodic frames shift recipients' attribution of responsibility to individuals.

***Visual framing theory.*** Visual framing connotes a type of framing theory often grounded in the sociological tradition (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992). Some visuals include photographs, images, drawings, diagrams, screenshots, videos, etc. (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011). Within the sociological tradition, visual frames assume communication based on selection and salience of different items. The collection of these items serves as the organizing idea that provides meaning to an event. Visual framing can be thought of as being underpinned epistemologically by social constructionism. Crotty (2003) suggests social constructionism merges objective and subjective ways of knowing. These ways of knowing provide the epistemological foundation of framing theory operationalized through the interaction of symbols in visuals to construct a context for some interpretation of events (Gamson et al., 1992; Hallahan, 1999). In this sense, visual framing consists of a congregation of symbols that provide the basis for interpretation. Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) suggest four levels of analysis for generating meaning from visuals. The first level suggests the analysis of visuals as denotative systems characterized by a description of who or what is being depicted. The second level suggests the analysis of visuals as stylistic-semiotic systems. This level examines the stylistic conventions and technical transformations in the representative images. The third level suggests the analysis of visuals as connotative systems. This level considers the persons and objects as connotative in terms of ideas or concepts that are attached to them. The fourth level suggests the analysis of visuals as

ideological representations of the interests served and not served by a visual. Visual framing provides meaning that is “less intrusive than words and as such require less cognitive load” (p. 50). Consequently, visual framing helps to reorganize or shift individuals existing cognitive schema (B. Scheufele, 2004; Chong & Druckman, 2007).

### **Statement of the Problems and Research Questions**

Wallace (1993) argued for placing the “mass media on the agenda for theory building and research related to the process of generating and implementing education policy” (p. 321). In this dissertation, I take the relationship between education and the news media as an educational problematic open for scholarly inquiry. I examine educational policy and pedagogy in its textual and visual forms in the news media. Situated within the neoliberal political economic context regarding the global educational reform movement, this dissertation examines education and the news media. To inquiry into this field of study, I posed three guiding research questions to examine different aspects of the relationship between education and the news media (RQ1-3):

- RQ1: What are the underlying factors and common findings from research on education in the news media?
- RQ2: How have news media in the United States framed the Chilean market-based educational system over time?
- RQ3: How can news media visuals be understood to represent the pedagogical nature of the 2011 Chilean student movement?

In this dissertation, these three overarching research question operate in a successive fashion. That is, the second and third research questions both stem from the findings of the first research question. Subsequently, each research question corresponds

to three of the following chapters. Each of these chapters is composed of a separate, independently standing and self-contained journal article suitable for scholarly publication. Now, I turn my attention to the layout and logic of the dissertation.

### **Layout of the Dissertation**

The dissertation layout is in an alternative format, which differs from the traditional dissertation. While traditional dissertations consist of a series of related chapters that build on one another to cohere into research findings that tie into a larger field of study, alternative dissertations consist of a series of independent journal articles that stand on their own yet tie together to establish a research agenda (Duke & Beck, 1999; Thomas, 2015; Thomas, Nelson, & Magill, 1986). This dissertation consists of three articles prepared for submission to different scholarly journals. The first article works to establish a research agenda concerned with education in the media, which illustrates the versatility of this educational research agenda and it also serves as the impetus for the subsequent two articles. The three articles constitute chapters two, three, and four. The concluding chapter of the dissertation is chapter five.

One important note is the location of the references for this and the subsequent chapters. The references for this chapter (Chapter I) and the concluding chapter (Chapter V) have been placed together in the reference section at the end of the dissertation. This reference section occupies the back matter of this dissertation. However, because Chapters II, III, and IV are stand-alone articles that can be read separately, references and appendices follow each of these articles (see the Table of Contents section).

In Chapter 2 (article I), I examine 20 years of research on educational policy issues and reforms in the news media. Research on education in the news media has

steadily grown over this time-period. However, despite this steady growth, the current state of previous research remains fragmented, spread across myriad academic journals, addressing a multitude of different policy issues and reforms while employing numerous theoretical and methodological approaches. The purpose of this study was to employ a systematic literature review method to examine the empirical research on educational policy issues and reforms in the news media from 1996 to 2016. Five-hundred and seventy-two records were identified and screened, of which 68 were selected for analysis. Results were organized according to five underlying factors: (a) general descriptive characteristics, (b) educational topics, (c) guiding theoretical frameworks, (d) methodological approaches, and (e) a thematic synthesis of common findings from previous research. This article attempts to unify a research agenda on education in the news media. The findings also provide an organizing point for future research. This article will be submitted for peer-review to *Review of Educational Research*.

In Chapter 3 (article II), I conduct a media content analysis of U.S. news media coverage of the Chilean educational system over a 10-year period. The Chilean market-based educational system has appeared instructive from a comparative education perspective for the United States. However, increased educational inequities in Chile have spurred mass student movement that called into question market-oriented educational reforms for school improvement. Although the problems facing the Chilean education system have gained international media attention, market-based educational reforms remain at the top of the policy agenda in the United States. The purpose of this study was to content analyze how the news media in the United States have framed the Chilean educational system from 2006 to 2016. Based on framing theory, this study

examines media content in terms of issue frames, source frames, and episodic-thematic frames. It also examines the interaction of these frames. Findings from this study empirically refine our understanding of public discourse in the United States regarding the Chilean neoliberal market-based educational system. This article will be submitted for peer-review to *Educational Policy Analysis Archives*.

In Chapter 4 (article III), I use three media images to visually represent a pedagogy for space during the 2011 Chilean student movement. The 2011 Chilean student protests were a powerful social movement aimed at transforming education and, with it, the social spaces and formations of daily life. This social movement was pedagogical because students transformed the city into a classroom to gain control over the production of space. In this vein, the student movement provided a catalyst for reconstituting public education as a universal social right. Based on the perspective of spatial educational theory, I conducted a visual framing analysis of three photographs taken during the 2011 Chilean student movement. I employed a four-tiered visual framing method. The three photographs were purposefully selected from different media sources to represent the three dimensions of spatial educational theory, including learning in conceived space, studying in lived space, and teaching in perceived space. In doing so, this article provides a novel way to explain spatial educational theory by visually operationalizing it as a pedagogy for space during the Chilean student movement. This article also works to broaden how education has been popularly conceptualized. This article has been accepted for publication by *Policy Futures in Education*.

In the concluding chapter of this dissertation, I revisit the three guiding research questions introduced in this introductory chapter. I then illustrate how this dissertation

fills gaps in previous literature while it also extends our knowledge concerning education in the news media as a distinct field of study for education researchers. I conclude the chapter by suggesting some avenues for future research.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I situated the dissertation within the broader context and background of neoliberalism. I then discussed market-oriented educational policy reforms before discussing the mediatization of global educational policy. The news media play an essential role in shaping the public discourse of education, but they also provide a site for resistive struggle capable of re-shaping educational discourse. I then provided a note on the design of this dissertation by discussing the alternative dissertation format before providing an overview of the three articles that constitute this dissertation. In the subsequent chapters of this dissertation, I present each of the three articles. Since the articles have been presented in standalone form, they will also include associated references and appendices. In the concluding chapter, I will return to the guiding research questions I posed in this introductory chapter. I will then discuss my future research agenda before making some recommendations for future research.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The references for this chapter (and the concluding chapter) have been included in the back matter.

**II ARTICLE I:  
EDUCATION IN THE NEWS MEDIA: A SYSTEMATIC  
REVIEW OF RESEARCH (1996–2016)**

**Abstract**

Research on educational policy issues and reforms in the news media has steadily grown over the last few decades. Despite this growth, previous research remains fragmented, spread across myriad academic journals, addressing a multitude of education topics while employing numerous theoretical and methodological approaches. The purpose of this article was to employ a systematic literature review method to examine the peer-reviewed research on education in the news media over a 20-year period from 1996 to 2016. Five-hundred and seventy-two records were screened, of which 68 studies were selected for analysis. Results were organized according to five underlying factors: (a) general descriptive characteristics, (b) educational topics, (c) guiding theoretical/conceptual frameworks, (d) methodological approaches, and (e) a thematic synthesis of previous findings. This article contributes to our knowledge by unifying a research agenda on education in the news media, and it also provides an organizing point for future research.

*Keywords:* education in the news media, systematic review, literature review, educational policy, news media

## Introduction

The representation of educational policy issues and reforms in the news media has become an important feature of society (Goldstein, 2011; Rooks & Munoz, 2015; Tamir & Davidson, 2011; Wubbena, 2015; Wubbena, Ford, & Porfilio, 2016). The news media—television, magazine, and newspaper in textual and visual forms—play an important role in society. Indeed, news media raise public awareness by constraining the boundaries of permissible debate while amplifying permissible opinion (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). As Becker (1984) argued, the news media generally function to lubricate the friction between the institutions and minds that constitute the ensemble that structures society as a whole, and they do so in a supposedly objective, abet apolitical, although often partisan, manner. Often, the public does not hold experience or direct access to many educational issues. In such cases, the public becomes dependent on the news media for information about education (Barthel, 2016; Rosenstiel, Mitchell, Purcell, & Rainie, 2011; West, Whitehurst, & Dionne, 2011).<sup>1</sup> Although people are not simply passive receivers of this information, their dependency on the news media is influenced by its ability to select not only what people think, but also how people think (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Therefore, it follows that education in the news media constitutes an important area for educational research.

What and how has previous research examined educational policy issues and reforms in the news media? This question has generated much interest from scholars

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<sup>1</sup> Ott and Mack (2010) suggest learning occurs either *somatically* or *symbolically*. On the one hand, somatic learning is based on the interaction of sensory perceptions (i.e., look, smell, feel, sound, or taste) with the external environment. It, however, makes up a small amount of what we know. On the other hand, symbolic learning occurs through some medium like newspaper, television, radio, or Internet to deliver information. It is symbolic learning that makes up most of what we learn.

over the years and throughout the world. Wallace (1993) argued for placing the “mass media on the agenda for theory building and research related to the process of generating and implementing education policy” (p. 321). More recently, Moses and Saenz (2008) argued for “education researchers to monitor the media coverage of education policy debates” (p. 289). In response, scholars throughout the world, from Chile to the United States and Australia to Israel and many other places, have made important contributions to this field of research (Cabalin, 2014a; Gabriel & Nina-Lester, 2013; Gautreaux & Delgado, 2016; Shine, 2015a; Yemini & Gordon, 2015). They have examined a variety of educational topics in the news media, such as international testing and assessment, charter schools, teachers and teachers’ unions, and school safety and school violence, among many other topics. In doing so, they have employed a multitude of different theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches, producing empirical studies published in a host of different peer-reviewed, academic journals. However, currently no attempt has been made to understand the divergent patterns underlying this field of research. As Abrami, Cohen, and d’Apollonia (1988) argued, “the need to synthesize empirical research increases with the quantity of studies and diversity of findings on a topic” (p. 151). Indeed, with the call for “more systematic and longitudinal research on [education in the news media]” (Opfer, 2007, p. 166), a systematic literature review method provides an appropriate approach for understanding the common factors driving research (Petticrew & Roberts, 2006). This methodological approach is designed around a question, or interrelated series of questions, that guide(s) the systematic search, identification, and critical evaluation of research (Harris, Quatman, Manring, Siston, & Flanigan, 2013). It is important to unify the plethora of research on education in the news

media, because it will not only help to cumulate the extent of current knowledge in the field, but it will also help to advance this field of scholarly pursuit by providing an organizing point for future research.

The purpose of this article was to employ a systematic literature review method to examine the underlying factors and findings of research on education in the news media. This article examines research published over a 20-year period from 1996 to 2016. Research was screened for inclusion based on seven criteria, which are detailed in the method section. Briefly, however, studies published in the English language were deemed relevant based on their subject and object of analysis. The subject matter was considered relevant if it focused on educational policy issues and reforms at the primary and secondary levels throughout the world. These studies were required to have examined the news media as the object of analysis. The news media signifies an umbrella term encompassing media outlets delivering hard news to the public. This hard news helps the public to make informed political decisions (Andersen, Bjarnøe, Albæk, & De Vreese, 2016). Studies were required to have examined one or more of the following online or in print news formats in textual and/or visual forms, including: news television, newspapers, education news, newsmagazines, and radio). However, this review is limited, because I focus on research that solely examines education in the news media, I leave for others to examine other types of data along with the news media, such as interviews and policy documents. Also, social media (i.e., content sharing platforms) were also excluded as a data source because research suggests news published/shared on social media is likely to originate from traditional news media (Cabalin, 2014b). To examine the research on education in the news media, I posed the following overarching

research question: what are the underlying factors and common findings of research on education in the news media? To address this question, I parsed it into five additional sub-research questions (Sub-RQ1-5):

- Sub-RQ1: What are the general characteristics of this research?
- Sub-RQ2: What are the educational topics of this research?
- Sub-RQ3: What are the theoretical/conceptual lenses guiding this research?
- Sub-RQ4: What are the methodological characteristics of this research?
- Sub-RQ5: What are the common themes from the findings of this research?

The specific variables that constitute these five sub-research questions will be discussed more thoroughly, conceptually and operationally, in the method section.

To address these research questions, this article proceeds in four sections. First, I situate the article within a historical context contingent upon political and economic societal changes.<sup>2</sup> I focus on the United States because it is the primary location of this research. Second, I review the systematic literature review method. I discuss the search procedure, the eligible studies based on the inclusion criteria, the data extraction and synthesis process, and consideration for reliability. Third, in the results section I answer the five sub-research questions. Lastly, in the discussion section I answer the overarching research question by synthesizing the results together to formalize and unify the field of research. I, then, highlight some of the limitations of this article before providing some recommendations for future research.

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<sup>2</sup> I do not situate the article within any one theoretical framework, because one purpose of this article is to identify theoretical/conceptual frameworks that have been employed by previous research.

## **Background: Education and the News Media**

To understand the importance of research on education in the news media, one must first understand the growing interest in the field as stemming from and situated within a historical context of political and economic change. However, because history is contingent on who selects what facts and what interpretation of those facts is given, the historical narrative constructed in this section provides one historical perspective rather than the historical perspective of the relationship between education and the news media.

This narrative begins around the post-WWII era when the United States operated largely under a Keynesian economic system, a short-lived system lasting to roughly 1979 (Malott & Ford, 2015). Keynesian economics focused on total economic spending, including “aggregate demand—measured as the sum of spending by households, businesses, and the government—is the most important driving force in an economy” (Jahan, Mahmud, & Papageorgiou, 2014, p. 53). During Keynesian economics, the focus on demand, or consumer-side economics, produced a social system with increased union membership, job protections, progressive taxation, lower levels of unemployment, and business regulations among other things. Although the United States was advantaged after WWII with most European countries rebuilding after their destruction, there was strengthening of the social democratic process in the United States.

Strengthening the U.S. social democratic process became particularly consequential for traditional public schools operating on a separate-but-equal playing field and eventually led to federal government intervention into U.S. public schooling. Over the course of this time period, the federal government became involved in issues of excellence, such as the educational “crisis” that ensued following the Russian launch of

Sputnik into space in 1957 and the passage of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, which “offered federal assistance for several purposes: to improve the teaching of math, science, and foreign language; to strengthen counseling and testing in the high schools; to promote research and experimentation with educational technology; and to provide college loans and National Defense fellowships in higher education” (Gamson, Mcdermott, & Reed, 2015, pp. 5-6). They also became involved in issues of equity, marked by the 1953 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, where it was ruled that segregating students based on race was unconstitutional. This ruling led to a general but still resistant integration of students, regardless of race, into U.S. public schools (Ravitch, 2010). Following this U.S. Supreme Court decision, the next major landmark decision at the federal level was President Lyndon B. Johnson’s 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This federal act’s unofficial name, the “War on Poverty,” provided federal aid for early childhood education and under resourced public schools that serve lower socioeconomic-level students (Thomas & Brady, 2005).

During this period, the U.S. Department of Education also operated under the US Department of Health, Education and Welfare (from 1953 to 1979). The U.S. Department of Education accompanied an increase in federal involvement in education contributed to an increase in media attention. For instance, Celis (2009) writes:

During the Lyndon Johnson administration (1963–69), the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) provided a steady source of education news. Journalists covered schools and education with more balance, providing deeper explanations about how race and class affected urban schools with schools themselves the anchor for coverage. President Johnson's collection of education

programs through his Great Society and War on Poverty initiatives provided a strong framework that helped focus and sustain news coverage. Early childhood education, for example, became a staple of education news for the first time as a result of Head Start, one of the Johnson administration's programs for disadvantaged preschool children. (p. 490)

With increased social participation, including from traditionally marginalized populations, elites soon began to realize there was too much democracy. In essence, the social participation threatened the class structure of society. For instance, Crozier, Huntington, and Watanuki (1975) provide a historical snapshot of this concern, writing that “the democratic expansion of political participation and involvement [had] created an ‘overload’ on government and the imbalanced expansion of governmental activities, exacerbating inflationary tendencies in the economy” (p. 161). The crisis of democracy led the economic ideas that had been lying dormant under the stage of political thought to emerge as a viable alternative to the crises of too much democratic participation (Wubbena, 2016). With neoliberal economic policies having taken hold in Chile, after the military coup on September 11, 1973 by the dictator General Pinochet, and the overthrow of their democratically elected socialist president, Chile was cited as an “economic miracle” for Milton Friedman’s neoclassical microeconomics that would soon find itself being emulated across the entire globe (Jahan et al., 2014).

Since the late-1970s and early-1980s, the U.S. (as did much of the countries in the world) entered a new phase of capitalism and a new role for public education. During 1979, President Carter had selected Paul Volcker to head the U.S. Federal Reserve to counter “stagflation” (i.e., a period of slow growth and high inflation) experienced in the

U.S. economy during the 1970 (Harvey, 2011). Volcker's economic policies generally marked a shift away from Keynesian economics toward Milton Friedman's neoliberal economic theory of global capitalism. Jahan et al. (2014) describe that neoliberal economic policies generally rested on two tenants: "increased competition—achieved through deregulation and the opening up of domestic markets ... The second is a smaller role for the state, achieved through privatization and limits on the ability of governments to run fiscal deficits and accumulate debt" (p. 38). A central purpose of government under the new phase of capitalism was providing a regulatory framework by which market competition could operate. Following the federal involvement in public education and the emergence of neoliberalism into mainstream political and economic thought and practice, in 1979, President Carter re-constituted the U.S. Department of Education as an independent level agency, which increased the mutually dependent and beneficial relationship between the educational policy and the news media. As Celis (2009) notes:

Education's new department status gave federal education policy more gravitas, with federal regulations and laws increasingly anchoring coverage of schools. National media often emphasize federal policy issues, while smaller media outlets tend to devote more coverage to school boards and the politics that often engulf them. Since the 1980s, however, the trend toward broader coverage of schools and the issues that affect them, like poverty or homelessness, has appeared prominently in all media outlets, as K–12 issues and access to higher education are increasingly framed as significant domestic issues. (p. 488)

In the early 1980s, President Reagan instigated the role of education for global economic competitiveness. Collin and Ferrare (2014) point out that during the 1983 State

of the Union Address (SOTUA), Reagan was the first to officially rescale public education to the national level as a factor for global economic competitiveness. Soon after the 1983 SOTUA, the U.S. Department of Education released the report *A Nation at Risk* on April 26, 1983 (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983), stating that, “unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world. ... the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people” (p. 5). This report gained national media attention as an “expansive yet focused frame for education coverage” (Celis, 2009, p. 490). The report’s media friendliness was attributed to a gathering of journalists in New York (six months before its release) who met to comment on its suitability for mass audiences (Cross, 2004). As Yettick (2013) contends the consultation with reporters helped make the report media friendly with “simple, direct and powerful language that is found more commonly in the op-ed pages than in federal policy reports” (p. 1).

One example of the relationship between educational policy and the news media occurred in the early 2000s (Celis, 2009; Goldstein, 2011). Then President George W. Bush and the U.S. Department of Education engaged in “covert propaganda” soon after they contracted with Ketchum, Inc. (a public relations firm), paying them “\$700,000 in taxpayer money to research how the mainstream media was presenting President Bush and NCLB (Goldstein, 2011, p. 544). Ketchum Inc. subcontracted with Armstrong Williams, a conservative news commentator, who provided favorable commentary on NCLB. The U.S. Department of Education also crafted video news releases (VNRs) and distributed them to news outlets without disclosing the VNRs source and, thereby,

“mislead the viewing public by encouraging the viewing audience to believe that the broadcasting news organization developed the information” (Gamboa, 2005, p. 5). The U.S. Government Accountability Office determined that the VNRs constituted “covert propaganda” supportive of NCLB (Gamboa, 2005). Gamboa (2005) writes, “because the Department had no appropriation available to contract for commentary in violation of the cited publicity or propaganda prohibitions, the Department also violated the Antideficiency Act, 31 U.S.C. § 1341” (p. 15). Hence, the importance of interrogating the news media for not only education, but also for democratic society cannot be understated. This article now turns to discuss the systematic literature review method used to examine previous research on education in the news media.

### **Method**

The design of this article was based on a systematic literature review method. This method was informed by the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) guidelines (Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff, & Altman, 2009), previous systematic reviews (Crisp, Taggart, & Nora, 2015; Polanin, Maynard, & Dell, 2016; Stewart & Wubbena, 2015), and instructional literature on systematic reviews (Card, 2012; Hallinger, 2013; Meline, 2006; Petticrew & Roberts, 2006). Recommended by Review of Educational Research, the PRISMA guidelines establish a minimum reporting standard to limit bias and make the identification, selection, and analysis process explicit and transparent while narrowing the scope of studies meeting inclusion criteria (Moher et al., 2009). Accordingly, the systematic literature review method consisted of four phases: (a) search procedure, (b) eligible studies: inclusion/exclusion criteria, (c) data extraction and synthesis, and (d) intra-coder reliability.

## **Search Procedure**

Search queries were conducted from June 2015 to May 2017. Various academic search engines and databases were used, available both freely online and through the university library. The academic search engines and databases included EBSCOhost, Taylor & Francis, ERIC, JSTOR, SAGE, Web of Science, ProQuest, Dissertations & Theses, and Google Scholar. Individual journals relevant to education were also manually searched, and the reference section from identified literature was reviewed to locate additional research (Crisp et al., 2015). The search procedure was considered exhaustive because it included a “wide range of possible sources to identify potentially relevant studies” (Hallinger, 2013, p. 134). The exhaustive search considered journal articles, books, and gray literature, such as dissertations, theses, reports, book chapters, periodicals, etc. (Adams, Smart, & Huff, 2016). Accordingly, queries were conducted using the electronic databases with an undefined date range using variations and combinations of the following search term and phrase: “education” and “news media”. Table 2.1 lists the key terms and Boolean operators used to search for relevant literature. To reduce search bias, along with academic databases, I also used different Internet search engines, including Bing, DuckDuckGo, Google, and Yahoo!. Updates were monitored for journals using “Content Alerts” when available and by using Google Alerts and Google Scholar Alerts. Each record identified during the search was renamed with the (first) “author’s last name and publication year” (Rogers et al., 2016, p. 1195) and saved as a PDF file in a cloud storage folder on Dropbox.

Table 2.1

*Search Terms for Locating Relevant Literature*

| Search Description       | Education  | News Media  |
|--------------------------|--|---|
| Search terms and phrases | “education,” “education news,” “education** policy,” “education** reform,” “education** issues,” “public education,” “public school*,” “school reform,” “teach**,” “student*,” “student protest*,” “student movement*,” “education** system,” “test**,” “assessment,” “curriculum,” “charter school*,” “school choice” | “media,” “media communication,” “media coverage,” “media effects,” “media framing,” “mediatization,” “news,” “news media,” “news media coverage,” “news discourse,” “media discourse,” “media studies,” “public discourse,” “mass media,” “newspaper*,” “print media,” “news framing,” “framing,” “framing effects,” “framing theory,” “visual framing,” “television,” “magazine,” “education news” |
| Additional delimiter     | Date: Before January 1, 2017   |   |

*Note.* Searches used “truncation (such as “”), wildcard (e.g., \*), Boolean operators (AND, OR, and NOT)” (Steenbergen-Hu, Makel, & Olszewski-Kubilius, 2016, p. 857).

**Eligible Studies: Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria**

Eligible studies were primarily based on two broad criteria. First, studies were required to examine subjects concerned with the representation of educational topics in the news media. Educational topics were considered relevant if they had some bearing on primary and secondary educational system throughout the world, irrespective of geographic location. For example, relevant topics might include school bullying, international assessment, and teachers. Second, studies were required to examine the news media as the object of analysis. Danesi (2009) suggests that news refers to a “news report of a current happening or happenings in a newspaper, on television, on radio” (p.212) while the media provide the means for transmitting that news to the broader

public. Eligible data sources for the news included the mediums of newspaper, radio, television, news magazine, education news, or any possible combination thereof.

To flush out the studies eligible for review and make the project more manageable, a series of inclusion/exclusion criteria were created. Card (2012) defined inclusion/exclusion criteria as “a set of explicit statements about the features of studies that will or will not (respectively) be included” (p. 38). The inclusion criteria consisting of common study features were established to augment the two broad criteria in order to narrow the literature identified during the exhaustive search procedure (Hallinger, 2013). Following a similar reporting format as Steenbergen-Hu, Makel, and Olszewski-Kubilius (2016), studies were selected for inclusion based on a total of seven criteria (CR1-7):

- CR1: *English-language*: Studies available in English-language
- CR2: *Timeframe*: Studies published before or in 2016 (complete years were used to allow for year to year comparisons)
- CR3: *Refereed*: Peer-reviewed journal articles were used as determined by Ulrichsweb.com (refereed journal articles were sought because they provide an objective means for validating research quality; Grau, 2006)
- CR4: *Educational topic*: Studies relevant to primary and secondary education concerning policy issues and reforms (e.g., teachers, teacher unions, teacher evaluations, school bullying, charter schools, etc.)
- CR5: *Research Type*: Empirical studies employing a quantitative, qualitative, or mixed-methods approach
- CR6: *Article Structure*: Studies with introduction, method, and results sections

- CR7: *Data source*: Studies based on online/in-print news mediums: newspapers, education news, news magazines, radio, and/or television news

Driven by the goal of making conclusions about the underlying structure of research on education in the news media, the above seven criteria were designed to follow logically from the research questions, and they constitute the operational definition of the research problem (Abrami et al., 1988; Meline, 2006).

Dummy coding was used to either exclude or select studies for review. It was based on a yes-no categorization system, allowing records to be sorted into mutually exclusive categories for each of the seven inclusion criteria. The yes-no categorization system was used to measure each record's membership or non-membership in each of the seven criteria. If a criterion feature was present in a piece of literature, "yes" was recorded with a score of "1"; if a criterion feature was absent from a piece of literature, "no" was recorded with a score of "0". Some records were excluded for one reason while other records were excluded for multiple reasons. For example, an empirical study published in a non-refereed journal would have been excluded for one reason, whereas a theoretical article published in 2017 would have been excluded for four reasons.<sup>3</sup> Eligible studies meeting all inclusion criteria advanced to the data extraction phase.

### **Data Extraction and Synthesis**

To synthesize the literature included in this review, an online Google Form was created to extract and sort data into Google Sheets (an online program equivalent to Excel). This form evolved throughout the data extraction process. Data extraction was based on 22 variables, which were identified as the essential underlying factors

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<sup>3</sup> The four reasons include: (a) not empirical, (b) no clear structure, (c) outside of date range, and (d) that it did not examine the data source.

constituting the research on education in the news media. Table 2.2 lists the variables targeted for data extraction. The variables have been grouped into six categories, each of which corresponds to one of the five sub-research questions. First, a selected set of studies published in respected journals was initially examined to identify a beginning set of variables. Then, as the data extraction process ensued with other studies, additional variables or attributes were either added, or in some cases, removed if they were deemed irrelevant or uncommon to the other studies. This process was recursive, meaning that if an additional variable or attributes were added to the list, articles already subjected to the data extraction process were analyzed again. In many cases, studies were reviewed multiple times throughout the data extraction process before the data synthesis ensued.

Table 2.2

*Variables Targeted for Data Extraction*

| Sub-RQ | Category                       | Variable  | Conceptual/Operational Definition  |
|--------|--------------------------------|---|--|
| RQ1    | General characteristics        | Year  | The year a journal article was published   |
|        |                                | Authorship  | The study's author(s), including: sole faculty, multiple faculty, student and faculty, student only, and other |
|        |                                | Journal Name  | Name of refereed journal   |
| RQ2    | Educational topic and location | Subject <sup>a</sup> classification                 | Documents each journal's academic focus  |
|        |                                | Educational topic <sup>b</sup>                      | Serves as the subject of investigation   |
|        |                                | Country (of education topic)<br>Region <sup>b</sup> | Provides geographical context of education topic examined<br>Geopolitical classification of topic              |
| RQ3    | Analytic lens                  | Theoretical/conceptual perspective <sup>b</sup>     | Theory or concepts that help conceptualize and systematize the representation of an educational topic          |
| RQ4    | Method/data sources            | Article type  | Quantitative, qualitative, or mixed methods  |
|        |                                | Research method                                     | Method used to design and analyze data   |
|        |                                | Number of   | Number of different mediums used for   |

|     |         |                                |  |
|-----|---------|--------------------------------|--|
|     |         | mediums                        | data collection  |
|     |         | Medium type <sup>b</sup>       | Newspaper, magazine, radio, television, and/or education news  |
|     |         | Outlet <sup>b</sup>            | Name of news organization (i.e., name of medium type)  |
|     |         | Country (of news outlet)       | Geopolitical classification of medium type   |
|     |         | Sample size <sup>c</sup>       | The number of complete news articles obtained from data collection                                     |
|     |         | Genre <sup>c</sup>             | News, opinion, news and opinion, or not specified/unclear  |
|     |         | Form <sup>c</sup>              | News content format: textual, visual, textual/visual   |
|     |         | Date range <sup>c</sup>        | Date range of sample obtained from data collection: DD-MM-YYYY–DD-MM-YYYY, MM=YYYY–MM=YYYY, YYYY–YYYY) |
|     |         | Timeframe <sup>c</sup>         | Date range translated into months  |
|     |         | Search database <sup>b,c</sup> | Search database used for data collection   |
|     |         | Analysis tools <sup>c</sup>    | Software used to analyze data  |
| RQ5 | Outcome | Findings <sup>b</sup>          | Common results of previous research  |

*Note.* Sub-RQ = Sub-Research Question (initially presented in the introduction section)

<sup>a</sup>Subject classification for each journal obtained from [Ulrichsweb.com](http://Ulrichsweb.com).

<sup>b</sup>Variable assessed using multiple response categories.

<sup>c</sup>Determined by information provided in the method section.

Data were synthesized in one of two ways. The first way included sorting (by number or text) each column of extracted data. Each column included data for each of the 22 variables. Data for each variable were then grouped into categories for univariate analysis (excluding “Findings” variable). Univariate analysis was conducted using descriptive statistics, including frequency distributions and relative and cumulative percentages. However, data for some variables, like education topic, were assessed using multiple response categories, where only relative percentages were calculated. Data were analyzed a second way for the “Findings” variable by conducting a qualitative thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis was used to identify, analyze, and

report patterns of meaning common to the findings of previous studies. To identify the common themes, deductive and inductive coding approaches were used. Deductive coding was based on the educational topics and different theoretical perspectives while inductive coding was based on the results of each study. The purpose of this second approach was to report the common findings associated with previous research.

### **Intra-coder Reliability**

When conducting a research project independently, there is always the risk of coder instability that can jeopardize the instrument's reliability and validity. To minimize the potential effect of instability, intra-coder reliability checks were conducted. Intra-coder reliability is considered a "within-coder" technique used to assess "a coder's consistency across time" (Lacy, Watson, Riffe, & Lovejoy, 2015, p. 6).<sup>4</sup> I conducted intra-coder reliability checks on each of the 22 variables in the data set. After the initial data extraction, I generated an Excel document and copied/pasted each citation and corresponding variable into a new, separate sheet. Then, about two months later, I conducted the data extraction process a second time. The level of agreement between both data sets for each variable was then calculated. This percentage agreement (P%) was calculated using the formula:  $\text{agreements}/(\text{agreements} + \text{disagreements}) \times 100\% = \text{P}\%$  (Araujo & Born, 1985). The mean intra-rater agreement was 94% (range = 86% to 100%). When disagreement occurred, I first attempted to resolve it by myself, and then I consulted and discussed the disagreement with a colleague familiar with the project.

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<sup>4</sup> Lacy et al. (2015) suggest that intra-coder reliability checks should be conducted for infrequent coding lasting over a month or when regular, daily coding occurs over two months.

## Results

Results include the literature identified for inclusion and the literature excluded during the screening process before addressing each of the five sub-research questions. A total of 572 records were screened. The years of publication for these records ranged from 1949 to 2017. Of the total literature identified, 11.89% ( $n = 68$ ) met the full inclusion criteria, and this literature was subjected to the data extraction phase.

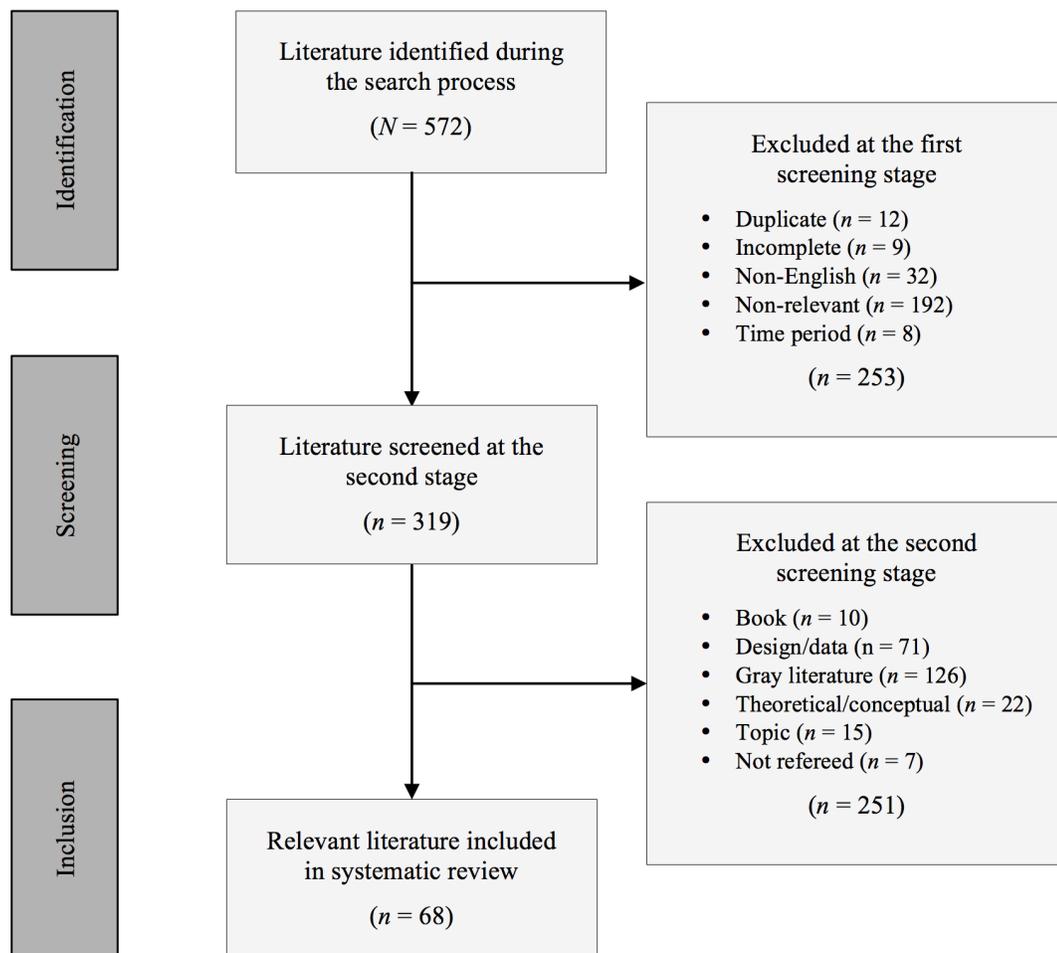


Figure 2.1. Flow Diagram Illustrating the Literature Screening Process. This flow diagram was modeled after the PRISMA 2009 Flow Diagram (Moher et al., 2009).

Figure 2.1 illustrates the literature screening process, where 504 records were excluded at two stages. During the first stage, 44.23% ( $n = 253$ ) of the literature was

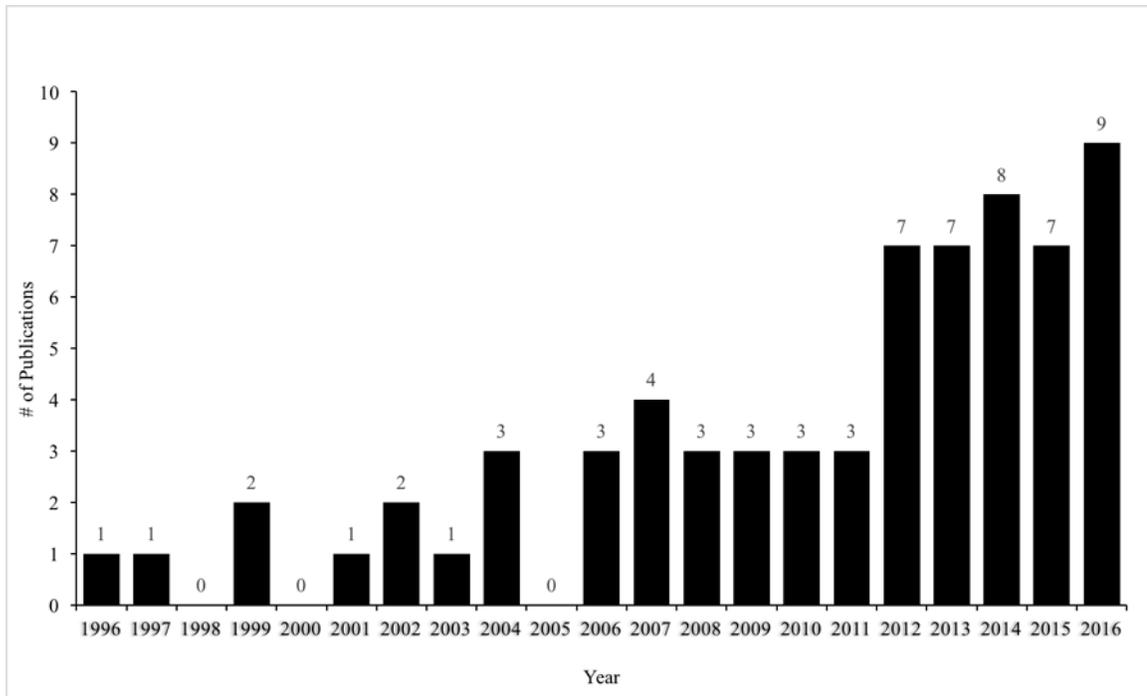
excluded based on a classification scheme of five categories: duplicates, incomplete records (where full text could not be obtained), non-English articles, non-relevant articles (e.g., critical media literacy), and literature published after 2016. During the second stage, 43.88% ( $n = 251$ ) of the literature was excluded. Although this literature was relevant to this review, it did not meet the full inclusion criteria. This literature was classified into six categories: books, gray literature, non-refereed articles, theoretical/analytical essays, non-relevant topic (e.g., higher education), and research design/data sources. Some literature was excluded because of its design and/or data sources. For example, a study was excluded if its data were based on news content and other sources, such as interviews (e.g., Yettick, 2015), or if it was experimental in nature (e.g., Feuerstein, 2015). These studies were empirically different. In the remainder of this section, the five sub-research questions are addressed.

### **Sub-Research Question #1**

What are the general characteristics of research on education in the news media? This sub-research question is answered in three parts through an examination of the descriptive characteristics of previous research. The descriptive characteristics include (a) the year of publication, (b) the authorship classification, and (c) the peer-review journal of publication along with each journal's academic subject classification.

**Publication year.** Similar to Sandlin, O'Malley, and Burdick (2011), Figure 2.2 displays a frequency distribution of 68 studies by their year of publication. The figure shows the steady and generally increasing publication of research over a 20-year period from 1996 to 2016 with no studies meeting the inclusion criteria prior to 1996. However, after 1996, no studies were found published in the years 1998, 2000, and 2005. From

2012 to 2016, 55.87% of the research was published with the most occurring in 2014 (11.76%) and 2016 (13.24%).



*Figure 2.2.* Frequency Distribution for Research Included in Review (1996-2016). The bar graph illustrates the absolute frequencies of studies included in this review by their year of publication. Complete years were used to allow for year-to-year comparison.

**Authorship classification.** Table 2.3 illustrates the plurality of research was published by multiple faculty members (33.82%). When accounting for solo-authored studies (32.35%), faculty-authored studies (multiple faculty and solo faculty) totaled approximately two-thirds of all published research. Studies published by faculty and students accounted for another 16.18% of all research followed by 11.76% for student only authored publications. Students were involved in 27.94% of all published research. The “Other” category accounted for 5.88% of all research. The publications in this category included studies authored by different combinations of both faculty and either people in non-faculty positions or post-doctoral research positions.

Table 2.3

*Frequency of Authorship Classification*

| Authorship             | ( <i>n</i> = 68)<br><i>f</i> | (Relative)<br>% | (Cumulative)<br>% |
|------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Multiple Faculty       | 23                           | 33.82           | 33.82             |
| Solo Faculty           | 22                           | 32.35           | 66.17             |
| Faculty and Student(s) | 11                           | 16.18           | 82.35             |
| Student(s) Only        | 8                            | 11.76           | 94.11             |
| Other                  | 4                            | 5.88            | 100.00            |

*Note.* The “Other” category included articles authored or co-authored by non-faculty or non-students (e.g., post-doctoral researcher). The authorship classification was modeled after Riffe and Freitag (1997).

**Refereed journals.**<sup>5</sup> Table 2.4 illustrates 10 journals have published at least two or more empirical studies. The complete list of journals can be found in Supplementary Table S1 (available in Appendix C). In all, the 68 studies were published in a total of 48 different journals. Of the 48 journals, 10 (20.83%) published more than one study, accounting for 44.12% (*n* = 30) of the total sample. Of the 10 journals, *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* published six studies (8.82%) and *Educational Policy* published five studies (7.35%). Three journals published three studies each, each constituting 4.41% of the total sample, including *Critical Education*, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, and the *Teachers College Record*. Five journals published two studies each, each constituting 2.94% of the total sample, including the *American Journal of Education*, *Comparative Education*, *Disability &*

<sup>5</sup> During the search procedure, six journals were identified to have published special issues on education in the news media. However, not all this research could be included in the review because it did not meet the inclusion criteria. The journals found with special issues included *The Journal of Education Policy*, 2004, 19(3), *The Canadian Journal of Education*, 2006, 29(1), *Policy Futures in Education*, 2007, 5(1), *The Peabody Journal of Education*, 2007, 82(1), *Revue internationale d'éducation de Sèvres*, 2014, 66, and *Critical Education*, 2015, 6(7-16).

*Society, Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies, and the Journal of Education Policy.* Of the 48 journals, the remaining 38 (79.17%) each published just one study, which constituted 55.88% ( $n = 38$ ) of the studies included in this review.

**Academic subjects.** The subject classification (determined by Ulrichsweb.com) included each journal's academic focus: education focus, non-education focus, or split-focus. Of the 48 journals, 29 (60.42%) had an education focus. These journals accounted for 67.65% ( $n = 46$ ) of the total sample. Some of the more prominent of these education-focused journals included *Harvard Educational Review, Education Policy Analysis Archives, and Policy Futures in Education.* Two (4.17%) journals had a split education/non-education focus, which accounted for 2.94% ( $n = 2$ ) of the total sample. These two journals included *Education and Society*, which focused on education and sociology and the *Journal of Negro Education*, which focused on education and ethnic studies. The other 17 (35.42%) journals had a non-education focus. They included journals focused on the social sciences, humanities, or a specific focus on journalism, sociology, linguistics, or public administration, among others. In all, these non-education focused journals accounted for 29.41% ( $n = 20$ ) of the studies reviewed.

Table 2.4

*Frequency of Publications by Journal and Academic Subject*

| Journal   | Subject | <i>f</i> | (Relative)<br>% | (Cumulative)<br>% |
|---|---------|----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education</i> | ED      | 6        | 8.82%           | 8.82              |
| <i>Educational Policy</i>                                       | ED      | 5        | 7.35%           | 16.18%            |
| <i>Critical Education</i>                                       | ED      | 3        | 4.41%           | 20.59%            |
| <i>Journalism &amp; Mass Communication Quarterly</i>            | JC      | 3        | 4.41%           | 25.00%            |

|                                       |    |   |       |        |
|---------------------------------------|----|---|-------|--------|
| <i>Teachers College Record</i>        | ED | 3 | 4.41% | 29.41% |
| <i>American Journal of Education</i>  | ED | 2 | 2.94% | 32.35% |
| <i>Comparative Education</i>          | ED | 2 | 2.94% | 35.29% |
| <i>Disability &amp; Society</i>       | HC | 2 | 2.94% | 38.24% |
| <i>Journal for Critical Education</i> | ED | 2 | 2.94% | 41.18% |
| <i>Policy Studies</i>                 |    |   |       |        |
| <i>Journal of Education Policy</i>    | ED | 2 | 2.94% | 44.12% |

*Note.* ED = Education. JC = Journalism and Communication. HC = Handicapped.

### Sub-Research Question #2

What educational topics did researchers examine in the news media? This sub-research question is answered in two parts. In the first part, the educational topics have been arranged into five categories along with their corresponding sub-categories. The second part includes the geographical locale of the educational topics.

**Educational topic.** Table 2.5 displays the educational topics that researchers have examined. These topics clustered into five main categories: (a) *policy, politics, and reforms* (b) *curriculum organization*, (c) *bias and equity*, (d) *school labor and employment*, and (e) *school safety*.<sup>6</sup> Most research ( $n = 22$ ) fell into the government, policy, and politics category, including activism (Cabalin, 2014a), education reform and accountability (Amsing, Greveling, & Dekker, 2013; Kirylo & Nauman, 2006; Mockler, 2013), political actors (Gerstl-Pepin, 2002; Haas, 2004, 2007; McDonald, 2014; Oh, 2010; Wong & Jain, 1999), standardized testing (Baroutsis & Lingard, 2016; Dixon, Arndt, Mullers, Vakkuri, Engblom-Pelkkala, & Hood, 2013; Elstad, 2012; Pinto, Boler, & Norris, 2007; Shine & O'Donoghue, 2013; Stack, 2006; Takayama, Waldow, & Sung,

<sup>6</sup> Some studies were classified into multiple categories and/or sub-categories because they examined multiple educational topics.

2013; Waldow, Takayama, & Sung, 2014; Yemini & Gordon, 2015), and school choice (Feuerstein, 2014; Pettigrew & MacLure, 1997; Rooks & Munoz, 2015).

Table 2.5

*Frequency and Classification of Educational Topics in the News Media*

| Category   | Sub-Category                                | <i>f</i> |
|--|---|----------|
| 1. Policy, politics, and reforms<br>( <i>n</i> = 22) | Activism (i.e., student protests)           | 1        |
|  | Education reform and accountability         | 3        |
|  | Political actors/agents (e.g., Think Tanks) | 6        |
|  | Standardized testing                        | 9        |
|  | School choice (e.g., charter schools)       | 3        |
| 2. Curriculum<br>( <i>n</i> = 10)                    | Bilingual education                         | 3        |
|  | Curriculum issues (including STEM)          | 7        |
| 3. Bias/equity<br>( <i>n</i> = 10)                   | Civil Rights                                | 3        |
|  | Dropout prevention                          | 1        |
|  | Gender bias                                 | 2        |
|  | Inclusive education                         | 3        |
|  | Racial/ethnic bias                          | 1        |
| 4. School labor and employment<br>( <i>n</i> = 20)   | Alternative teacher cert.                   | 4        |
|  | Principal/teacher shortages                 | 2        |
|  | Teacher cheating                            | 2        |
|  | Teacher evaluation                          | 1        |
|  | Teacher identity                            | 8        |
|  | Teacher pay                                 | 1        |
|  | Teachers' suicide                           | 1        |
|  | Teachers' unions                            | 1        |
| 5. School safety<br>( <i>n</i> = 9)                  | Bullying (and cyberbullying)                | 3        |
|  | School shootings                            | 4        |
|  | School surveillance                         | 2        |

*Note.* Some education topics were assessed using multiple response categories.

The topics related to school labor and employment (*n* = 20) category, included alternative teacher certification (Faltin Osborn & Sierk, 2015; Gautreaux, 2015; Gautreaux & Delgado, 2016; Tamir & Davidson, 2011), principal and teacher shortages (Shine, 2015a; Thomson, Blackmore, Sachs, & Tregenza, 2003), teacher cheating (Catalano & Gatti, 2016; Freeman, 2014), teacher evaluation (Gabriel & Nina-Lester, 2013), teacher

identity (Alhamdan, Al-Saadi, Baroutsis, Plessis, Hamid, & Honan, 2014; Cohen, 2010; Hansen, 2009; Keogh & Garrick, 2011; Polat & Unisen, 2016; Shine & O'Donoghue, 2013; Shine, 2015b; Zemke, 2007), teacher pay (Tamir & Davidson, 2011), teacher suicide (Siu, 2008), and teachers' unions (Goldstein, 2011).

Research topics clustered in three other categories. Curriculum organization ( $n = 10$ ) included bilingual education (McQuillan & Tse, 1996; Tarasawa, 2009; Valdez, Delavan, & Freire, 2014) and curriculum issues (Chesky & Goldstein, 2016; Kee, Hassan, & Ahmad, 2012; Kee, Ibrahim, Ahmad, & Khiang, 2012; Lefstein, 2008; LeBlanc, 2012; Thomas, 1999, 2002). Research on bias and equity ( $n = 10$ ) included Civil Rights (Fleming-Rife & Proffitt, 2004; Moses & Saenz, 2008; Saenz & Moses, 2010), dropout prevention (Babinski, Corra, & Gifford, 2016), gender bias (Chesky & Goldstein, 2016; Robert, 2012), inclusive education (Dorries & Haller, 2001; Oreshkina, Nina Lester, & Judge, 2012; Oreshkina & Nina Lester, 2013), and racial/ethnic bias (Wall, 2012). And, research on school safety ( $n = 9$ ) such as bullying and cyberbullying (Kim & Teller, 2016; Milosevic, 2015; Winburn, Winburn, & Niemeyer, 2014), school shootings (Chyi & McCombs, 2004; Gutsche & Salkin, 2006; Leavy & Maloney, 2009; Muschert & Carr, 2007), and school surveillance (Grannäs, 2016; Taylor 2016).

**Geographic locale.** Table 2.6 indicates that education topics have been examined in 31 countries throughout the world. Sixty-three (92.65%) studies examined educational topics pertaining to one country while five (7.35%) studies examined educational topics pertaining to multiple countries. The plurality of research was concentrated within the United States ( $n = 35$ ; 51.47%) followed the Australasia ( $n = 15$ ; 22.06%), including

Australia and New Zealand, the Europe ( $n = 7$ ; 10.29%), United Kingdom ( $n = 6$ ; 8.82%), and Asia ( $n = 6$ ; 8.82%).

Table 2.6

*Frequency and Classification of Geographic Locale*

| Category | Sub-Category                     | <i>f</i> | (Relative)<br>% |
|----------|----------------------------------|----------|-----------------|
| Country  | Single                           | 63       | 92.65           |
|          | Multiple <sup>a</sup>            | 5        | 7.35            |
| Region   | USA <sup>b</sup>                 | 35       | 51.47           |
|          | Australasia <sup>c</sup>         | 15       | 22.06           |
|          | Europe <sup>d</sup>              | 7        | 10.29           |
|          | UK <sup>e</sup>                  | 6        | 8.82            |
|          | Asia <sup>f</sup>                | 6        | 8.82            |
|          | Canada <sup>g</sup>              | 3        | 4.41            |
|          | Latin America <sup>h</sup>       | 3        | 4.41            |
|          | Greater Middle East <sup>i</sup> | 3        | 4.41            |
|          | Russia <sup>j</sup>              | 2        | 2.94            |
|          | South Africa <sup>k</sup>        | 1        | 1.47            |

*Note.* <sup>a</sup>The multiple classification includes studies that examined educational topics in the news of multiple countries, or studies that examined one country in the news media of (and in relation to) other countries. <sup>b</sup>United States. <sup>c</sup>Australia and New Zealand. <sup>d</sup>Finland, France, German, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, and Sweden. <sup>e</sup>United Kingdom. <sup>f</sup>Bangladesh, China (Hong Kong), Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan. <sup>g</sup>Canada. <sup>h</sup>Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Panama, Peru, and Uruguay. <sup>i</sup>Israel, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey. <sup>j</sup>Russia. <sup>k</sup>South Africa.

There were two interesting findings from the studies that examined multiple countries. For example, Gautreaux and Delgado (2016) examined the alternative teacher certification program, Teach for All (TFA) in the news media of 12 countries to provide a cross-country comparison of TFA. The other finding included studies that examined the representation of one country in the news media of other countries. For example, Waldow, Takayama, and Sung (2014) examined Asian Tiger countries' (i.e., Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan) international test performance in the news media of

Australia, Germany, and South Korea while Takayama, Waldow, and Sung (2013) examined Finland's in the news media of Australia, Germany, and South Korea.

### **Sub-Research Question #3**

What are the theoretical/conceptual lenses guiding research on education in the news media? The plurality of research was underpinned by either framing theory or (critical) discourse theory. As Table 2.7 illustrates, 25% ( $n = 17$ ) of the studies employed some type of framing theory while 14.71% ( $n = 10$ ) of the studies employed (critical) discourse theory. However, 14.71% ( $n = 10$ ) of the studies also employed a theoretical or conceptual framework classified under the "Other" category. The "Other" category included studies without a clear theoretical framework or conceptual to explain findings.

Table 2.7

#### *Frequency of Different Theoretical/Conceptual Frameworks*

| Perspective                                | <i>f</i> | (Relative)<br>% | (Cumulative)<br>% |
|--|----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Framing Theory/Agenda-Setting <sup>a</sup> | 17       | 25.00%          | 25.00%            |
| (Discourse Theory (Critical))              | 10       | 14.71%          | 39.71%            |
| Other/Unclear                              | 10       | 14.71%          | 54.41%            |
| Public Discourse                           | 9        | 13.24%          | 67.65%            |
| Neoliberalism                              | 6        | 8.82%           | 76.47%            |
| Democratic Theories                        | 5        | 7.35%           | 83.82%            |
| Gender/race/disability                     | 5        | 7.35%           | 91.18%            |
| Interpretivist Theories                    | 3        | 4.41%           | 95.59%            |
| Comparative Theories                       | 3        | 4.41%           | 100.00%           |

*Note.* <sup>a</sup>Agenda-setting theory was grouped with framing theory; they were employed together in two studies (Babinski, Corra, & Gifford, 2016; Chyi & McCombs, 2004)

### **Sub-Research Question #4**

What are the methodological characteristics of previous research? This sub-research question is answered in three main parts by examining the (a) article type, (b)

research method, and (c) data source. The data source section consisted of eight sub-sub-sections, including type of news medium, news outlet, sample, genre, date range, timeframe, and the tools for searching and analyzing data.

**Article types.** Table 2.8 illustrates that studies were classified as either qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods. Four-fifths of the sample was considered either qualitative or quantitative research. Of the 68 studies, the primary type of research was qualitative ( $n = 43$ ; 63.24%). Quantitative studies constituted the second most frequent type of research ( $n = 13$ ; 19.12%) followed by mixed methods research ( $n = 12$ ; 17.75%). These three types of research article employed various research methods.

Table 2.8

*Frequency and Type of Research Articles*

| Article Type       | ( $n = 68$ )<br><i>f</i> | (Relative)<br>% | (Cumulative)<br>% |
|--------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Qualitative        | 43                       | 63.24           | 63.24             |
| Quantitative       | 13                       | 19.12           | 82.36             |
| Mixed <sup>a</sup> | 12                       | 17.65           | 100.00            |

*Note.* <sup>a</sup> Mixed-method studies were inferred based on both their mention of qualitative and quantitative approaches for data analysis and their reporting of results.

**Research methods.** Table 2.9 provides a summary of the number, types, and combinations of research methods that have been used in previous research for the study design and to analyze the news content of education. Of the 68 studies, 55 (80.88%) used one type of research method, nine (13.24%) used two types of research methods, and four (5.88%) did not specify a research method. A total of 11 different research methods were identified, including case study, content analysis, deconstruction analysis, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, grounded theory, narrative analysis, textual analysis,

thematic analysis, framing analysis, and Event History Analysis. However, content analysis and discourse analysis constituted the two primary methods. For instance, 26 (38.24%) studies used some form of either qualitative or quantitative content analysis while 15 (22.06%) studies used discourse analysis or critical discourse analysis, and three (4.41%) studies used a combination of both content analysis and discourse analysis. Hence, these two methods were used in 44 (64.71%) of the studies. Content analysis was also used as a secondary method, along with framing analysis and the primary method of thematic analysis in one study (Baroutsis & Lingard, 2016), and in another study, content analysis was used along with Event History Analysis to trace the relationship between the news media coverage of schools bullying and the US state's adoption of schooling bullying policies (Winburn, Winburn, & Niemeyer, 2014).

Table 2.9

*Frequency and Type of Research Methods*

| Category   | Sub-Category   | ( <i>n</i> = 68)<br><i>f</i> | (Relative)<br>% | (Cumulative)<br>% |
|--|--|------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Number of methods                                    | One Method   | 55                           | 80.88           | 80.88             |
|  | Two Methods  | 9                            | 13.24           | 94.12             |
|  | Not Specified/unclear                                | 4                            | 5.88            | 100.00            |
| Types and combinations of research methods           | Content Analysis                                     | 26                           | 38.24           | 38.24             |
|  | Discourse Analysis <sup>a</sup>                      | 15                           | 22.06           | 60.30             |
|  | Grounded Theory                                      | 4                            | 5.88            | 66.18             |
|  | Content Analysis and Discourse Analysis <sup>a</sup> | 3                            | 4.41            | 70.59             |
|  | Deconstruction Analysis                              | 2                            | 2.94            | 73.53             |
|  | Narrative Analysis                                   | 2                            | 2.94            | 76.48             |
|  | Textual Analysis                                     | 2                            | 2.94            | 79.42             |
|  | Thematic Analysis <sup>b</sup>                       | 2                            | 2.94            | 82.36             |
|  | Discourse Analysis and Case Study                    | 2                            | 2.94            | 85.30             |
| Discourse Analysis and Framing Analysis <sup>a</sup> | 2  | 2.94                         | 88.24           |                   |

|                    |   |      |        |
|--------------------|---|------|--------|
| Other <sup>c</sup> | 4 | 5.88 | 94.12  |
| Not Specified      | 4 | 5.88 | 100.00 |

*Note.* Studies using qualitative media analysis or media analysis were coded as content analysis. Document analysis was coded as content analysis.

<sup>a</sup>Included both discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis.

<sup>b</sup>Baroutsis and Lingard (2016) employed thematic analysis as the primary method; however, they employed content analysis and framing analysis as secondary methods.

<sup>c</sup>Other methods included content analysis and Event History Analysis (Winburn, Winburn, and Niemeyer, 2014), case study (Lefstein, 2008), discourse analysis and grounded theory (Yemini & Gordon, 2015), and framing analysis (Fleming-Rife & Proffitt, 2004).

**Data sources.** Studies collected data from a variety of different news media sources. More specifically, studies examined different numbers of news mediums, different types of news mediums. Of these news medium types, studies examined different news outlets based on different sample sizes and timeframes while using different search databases and employing different tools for data analysis.

**Types of news mediums.** While some studies examine the news content of education using one medium, other studies examine the news content using two to four mediums. Fifty-seven (83.82%) studies examine news using one medium; five (7.35%) studies examine news using two mediums; three (4.41%) studies examine three mediums; and, three (4.41%) studies examine the news using four mediums. Studies also examined different news types of news mediums or combinations of news mediums.

Results suggest five different types of news mediums: (a) newspaper, (b) television, (c) magazine, (d) radio, and (e) education news. These types of news mediums can be understood in relation to the number of studies examined. Of the 57 studies using one medium, 49 (85.96%) examined newspapers, four (7.02%) examined television news, three (5.26%) examined education news, and one (1.75%) examined magazine news. Of the five studies using two mediums, three (60%) examined

newspapers and television news while two (40%) examined newspapers and news magazines. Of the three studies using three mediums, two (66.66%) examined newspapers, news magazines, and education news while one (33.33%) examined newspapers, television news, and radio. Of the three studies using four mediums, two (66.66%) examined newspapers, television news, news magazines, and radio together while one (33.33%) examined newspapers, news television, radio, and education news.

Figure 2.3 disaggregates the five types of news mediums. Of the 68 studies, 60 (88.24%) studies used newspapers as their primary type of medium (e.g., *New York Times*, *Washington Post*). Of the other medium types, eleven (16.18%) studies examined news television (e.g., NBC, CNN); seven (10.29%) studies examined news magazines (e.g., *Newsweek*, *TIME*); six (8.82%) studies examined education focused news (e.g., *Education Week*), and four (5.88%) studies examined radio (e.g., NPR).

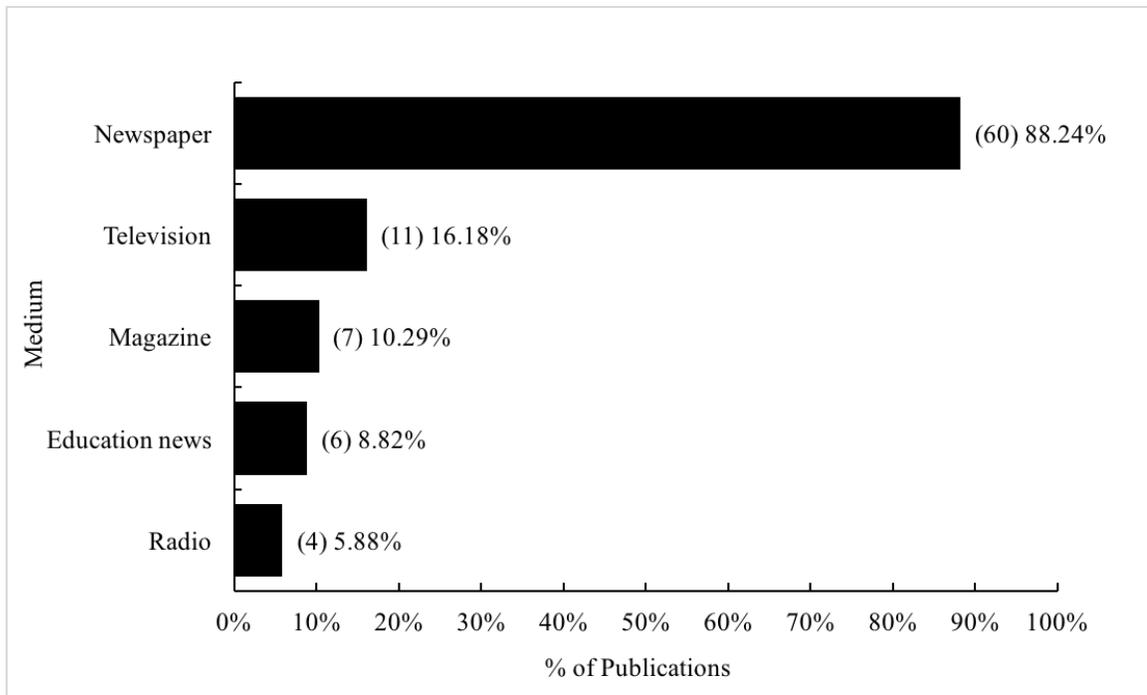


Figure 2.3. Types of News Mediums Used in Previous Research. Total percentage exceeds 100%, because each study could have examined more than one medium.

Newswire services, such as the Associated Press (AP,) were included in the newspaper category. Relative percentages based on multiple response categories.

*News outlets.* More precisely, each type of news medium included the number of news outlets examined along with the names of the news outlets. Fifty-nine studies reported the number of news outlets examined for data collection. The number of news outlets examined ranged from 1 to 255. Because the observed unimodal distribution of the number of news outlets examined by previous studies was asymmetrical with positive skew (skewness = 6.78,  $SE_{skewness} = .311$ ; kurtosis = 48.72,  $SE_{kurtosis} = .613$ ), the median was recorded (Median = 3.00). Of the 68 studies, 46 (78%) examined from one to six news outlets with 20 (33.90%) examining just one news outlet.

However, although 59 of the 68 studies reported the number of news outlets examined, 57 (83.82%) provided a full list of the news outlet(s) by name. Of the other 11 (16.18%) studies, five (7.35%) provided only a partial list of the news outlets by name while six (8.82%) did not report any of the news outlets by name, although studies that did not report the news outlet names often reported other characteristics such as the country, number of outlets, or the focus of news articles related to the education topic.

Of the 62 studies that reported a full or partial list of the specific news outlets by name, Table 2.10 displays the most prominent of these news outlets by medium, frequency, and country. The complete list can be found in Supplementary Table S2 (available in Appendix D). Of the studies that examined the newspaper medium, 17 (27.42%) studies examined the *New York Times* (as at least one of their news outlets) 12 (19.35%) examined the *Washington Post*. One interesting finding was that of the five studies that examined education topics in the news media of multiple countries (see Table

2.5), two studies examined a country (i.e., Finland) or set of countries (i.e., “Asian Tiger” countries) in the news media of other countries with their news serving as a reference point for educational comparison (i.e., Takayama et al., 2013; Waldow et al., 2014).

Table 2.10

*Frequency of News Outlets by Type of Medium and Country*

| Medium Type                        | News Outlet                          | <i>f</i> | Country       |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------|---------------|
| <i>Education News</i> <sup>a</sup> | <i>Education Week</i>                | 2        | United States |
|                                    | <i>Teacher’s Gazette</i>             | 2        | Russia        |
|                                    | <i>Chronicle of Higher Education</i> | 2        | United States |
| Magazine <sup>a</sup>              | <i>Time</i>                          | 3        | United States |
|                                    | <i>Newsweek</i>                      | 1        | United States |
|                                    | <i>U.S. News &amp; World Report</i>  | 1        | United States |
| Newspaper                          | <i>New York Times</i>                | 17       | United States |
|                                    | <i>Washington Post</i>               | 12       | United States |
|                                    | <i>The Australian</i>                | 7        | Australia     |
|                                    | <i>Courier Mail</i>                  | 6        | Australia     |
|                                    | <i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>         | 6        | Australia     |
|                                    | <i>The West Australian</i>           | 5        | Australia     |
|                                    | <i>Los Angeles Times</i>             | 5        | United States |
|                                    | <i>USA Today</i>                     | 5        | United States |
| Radio <sup>a</sup>                 | NPR (National Public Radio)          | 3        | United States |
| Television                         | CBS (Columbia Broadcasting System)   | 5        | United States |
|                                    | Fox News (Fox News Channel)          | 5        | United States |
|                                    | NBC (National Broadcasting Company)  | 5        | United States |
|                                    | ABC (American Broadcasting Company)  | 4        | United States |
|                                    | CNN (Cable News Network)             | 4        | United States |

*Note.* <sup>a</sup>Outlets were the only ones coded for this medium.

**Sample.** The sample sizes of previous research vary both overall and according to research type. Of the 68 studies, 60 (88.24%) reported their full sample size, whereas eight (11.76%) studies did not report the sample size. The observed sample size for the 60 studies ranged from 1 to 5418. The observed unimodal sample distribution was

asymmetrical with positive skew (skewness = 5.85,  $SE_{skewness} = .309$ ; kurtosis = 38.73,  $SE_{kurtosis} = .608$ ). The overall observed median sample size was 104.50.

When parsing the sample size by research type (i.e., quantitative, qualitative, mixed-methods), a different picture emerges. The observed sample size for the 13 quantitative studies ranged from 80 to 982 (Median = 252; skewness = .991,  $SE_{skewness} = .637$ ; kurtosis = -.582,  $SE_{kurtosis} = 1.232$ ); the observed sample size for the 43 qualitative studies ranged from 1 to 1943 (Median = 52; skewness = 5.24,  $SE_{skewness} = .388$ ; kurtosis = 29.793,  $SE_{kurtosis} = .759$ ); and, the observed sample size for the 12 mixed approach studies ranged from 66 to 5419 (Median = 173; skewness = 3.130,  $SE_{skewness} = .661$ ; kurtosis = 10.044,  $SE_{kurtosis} = 1.279$ ). Qualitative studies consisted of smaller sample sizes than quantitative and mixed method approaches. For example, 11 studies had a sample size that ranged from one to 13 news articles.

**Genres.** Table 2.11 displays the results based on news genre. The results have been broken down in four categories: news, opinion, news and opinion, and not specified/unclear. Fourth-fifths of the studies either did not specify or provided an unclear specification of the genre, or examined news irrespective of the factual or opinionated nature of the news medium. The findings suggest that 33 (48.53%) studies did not specify the genre of news for data collection in their method section. Other studies reported that they either coded their sample with consideration for news genre or they specifically reported the type and frequency of news genre(s) included in their sample. Results suggested six different news genres collapsed into two categories: news articles (i.e., news reports) and opinion articles (i.e., news features, op-eds, editorials, letters to the editor, and columnist). While 10 (14.71%) studies examined news articles,

four (5.88%) studies examined opinion articles, and 21 (30.88%) studies examined both news articles and opinion articles. For instance, Cabalin (2014a) explicitly and purposefully selected editorials to examine the student movement in Chile, whereas Feuerstein (2014) did not “differentiate between editorials or news articles” (p. 12).

Table 2.11

*Frequency of News Genres for Data Collection and Analysis*

| Genre                 | <i>f</i> | (Relative)<br>% | (Cumulative)<br>% |
|-----------------------|----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Not specified/unclear | 33       | 48.53%          | 48.53%            |
| News and Opinion      | 21       | 30.88%          | 79.41%            |
| News                  | 10       | 14.71%          | 94.12%            |
| Opinion               | 4        | 5.88%           | 100%              |

**News forms.** The forms of news media included textual and visual representations of education in the news media. Most studies examined the textual representation of education in the news ( $n = 64$ ; 94.12%), whereas four studies (5.88%) examined both textual and visual news (Catalano & Gatti, 2016; Goldstein, 2011; Zemke, 2007). No studies, however, were solely based on visual forms of news.

**Date range.** The date range and timeframe served to delimit the data collected by previous studies for analysis. Results suggest three ways of reporting the date range. Of the 68 studies, 35 (51.47%) reported a complete date format (i.e., DD-MM-YYYY – DD-MM-YYYY). Of the other studies, eight (11.64%) reported a partial date format (i.e., MM-YYYY – MM-YYYY) while 23 (33.82%) reported the year (i.e., YYYY – YYYY) and two studies did not report the dates for data collection. Of the studies that reported a full date range, the years (depending on education topic) ranged from 1953 to 2016.

**Timeframe.** The timeframe considered the sample duration (based on the specified date range). Of the 68 studies, 67 (98.53%) reported the timeframe duration. The observed timeframe in months ranged from  $\leq 1$  to 180. The observed unimodal sample distribution was asymmetrical with positive skew (skewness = .873,  $SE_{skewness} = .293$ ; kurtosis = -.510,  $SE_{kurtosis} = .578$ ). The median duration was 24 months. Twelve (17.60%) studies examined one month or less of news coverage, seven (10.30%) studies examined 12 months, and six (8.80%) studies examined 24 months of data. Of the 12 studies that examined one month or less, six of them examined one to three days.

**Analysis tools.** Table 2.9 illustrates that various tools have been employed to searching and analyze the news media. Although 27 studies either did not specify what tools were used to search for news article, 16 studies used the LexisNexis database followed by 10 studies that used the news organization's archival system. Six studies used Factiva database, three studies used microfilm, and two studies each used Google News and Retriever. One study each used one of the following databases: Critical Mention, FT Profile, Newspaperindex, ProQuest, Access World News, National Newspaper and Magazine Index, Teacher Reference Center, and Wisenews. Regarding tools for data analysis, nine studies used eight different types of software (i.e., Concordance, MaxQDA, Microsoft Excel, NU\*DIST, NVIVO, QDA Miner, TAMS Analyzer). ATLAS.ti, was the only software used in two studies.

### **Sub-Research Question #5**

What are the themes to emerge from the findings of previous research? Three themes materialized from the thematic analysis, including (a) *permissible debate*, (b) *education crisis*, and (c) *fixing education*. Figure 2.4 provides a thematic map that

illustrates the coding of both themes and sub-themes based on the results of previous research that examined different educational topics in the news media.

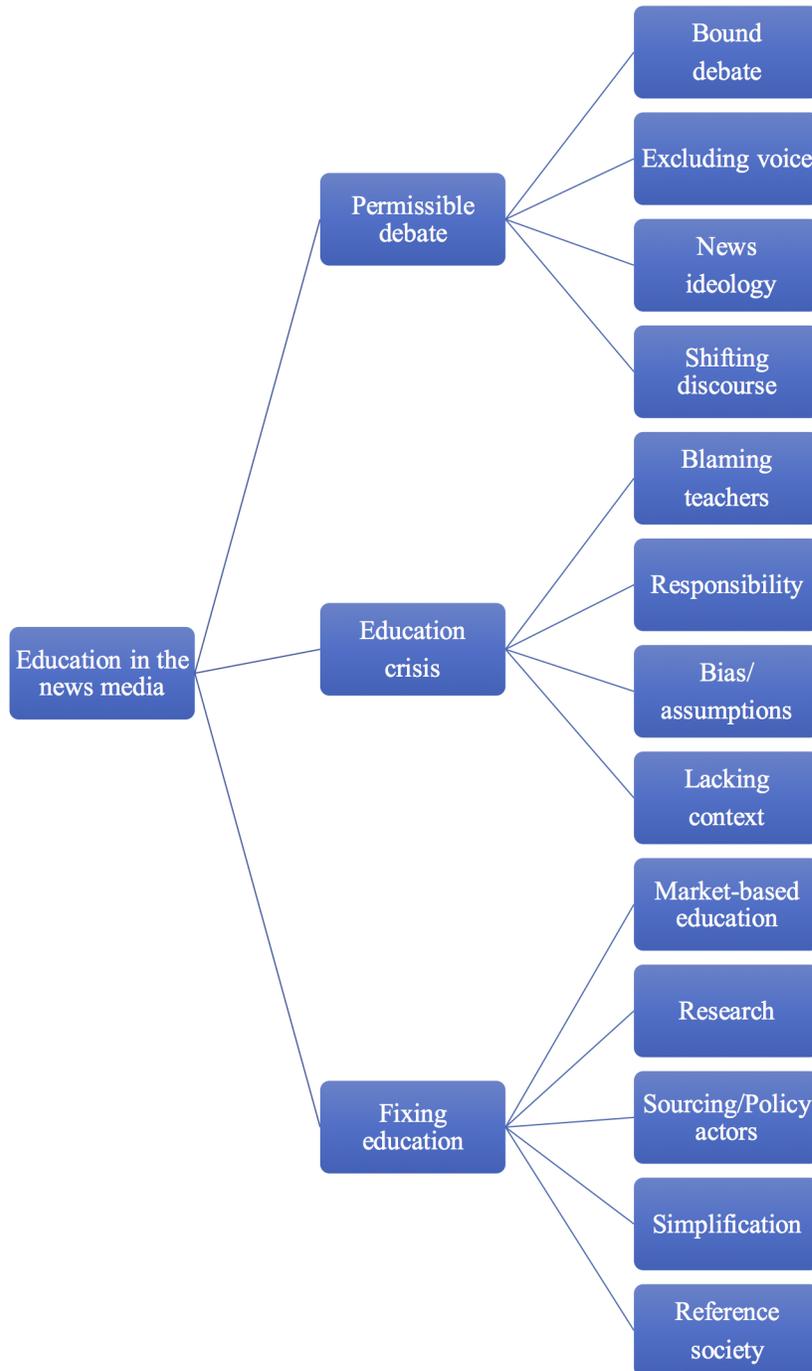


Figure 2.4. Thematic Map Illustrating Common Findings from Previous Research.

In broad categories, findings of previous research can be placed into a tripartite matrix. The first theme, permissible debate, stemmed from the news media's ability to control public discussion of education supported by four sub-themes: bounding debate, excluding voices, news ideology, and shifting discourse. Oh (2010) proposed the term complementary objectivity, where both sides of an educational debate "work toward a similar ideological effect" (p. 163). In effect, this tends to exclude certain voices from debate. For example, government officials can be excluded from conflict to preserve their power and authority (Tamir & Davidson, 2011). In other cases, the voices of students, parents (Oreshkina & Nina Lester, 2013), and teachers were excluded from news coverage about them (Shine, 2015a). What is permissible also relates to the ideological orientation of the news organization, which can shift how education is represented. For instance, liberal news outlets differed from conservative outlets in how school bullying was covered (Kim & Telleen, 2016). And, states with more news coverage of bullying corresponded to their adoption of policies (Winburn et al., 2014). However, news coverage of educational topics was often inconsistent and contradictory (Fleming-Rife & Proffitt, 2004; Pettigrew & MacLure, 1997; Tarasawa, 2009).

The second theme, education crisis, stemmed from the tendency for the news media to situate education within a crisis discourse supported by four sub-themes: blaming teachers, responsibility, biases/assumptions, and lacking context. For instance, within the context of student performance, teachers were often blamed for school failure (Gautreax, 2015; Kirylo & Nauman, 2006; Mockler, 2013; Shine, 2015b; Shine & O'Donoghue, 2013; Yemini & Gordon, 2015). In the case of school bullying, liberal outlets placed responsibility for bullying on government, whereas conservative outlets

placed responsibility on individuals (Kim & Telleen, 2016). Overall, teachers, teachers' unions, traditional public schools, and marginalized student populations were portrayed negatively (Shine & O'Donoghue, 2013; Polat & Unisen, 2016; Goldstein, 2011; Rooks & Munoz, 2015; Wall & Baker, 2012), and news often focused on negative test results (Elstad, 2012). The news also failed to give substantive context to educational problems (Catalano & Gatti, 2016; Freeman, 2014; Gerstl-Pepin, 2002; Grannäs, 2016; Taylor, 2016) needed to make informed decisions (Moses & Saenz, 2008; Saenz & Moses, 2010).

The third theme, fixing education, stemmed from the tendency for the news media to recommend a fix for education supported by five sub-themes: market-based education, research, sourcing/policy actors, simplification, and reference society. The fix for education was simplified and packaged into a market-based approach (Cabalin, 2014a; Goldstein, 2011) often based on other countries as the reference point (Baroutsis & Lingard, 2016; Waldow et al., 2014). These approaches included a positive portrayal of alternative teaching, such as Teach for America (Faltin Osborn & Sierk, 2015; Gautreaux, 2015), Teach for All (Gautreaux & Delgado, 2016), and teacher evaluation tools to get rid of ineffective teachers (Gabriel & Nina-Lester, 2013). They also tended to oversimplify issues like inclusive education (Dorries & Haller, 2001) and literacy (Lefstein, 2008). The news media positively portrayed fixes for education that include accountability, testing, and charter schools (Cohen, 2010; Shine & O'Donoghue, 2013; Rooks & Munoz, 2015). In essence, the free-market is capable of creating effective schools (Kirylo & Nauman, 2006) for global competitiveness (Stack, 2006). This economic purpose resonates with the portrayal of charter schools as embodying freedom, choice, and innovation with entrepreneurial spirit to produce better outcomes (Fernstein,

2014) and the importance of STEM curriculum for girls (Chesky & Goldstein, 2016). However, there is a tendency for the news media to include, exclude, or provide coverage that contradicts research to support educational initiatives (LeBlanc, 2012; Pettigrew & MacLure, 1997; McQuillan & Tse, 1996; Thomson et al., 2003) or to cite non-scholarly, think tank research from advocacy and conservative organizations (Haas, 2004, 2007; McDonald, 2014). News coverage is likely to align with the dominant political and economic views of government officials (Wong & Jain, 1999), presidential candidates (Gerstl-Pepin, 2002), and other elite sources (McQuillan & Tse, 1996).

### **Discussion**

The purpose of this dissertation was to address the primary research question: what are the underlying factors and common findings from research on education in the news media? In this section, I address this question by synthesizing and discussing the most important results from this review. Then, I discuss some limitations of this review before providing concluding remarks and recommendations for future research.

Wallace (1993) made one of the first calls to place the “mass media on the agenda for theory building and research related to the process of generating and implementing education policy” (p. 321). Since Wallace’s initial call almost a quarter of a century ago, research on education in the news media has steadily grown over the last 20 years with more concentrated growth of research over the last five years. However, scholars have continued to echo Wallace’s recommendation by suggesting education in the news media is merely a burgeoning field of research (Wubbena, 2015). The results of this review suggest the field of research is not so much burgeoning as it is fragmented with studies published across a multitude of different scholarly journals grounded in different

academic disciplines. Although the results suggest the primary academic discipline has been education (which is not unexpected), the results also revealed other academic fields have examined education in the news media, such as sociology and journalism among many others. This finding suggests research on education in the news media might be considered an interdisciplinary field of research that intersects with many other academic disciplines rather than a field of research that is distinctly educational. This finding suggests that educational researchers should venture beyond education-based journals as the field develops. The full list of journals along with their corresponding academic fields can be found in Supplementary Table S1 (available in Appendix C).

The results from this review suggest that research on education in the news media has garnered much collaboration among researchers and students alike. The fact that doctoral students are publishing research by themselves and along with faculty members is a good sign for the field's development. As Chomsky (2014) argued, "Part of the reason why I write about the media is because I am interested in the whole intellectual culture and the part of it that is easiest to study is the media" (p. 3). Chomsky continues, "It comes out every day. You can do a systematic investigation. You can compare yesterday's version to today's version. There is a lot of evidence about what's played up and what isn't and the way things are structured" (p. 3). Hence, the result that doctoral students have actively engaged in this research suggests the field's growth might be related to its accessibility. It might also mean that the field is likely to be sustained because beginning scholars, early in their research career as doctoral students, are beginning to establish their future research agenda. Indeed, this was one of the motivations behind this current review of research on education in the news media.

The primary aim of this review was to identify and report the underlying factors driving research on education in the news media. By focusing on the subject and the object of analysis, the scope of eligible research was narrowed. This narrowness was attributed to the inclusion criteria, which also helped to focus the review and make it manageable. Consequentially, although this review examined the bulk of research on education in the news media, it did sacrifice some breadth for depth and, therefore, some research that was considered relevant was excluded. This depth allowed for the elaboration of heterogeneous features of previous research designed in a homogenous way. Therefore, this review does not claim to have captured all the research on education in the news media, but it does claim to have examined the bulk of this research, which has been focused on many different educational topics from around the world.

Regarding how studies have been conducted and the educational topics and geographical locales they have examined, the results suggest three main ways studies have been designed to examine education in the news media. First, the plurality of research was designed to examine one or many educational topics within the geographical context of one country (e.g., Feuerstein, 2014) one state (e.g., Tamir & Davidson, 2011), or a city (e.g., Catalano & Gatti, 2016). There were, however, two other ways researchers examined education in the news media. Some research examined the news media's representation of educational topics within the context of multiple countries (Alhamdan et al., 2014; Dixon et al., 2013; Gautreaux & Delgado, 2016) while other research examined the representation of one country in the news media of other countries (Takayama et al., 2013; Waldow et al., 2014). This finding suggests that researchers can choose three different ways to conduct research.

Results also suggest many different educational topics have been examined. This review classified the many different educational topics into five categories: (a) policy, politics, and reform, (b) curriculum, (c) bias and equity, (d) school labor and employment, and (e) school safety. Most research fell into the just two of these categories: policy, politics, and reform and school labor and employment. The concentration of studies examining issues related to school labor and employment suggests that an interest in how teachers have been represented to the public, which has implications for the teaching profession that extend beyond the scope of this discussion. The concentration of studies examining issues related to policy, politics, and reform suggests a wide range of possible studies, for example, some studies examined the representation of charter schools, think tanks and other actors that work to influence education policy, student activism, and international testing, among others. The topics that have been examined form the contours of education in the news media as a field of study, illustrating a converging point of interest for scholars from different backgrounds.

Regardless of the educational topic, however, the results suggest that previous research has been overwhelmingly concentrated in the United States. Of course, this finding is not unexpected given the English-language inclusion criterion. Other research was largely concentrated in other English speaking countries like Australia, the United Kingdom, and Canada. Hence, the conclusions drawn from this sample are largely applicable to the news representation of education in Anglophonic countries.

The primary theoretical perspectives underpinning the research included framing theory and critical discourse theory. This finding also suggests the field of research provides a point of convergence because it has garnered interests from scholars that

subscribe to different epistemological and theoretical foundations that extend to different types of research. Framing theory—the most widely used perspective identified in previous research—provides, perhaps, the most fruitful line of theoretical inquiry for understanding not only the content of news media about education, but also the effects of that content on its audience members. However, many studies, especially within the critical discourse tradition, often made unfounded claims of causation when the studies were limited to descriptive, empirical accounts. Framing theory provides a perspective that can be more readily employed by future research for examining claims of causation. This research can be used to examine the effects of news content about education on audience members. Perhaps the most illustrative example of this line of research includes two successive studies regarding charter schools in the news media, the first of which was included in this review. Feuerstein (2014) inductively identified two dominant news frames, and then Feuerstein (2015) conducted an experimental study examining the effects of those two news frames on participants.

Results revealed that previous research has primarily employed qualitative methods. The qualitative focus provides insight into the inductive nature of the research for theory building. Although qualitative studies analyzed a smaller number of news articles, their analysis was more in-depth, which provided a nuanced understanding of the news of different education topics covered by the news media. However, quantitative studies often augmented the numerical representation of results with excerpts from the news articles, which also served to ground their findings. The plurality of studies employed either content analysis or critical discourse analysis to analyze the news media. Critical discourse analysis served primarily as a qualitative approach for analyzing the

news media, whereas content analysis lent itself to both qualitative methods and quantitative methods. Studies employing content analysis often underpinned their research with framing theory. These types of studies were found to be easier to conceptually understand and follow, whereas studies employing critical discourse analysis were often unintelligible and challenging to follow.

Nonetheless, results from this review suggest that (critical) discourse analysis provides researchers with a theoretical and an analytical framework for analyzing smaller samples of news articles, providing a more nuanced understanding into the nature of the textual representation of education and its relationship to the sources of production that take into account the larger societal context. This findings suggests that researchers need not only collect and analyze large samples of data, but that studies with larger samples of data are complemented by the nuanced understanding brought by studies with smaller sample sizes (Catalano & Gatti, 2016; Faltin Osborn & Sierk, 2015; Keogh & Garrick, 2011; LeBlanc, 2012; Lefstein, 2008; Oh, 2010; Oreshkina et al., 2012; Stack, 2006; Thomas, 1999; Thomas, 2002; Wall & Baker, 2012).

The plurality of studies examined one medium—newspapers—as the outlet for data collection and largely focusing on the textual representation of education. This finding is also a good sign for the field. Shine (2015a) points out, “research indicates that newspapers continue to set the news agenda for radio, television and online media outlets” (p. 504). Of the newspapers, studies often examined the agenda-setting news, including the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. Chomsky (2014) suggests that “The people who read the *New York Times*—people who are wealthy or part of what is sometimes called the political class—they are actually involved in the political system in

an ongoing fashion” (p. 4). Hence, the focus of research on these news outlets is another good sign, because they are important for understanding the dominant thinking that drives educational policy decision-making. As Chomsky (2014) suggests, the “elite media, sometimes called the agenda-setting media because they are the ones with the big resources, they set the framework in which everyone else operates (p. 4).

The finding that most studies either did not clarify the news genre used (i.e., news vs. opinion) or that they combined news and opinion stories together, drawing conclusions from both regarding how the news media represented education, is important because it is concerning. This finding is concerning because these studies might be drawing conclusions about how education has been represented in the news media by conflating opinion and news genres together. Although news media outlets are likely to produce both news and opinion articles, these two genres have distinctly different purposes: one is likely used to persuade while the other is likely used to inform.

Nonetheless, there were three common themes to materialize from the research findings on education in the news media. The news media have a tendency to bind the permissible debate about education, and they do so by portraying education as a crisis that is in need of a fix. The fix is simplistic, driven by an economic purpose. This economic purpose is used to not only rationalize market-based approaches for education, but to also justify the role of education for economic global competitiveness. Of course, these findings depend on educational topics, theories, method, and data source, but the thematic analysis does provide a broad perspective of the research findings. This finding is important, because it suggests the news media as a whole serve as a policy agent that helps define education problems and their treatment. Does the news media drive

educational policy reforms, or do educational policy reforms and elite sources drive educational change? This question is not answered, but it seems plausible to assume both. What this review does reveal is that the news media represent an important actor in educational debates that should be considered by educational researchers.

### **Limitations**

There are some limitations of this review that require acknowledgment. First, although every attempt was made to be as exhaustive and as thorough as possible during the search for relevant literature, it is possible that studies meeting the inclusion criteria were missed either during the initial search, during the reference list screening, or during the inclusion screening process. Second, the inclusion criteria established during the literature screening and selection process served to narrow the scope of eligible studies for review. Unfortunately, although this article examined the bulk of literature on education in the news media, some relevant literature was excluded because it exceeded the scope of the inclusion criteria. For instance, some of this literature included theoretical/conceptual and analytical articles while other empirical literature included studies that examined news content along with interviews and/or policy documents or experimental/quasi-experimental studies that examined the effect of different news content on participants' views of education. The two latter types of research are important but they are also empirically different. Therefore, this type of research was excluded. Empirically, this article included scholarship that examined news content of educational topics; it was not concerned with how this content was developed (e.g., interviews that provide insight on editorial decision-making) or the effects of this news

content on individuals or public opinion writ large. In this vein, the results of this review should be interpreted with consideration for these limitations.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations for Future Research**

In conclusion, this article examined the underlying factors constituting research on education in the news media. In doing so, it provides one of the first attempts to unify the various undercurrents driving previous research. By heeding Wallace's (1993) call to establish a research agenda for education in the news media, this article also provides scholars with an organizing point for future research. It is in this line of reasoning that I would like to make a few recommendations to help guide this future research.

When designing a research project to examine education in the news media, researchers should follow some basic reporting guidelines to ensure transparency and that claims are warranted (American Educational Research Association, 2006). Regarding reporting transparency, researchers should ensure they have clearly reported the underlying factors identified in this review (see Table 2.2). The underlying factors provide an organizing point for research because they provide a common structure that allows the nature of research in this area to be understood, compared, critiqued, and built upon. Building knowledge of education in the news media, whether vertically or horizontally and especially in relation to changes in education or society at large, requires some level of agreement in how this research is conducted, reported, and evaluated, especially considering the divergent trajectories identified in this review.

Second, one interesting finding of this review was that studies often overextended their warranted claims by suggesting the news media's representation of different educational topics was influential. This claim is empirical and experimental in nature.

Yet, the studies included in this review were descriptive in nature. It should be cautioned that audiences are not just passive receivers of information waiting to be filled up with information like an empty vessel and influenced by what is read, seen, or heard. Therefore, future research should begin to connect what and how the news media have represented education—the research this review examined—to the potential effects of this news content on its audience members. In this regard, framing theory provides a valuable theoretical approach as illustrated by the studies in this review, and its use can be extended to future research that examines the effects of news framing of education on participants (Scheufele, 1999; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Feuerstein's (2014, 2015) research provides an exemplary model to follow for this future research.

Lastly, there are two further avenues that future research might explore. The first avenue stems from the educational topic and geographic locale variables, and the second avenue stems from the variable, news form. Regarding the educational topic and geographic locale variables, future research might explore cases of comparative indifference. For instance, Takayama et al. (2013) and Waldow et al. (2014) examined the comparative difference of high performing countries—Finland and Asian Tiger countries respectively—in the news media of other countries, whereas a study of comparative indifference might examine countries turning away from or resisting market-oriented reforms in the news media of countries embracing these types of educational reforms (Cabalin, 2014a). One possible example might be the Chilean educational system in the news media of the United States (Pribble & Erkulwater, 2017). Regarding the news form, although most previous research has examined the textual or, in some cases, combined textual-visual representations of education in the news media, future

research might solely explore the visual representation of education in the news media.

Of course, these recommendations are some of the many possibilities for future research.

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## APPENDIX A

### Inclusion Protocol

This purpose of this inclusion protocol is to screen studies examining education in the news media for inclusion in this review. Studies included in this review will proceed to the data extraction phase. Eligible studies are required to meet seven criteria (V1-7). Records should be excluded if they do not meet any of the seven aforementioned criteria.

Reference in APA format:

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#### Variables (V1-10)

**V1 English-language:** Is the article written in English? In some cases, the abstract might be written in multiple languages (e.g., *Education Policy Analysis Archives*).

0 = No

1 = Yes

**V2 Timeframe:** Is the record published in a year prior to 2017? The inclusion of literature is delimited by year (excluding current year) to allow for year-to-year comparison.

0 = No

1 = Yes

**V3 Refereed:** Is the article published in a refereed journal? The refereed status of the journal should be checked using Ulrichsweb from ProQuest.

0 = No

1 = Yes

**V4 Topic:** Is the topic of the article related to primary or secondary education in the news media? It must have some direct or indirect bearing on the school environment or school policy.

0 = No

1 = Yes

**V5 Empirical:** Is the article an empirical study? Does the article employ quantitative, qualitative, or a mixed methods approach to analyze data?

0 = No

1 = Yes

**V6 Structure:** The article must have an introduction, method section, results section, and discussion/conclusion section. In some cases, the method or results sections are not explicitly labeled as such, but the differently named sections still include the correct content.

0 = No

1 = Yes

**V7 Data:** Is the article's sole data source from a newspaper, news magazine, news radio program, television news, or education news?

0 = No

1 = Yes

**V8 Inclusion:** Should the article be included in the review? Articles with a "yes" answer on V2-8 should be included; however, articles with a "no" answer on any of the variables should be excluded.

0 = No (If "No", go to V9 to list reason for exclusion)

1 = Yes (If "Yes", proceed to the Data Extraction Protocol)

**V9 Exclusion:** Why was the record excluded? The record may have been excluded for any one or more of the below reasons.

1 = Duplicate

2 = Incomplete

3 = Non-English

4 = Non-relevant

5 = Time period

6 = Book

7 = Design/data

8 = Gray literature

- Book chapter
- Book review
- Conference paper/presentation
- Dissertation
- Encyclopedia entry
- Introduction
- Periodical/commentary
- Report
- Thesis

9 = Theoretical/conceptual article

10 = Topic

11 = Not refereed

## APPENDIX B

### Data Extraction Protocol

The categories of data extraction protocol also represent the categories that constitute the literature matrix. The purpose of the data extraction protocol is to extract common data across all of the studies included in this review. There were a total of 22 variables targeted for data extraction (V1-22).

Record reference in APA format:

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#### Variables (V1-22)

##### Part I: General Characteristics (V1-4)

**V1 Year:** What year was the study published?

- 1 = 1996
- 2 = 1997
- 3 = 1998
- 4 = 1999
- 5 = 2000
- 6 = 2001
- 7 = 2002
- 8 = 2003
- 9 = 2004
- 10 = 2005
- 11 = 2006
- 12 = 2007
- 13 = 2008
- 14 = 2009
- 15 = 2010
- 16 = 2011
- 17 = 2012
- 18 = 2013
- 19 = 2014
- 20 = 2015
- 21 = 2016

##### V2 Authorship:

- 1 = Multiple Faculty
- 2 = Solo Faculty

- 3 = Faculty and Student(s)
- 4 = Student(s) Only
- 5 = Other

**V3 Journal:**

- 1 = Alberta Journal of Educational Research
- 2 = American Journal of Education
- 3 = Asian Social Science
- 4 = Australian Journal of Education
- 5 = Bilingual Research Journal
- 6 = British Journal of Educational Studies
- 7 = Canadian Journal of Education
- 8 = Cogent Education
- 9 = Comparative Education
- 10 = Critical Education
- 11 = Critical Sociology
- 12 = Disability & Society
- 13 = Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education
- 14 = Education 3-13
- 15 = Education and Society
- 16 = Education Policy Analysis Archives
- 17 = Education Research and Perspectives
- 18 = Educational Policy
- 19 = Educational Studies
- 20 = Harvard Educational Review
- 21 = History of Education
- 22 = International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education
- 23 = Issues in Educational Research
- 24 = Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies
- 25 = Journal of Asian Pacific Communication
- 26 = Journal of Children and Media
- 27 = Journal of Communication Inquiry
- 28 = Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy
- 29 = Journal of Education Policy
- 30 = Journal of Negro Education
- 31 = Journal of Sociology
- 31 = Journal of Student Engagement
- 33 = Journalism
- 34 = Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly
- 35 = Media International Australia
- 36 = Peabody Journal of Education
- 37 = Pertanika Journal of Social Science and Humanities
- 38 = Policy Futures in Education
- 39 = Problems of Education in the 21st Century
- 40 = Public Administration

- 41 = Research in Comparative and International Education
- 42 = Social Semiotics
- 43 = Teachers College Record
- 44 = The Bilingual Research Journal
- 45 = The Journal of Primary Prevention
- 46 = The Review of Disability Studies
- 47 = The Social Science Journal
- 48 = Urban Affairs Review

**V4 Subject classification:**

- 1 = Education (ED)
- 2 = Journalism and Communication (JC)
- 3 = Journalism and Sociology (JS)
- 4 = Handicapped (HC)
- 5 = Social Sciences (SS)
- 6 = Literary and Political Reviews, Sociology (PS)
- 7 = Sociology and Education (SE)
- 8 = Linguistics (LN)
- 9 = Children and Youth, Sociology (YS)
- 10 = Sociology (SO)
- 11 = Ethnic Interests and Education (EE)
- 12 = Journalism (JO)
- 13 = Humanities and Social Sciences (HS)
- 14 = Public Administration (PA)
- 15 = Philosophy, Linguistics, and Social Sciences (PLS)
- 16 = Psychology and Medical Sciences (PM)
- 17 = Handicapped, Social Services, and Welfare (HSW)
- 18 = Other

**Part II: Educational topic and location (V5-6)**

**V5 Education topic:**

- 1 = Policy, politics, and reforms
- 2 = Curriculum
- 3 = Bias/equity
- 4 = School labor and employment
- 5 = School safety
- 6 = Other

**V6 Country:**

- 1 = Single
- 2 = Multiple

**V7 Region:**

- 1 = USA
- 2 = Australasia
- 3 = Europe
- 4 = UK
- 5 = Asia
- 6 = Canada
- 7 = Latin America
- 8 = Greater Middle East
- 9 = Russia
- 10 = South Africa

**Part III: Analytical lens (V7)**

**V8 Theoretical/conceptual perspective:**

- 1 = Framing Theory/Agenda-Setting
- 2 = Discourse Theory (Critical)
- 3 = Public Discourse
- 4 = Neoliberalism
- 5 = Democratic Theories
- 6 = Gender/race/disability
- 7 = Interpretivist Theories
- 8 = Comparative Theories
- 9 = Other/Unclear

**Part IV: Method/data sources (V8-21)**

**V9 Article type:**

- 1 = Qualitative
- 2 = Quantitative
- 3 = Mixed-methods

**V10 Research method:**

***Number of research methods used:***

- 1 = One method
- 2 = Two methods
- 3 = Not specified

***Type of research method:***

- 1 = Content Analysis
- 2 = Discourse Analysis
- 3 = Grounded Theory

- 4 = Content Analysis and Discourse Analysis
- 5 = Deconstruction Analysis
- 6 = Narrative Analysis
- 7 = Textual Analysis
- 8 = Thematic Analysis
- 9 = Discourse Analysis and Case Study
- 10 = Discourse Analysis and Framing Analysis
- 11 = Other
- 12 = Not Specified

**V11 Number of mediums:**

- 1 = One medium
- 2 = Two mediums
- 3 = Three mediums
- 4 = Four mediums
- 5 = Five mediums

**V12 Medium type:**

- 1 = Newspaper
- 2 = Education news
- 3 = Magazine
- 4 = Television
- 5 = Radio

**V13 Outlet:**

- 1 = Teacher's Gazette
- 2 = Education Week
- 3 = Chronicle of Higher Education
- 4 = Time
- 5 = Newsweek
- 6 = U.S. News & World Report
- 7 = New York Times
- 8 = Washington Post
- 9 = The Australian
- 10 = Courier Mail
- 11 = Sydney Morning Herald
- 12 = The West Australian
- 13 = Los Angeles Times
- 14 = USA Today
- 15 = The Age
- 16 = The Guardian
- 17 = The Times
- 18 = The Telegraph

19 = The Independent  
20 = Australian Financial Review  
21 = Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung  
22 = Suddeutsche Zeitung  
23 = Daily Mail  
24 = Atlanta Journal Constitution  
25 = Associated Press  
26 = La Nacion  
27 = Northern Territory News  
28 = The Advertiser  
29 = Herald Sun  
30 = Canberra Times  
31 = Globe and Mail  
32 = National Post  
33 = El Mercurio  
34 = Oriental Daily News  
35 = Sin Chew Daily  
36 = Hankyoreh News  
37 = The Mirror  
38 = The Sun  
39 = Financial Times  
40 = Wall Street Journal  
41 = Chicago Sun Times  
42 = Chicago Tribune  
43 = Detroit Free Press  
44 = Michigan Daily  
45 = National Review  
46 = Claron  
47 = El Clarín  
48 = Daily Telegraph  
49 = The Mercury  
50 = Financial Express  
51 = The New Nation  
52 = Toronto Star  
53 = CBC news report  
54 = La Tercera  
55 = China Press  
56 = Guang Ming Daily  
57 = Nanyang Siang Pau  
58 = Apple Daily  
59 = Ming Pao  
60 = Wen Wei Pao  
61 = El Espectador  
62 = El Tiempo  
63 = Aamulehti  
64 = Helsingin Sanomat

65 = Italehti  
66 = Kaleva  
67 = Keski-Suomalainen  
68 = Turun Sanomat  
69 = Aujourd'hui en France  
70 = Le Figaro  
71 = Le Monde  
72 = Liberation  
73 = Ouest France  
74 = Sud Ouest  
75 = Bild, with Bild am Sonntag  
76 = Die Welt with Welt am Sonntag  
77 = Rheinische Post Dusseldorf  
78 = Taz  
79 = Globes  
80 = The Marker  
81 = Malaysia Nanban  
82 = The Star  
83 = El Diario  
84 = El Popular  
85 = Milenio  
86 = De Telegraaf  
87 = De Volkskrant  
88 = NRC-Handelsblad  
89 = Trouw  
90 = Otago Daily Times  
91 = New Zealand Herald  
92 = Northern Advocate  
93 = Al-Zaman  
94 = The Oman Daily  
95 = La Prensa  
96 = El Comercio  
97 = La República  
98 = Perú 21  
99 = Al Riyadh  
100 = Straits Times  
101 = Mail & Guardian  
102 = Chosun Daily  
103 = Dong-A Daily  
104 = El Mundo  
105 = El País  
106 = El Público  
107 = Cumhuriyet  
108 = Hurriyet  
109 = Posta  
110 = Sabah

111 = Zaman  
112 = Birmingham Mail  
113 = The Express  
114 = Leicester Mercury  
115 = London Standard  
116 = Newcastle Evening Chronicle  
117 = Yorkshire Evening Post  
118 = Western Mail  
119 = Democrat-Gazette  
120 = Atlanta Latino  
121 = Baltimore Sun  
122 = Boston Globe  
123 = Businessweek  
124 = Chattanooga Times  
125 = Christian Science Monitor  
126 = Daily Herald  
127 = Dallas Morning News  
128 = Deseret News  
129 = Houston Chronicle  
130 = Lansing State Journal  
131 = Newark Star-Ledger  
132 = Philadelphia Daily News  
133 = Philadelphia Inquirer  
134 = Pittsburgh Post-Gazette  
135 = Plaindealerhad  
136 = Reading Eagle  
137 = Richmond Times Dispatch  
138 = Salt Lake Tribune  
139 = Slate  
140 = St. Louis Post Dispatch  
141 = Standard-Examiner  
142 = Star Tribune  
143 = Charleston Gazette  
144 = Dallas Morning News  
145 = Denver Post  
146 = Harrisburg Patriot News  
147 = Intelligencer-Journal  
148 = Lancaster New Era  
149 = Philadelphia Inquirer  
150 = Richmond Times Dispatch  
151 = Roanoke Times  
152 = San Francisco Chronicle  
153 = The Spectrum  
154 = Star Tribune  
155 = Topeka Daily Capital  
156 = Gannett News Service

157 = United Press International  
158 = El Observador  
159 = NPR  
160 = CBS  
161 = Fox News  
162 = NBC  
163 = ABC  
164 = CNN  
165 = BBC  
166 = CNBC  
167 = MSNBC  
168 = PBS  
169 = wsbtv.com

**V14 Country (of corresponding news outlet):**

1 = Argentina  
2 = Australia  
3 = Bangladesh  
4 = Canada  
5 = Chile  
6 = China  
7 = Colombia  
8 = Finland  
9 = France  
10 = Germany  
11 = Israel  
12 = Malaysia  
13 = Mexico  
14 = Netherlands  
15 = New Zealand  
16 = Oman  
17 = Panama  
18 = Peru  
19 = Russia  
20 = Saudi Arabia  
21 = Singapore  
22 = South Africa  
23 = South Korea  
24 = Spain  
25 = Turkey  
27 = United Kingdom  
28 = United States  
29 = Uruguay

**V15 Sample size:**

How many news articles did the study examine? \_\_\_\_\_

**V16 Genre:**

- 1 = News
- 2 = Opinion (Op-Ed, Editorial, Letter to the Editor, Column)

**V17 Form:**

- 1 = Textual
- 2 = Visual
- 3 = Both

**V18 Date range:**

- 1 = DD-MM-YYYY – DD-MM-YYYY
- 2 = MM=YYYY – MM=YYYY
- 3 = YYYY – YYYY

**V19 Timeframe:**

What is the timeframe of the sample in months?

**V20 Search database:**

- 1 = LexisNexis
- 2 = News archive
- 3 = Factiva
- 4 = Microfilm
- 5 = GoogleNews
- 6 = Retriever
- 7 = Critical Mention (criticalmention.com/)
- 8 = FT Profile
- 9 = Newspaperindex
- 10 = ProQuest
- 11 = Access World News
- 12 = National Newspaper and Magazine Index
- 13 = Teacher Reference Center
- 14 = Wisenews
- 15 = Not specified/other

**V21 Analysis tools**

- 1 = ATLAS.ti
- 2 = Concordance

- 3 = MaxQDA
- 4 = Microsoft Excel
- 5 = NU\*DIST
- 6 = NVIVO
- 7 = QDA Miner
- 8 = TAMS Analyzer
- 9 = Other/Not specified

**Part V: Outcome (V22)**

**V22 Findings**

What is the primary finding of the study?

## APPENDIX C

### Frequency of Journals by Academic Subject

(Supplementary Table)

Table S1

*Complete List of Journals by Academic Subject*

| (n = 48)<br>Journal  | Subject | (n = 68)<br>f | (Relative)<br>% | (Cumulative)<br>% |
|--|---------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education</i>  | ED      | 6             | 8.82%           | 8.82              |
| <i>Educational Policy</i>  | ED      | 5             | 7.35%           | 16.18%            |
| <i>Critical Education</i>  | ED      | 3             | 4.41%           | 20.59%            |
| <i>Journalism &amp; Mass Communication Quarterly</i>             | JC      | 3             | 4.41%           | 25.00%            |
| <i>Teachers College Record</i>                                   | ED      | 3             | 4.41%           | 29.41%            |
| <i>American Journal of Education</i>                             | ED      | 2             | 2.94%           | 32.35%            |
| <i>Comparative Education</i>                                     | ED      | 2             | 2.94%           | 35.29%            |
| <i>Disability &amp; Society</i>                                  | HC      | 2             | 2.94%           | 38.24%            |
| <i>Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies</i>             | ED      | 2             | 2.94%           | 41.18%            |
| <i>Journal of Education Policy</i>                               | ED      | 2             | 2.94%           | 44.12%            |
| <i>Alberta Journal of Educational Research</i>                   | ED      | 1             | 1.47%           | 45.59%            |
| <i>Asian Social Science</i>                                      | SS      | 1             | 1.47%           | 47.06%            |
| <i>Australian Journal of Education</i>                           | ED      | 1             | 1.47%           | 48.53%            |
| <i>Bilingual Research Journal</i>                                | ED      | 1             | 1.47%           | 50.00%            |
| <i>British Journal of Educational Studies</i>                    | ED      | 1             | 1.47%           | 51.47%            |
| <i>Canadian Journal of Education</i>                             | ED      | 1             | 1.47%           | 52.94%            |
| <i>Cogent Education</i>  | ED      | 1             | 1.47%           | 54.41%            |
| <i>Critical Sociology</i>  | PS      | 1             | 1.47%           | 55.88%            |
| <i>Education 3-13</i>  | ED      | 1             | 1.47%           | 57.35%            |
| <i>Education and Society</i>                                     | SE      | 1             | 1.47%           | 58.82%            |
| <i>Education Policy Analysis Archives</i>                        | ED      | 1             | 1.47%           | 60.29%            |
| <i>Education Research and Perspectives</i>                       | ED      | 1             | 1.47%           | 61.76%            |
| <i>Educational Studies</i>                                       | ED      | 1             | 1.47%           | 63.24%            |
| <i>Harvard Educational Review</i>                                | ED      | 1             | 1.47%           | 64.71%            |
| <i>History of Education</i>                                      | ED      | 1             | 1.47%           | 66.18%            |
| <i>International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education</i> | ED      | 1             | 1.47%           | 67.65%            |
| <i>Issues in Educational Research</i>                            | ED      | 1             | 1.47%           | 69.12%            |

|   |     |   |       |         |
|---|-----|---|-------|---------|
| <i>Journal of Asian Pacific Communication</i>               | LN  | 1 | 1.47% | 70.59%  |
| <i>Journal of Children and Media</i>                        | YS  | 1 | 1.47% | 72.06%  |
| <i>Journal of Communication Inquiry</i>                     | SO  | 1 | 1.47% | 73.53%  |
| <i>Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy</i>                   | ED  | 1 | 1.47% | 75.00%  |
| <i>Journal of Negro Education</i>                           | EE  | 1 | 1.47% | 76.47%  |
| <i>Journal of Sociology</i>                                 | SS  | 1 | 1.47% | 77.94%  |
| <i>Journal of Student Engagement</i>                        | ED  | 1 | 1.47% | 79.41%  |
| <i>Journalism</i>   | JO  | 1 | 1.47% | 80.88%  |
| <i>Media International Australia</i>                        | SO  | 1 | 1.47% | 82.35%  |
| <i>Peabody Journal of Education</i>                         | ED  | 1 | 1.47% | 83.82%  |
| <i>Pertanika Journal of Social Science and Humanities</i>   | HS  | 1 | 1.47% | 85.29%  |
| <i>Policy Futures in Education</i>                          | ED  | 1 | 1.47% | 86.76%  |
| <i>Problems of Education in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</i> | ED  | 1 | 1.47% | 88.24%  |
| <i>Public Administration</i>                                | PA  | 1 | 1.47% | 89.71%  |
| <i>Research in Comparative and International Education</i>  | ED  | 1 | 1.47% | 91.18%  |
| <i>Social Semiotics</i>                                     | PLS | 1 | 1.47% | 92.65%  |
| <i>The Bilingual Research Journal</i>                       | ED  | 1 | 1.47% | 94.12%  |
| <i>The Journal of Primary Prevention</i>                    | PM  | 1 | 1.47% | 95.59%  |
| <i>The Review of Disability Studies</i>                     | HSW | 1 | 1.47% | 97.06%  |
| <i>The Social Science Journal</i>                           | SS  | 1 | 1.47% | 98.53%  |
| <i>Urban Affairs Review</i>                                 | SS  | 1 | 1.47% | 100.00% |

*Note.* ED = Education; JC = Journalism and Communication; JS = Journalism and Sociology; HC = Handicapped; SS = Social Sciences; PS = Literary and Political Reviews, Sociology; SE = Sociology and Education; LN = Linguistics; YS = Children and Youth, Sociology; SO = Sociology; EE = Ethnic Interests and Education; JO = Journalism; HS = Humanities and Social Sciences; PA = Public Administration; PLS = Philosophy, Linguistics, and Social Sciences; PM = Psychology and Medical Sciences; HSW = Handicapped, Social Services, and Welfare.

## APPENDIX D

### Frequency of Outlets by Medium Type and Country

(Supplementary Table)

Table S2

*Outlets by Medium Type and Country*

| <b>Country</b> | <b>News outlets</b>                            | <b><i>f</i></b> |
|----------------|--|-----------------|
| Argentina      | <i>La Nacion<sup>a</sup></i>                   | 2               |
|                | <i>Claron<sup>a</sup></i>                      | 1               |
|                | <i>El Clarín<sup>a</sup></i>                   | 1               |
| Australia      | <i>The Australian<sup>a</sup></i>              | 7               |
|                | <i>Courier Mail<sup>a</sup></i>                | 6               |
|                | <i>Sydney Morning Herald<sup>a</sup></i>       | 6               |
|                | <i>The Age<sup>a</sup></i>                     | 4               |
|                | <i>The West Australian<sup>a</sup></i>         | 5               |
|                | <i>Northern Territory News<sup>a</sup></i>     | 2               |
|                | <i>The Advertiser<sup>a</sup></i>              | 2               |
|                | <i>Australian Financial Review<sup>a</sup></i> | 3               |
|                | <i>Herald Sun<sup>a</sup></i>                  | 2               |
|                | <i>Canberra Times<sup>a</sup></i>              | 2               |
|                | <i>Daily Telegraph<sup>a</sup></i>             | 1               |
| Bangladesh     | <i>The Mercury<sup>a</sup></i>                 | 1               |
|                | <i>Financial Express<sup>a</sup></i>           | 1               |
|                | <i>The New Nation<sup>a</sup></i>              | 1               |
| Canada         | <i>Globe and Mail<sup>a</sup></i>              | 2               |
|                | <i>National Post<sup>a</sup></i>               | 2               |
|                | <i>Toronto Star<sup>a</sup></i>                | 1               |
|                | <i>CBC News Report<sup>a</sup></i>             | 1               |
| Chile          | <i>El Mercurio<sup>a</sup></i>                 | 2               |
|                | <i>La Tercera<sup>a</sup></i>                  | 1               |
| China          | <i>China Press<sup>a</sup></i>                 | 1               |
|                | <i>Guang Ming Daily<sup>a</sup></i>            | 1               |
|                | <i>Nanyang Siang Pau<sup>a</sup></i>           | 1               |
|                | <i>Oriental Daily News<sup>a</sup></i>         | 2               |
|                | <i>Sin Chew Daily<sup>a</sup></i>              | 2               |
|                | <i>Apple Daily<sup>a</sup></i>                 | 1               |
|                | <i>Ming Pao<sup>a</sup></i>                    | 1               |
|                | <i>Wen Wei Pao<sup>a</sup></i>                 | 1               |
| Colombia       | <i>El Espectador<sup>a</sup></i>               | 1               |
|                | <i>El Tiempo<sup>a</sup></i>                   | 1               |
| Finland        | <i>Aamulehti<sup>a</sup></i>                   | 1               |
|                | <i>Helsingin Sanomat<sup>a</sup></i>           | 1               |

|              |   |   |
|--------------|---|---|
|              | <i>Italehti<sup>a</sup></i>                       | 1 |
|              | <i>Kaleva<sup>a</sup></i>                         | 1 |
|              | <i>Keski-Suomalainen<sup>a</sup></i>              | 1 |
|              | <i>Turun Sanomat<sup>a</sup></i>                  | 1 |
| France       | <i>Aujourd'hui en France<sup>a</sup></i>          | 1 |
|              | <i>Le Figaro<sup>a</sup></i>                      | 1 |
|              | <i>Le Monde<sup>a</sup></i>                       | 1 |
|              | <i>Liberation<sup>a</sup></i>                     | 1 |
|              | <i>Ouest France<sup>a</sup></i>                   | 1 |
|              | <i>Sud Ouest<sup>a</sup></i>                      | 1 |
| Germany      | <i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung<sup>a</sup></i> | 3 |
|              | <i>Suddeutsche Zeitung<sup>a</sup></i>            | 3 |
|              | <i>Bild, with Bild am Sonntag<sup>a</sup></i>     | 1 |
|              | <i>Die Welt with Welt am Sonntag<sup>a</sup></i>  | 1 |
|              | <i>Rheinische Post Dusseldorf<sup>a</sup></i>     | 1 |
|              | <i>Taz<sup>a</sup></i>                            | 1 |
| Israel       | <i>Globes<sup>a</sup></i>                         | 1 |
|              | <i>The Marker<sup>a</sup></i>                     | 1 |
| Malaysia     | <i>Malaysia Nanban<sup>a</sup></i>                | 1 |
|              | <i>The Star<sup>a</sup></i>                       | 1 |
| Mexico       | <i>El Diario<sup>a</sup></i>                      | 1 |
|              | <i>El Popular<sup>a</sup></i>                     | 1 |
|              | <i>Milenio<sup>a</sup></i>                        | 1 |
| Netherlands  | <i>De Telegraaf<sup>a</sup></i>                   | 1 |
|              | <i>De Volkskrant<sup>a</sup></i>                  | 1 |
|              | <i>NRC-Handelsblad<sup>a</sup></i>                | 1 |
|              | <i>Trouw<sup>a</sup></i>                          | 1 |
| New Zealand  | <i>Otago Daily Times<sup>a</sup></i>              | 1 |
|              | <i>New Zealand Herald<sup>a</sup></i>             | 1 |
|              | <i>Northern Advocate<sup>a</sup></i>              | 1 |
| Oman         | <i>Al-Zaman<sup>a</sup></i>                       | 1 |
|              | <i>The Oman Daily<sup>a</sup></i>                 | 1 |
| Panama       | <i>La Prensa<sup>a</sup></i>                      | 1 |
| Peru         | <i>El Comercio<sup>a</sup></i>                    | 1 |
|              | <i>La República<sup>a</sup></i>                   | 1 |
|              | <i>Perú 21<sup>a</sup></i>                        | 1 |
| Russia       | <i>Teacher's Gazette<sup>b</sup></i>              | 2 |
| Saudi Arabia | <i>Al Riyadh<sup>a</sup></i>                      | 1 |
| Singapore    | <i>Straits Times<sup>a</sup></i>                  | 1 |
| South Africa | <i>Mail &amp; Guardian<sup>a</sup></i>            | 1 |
| South Korea  | <i>Chosun Daily<sup>a</sup></i>                   | 1 |
|              | <i>Dong-A Daily<sup>a</sup></i>                   | 1 |
|              | <i>Hankyoreh News<sup>a</sup></i>                 | 2 |

|   |   |                                    |
|---|---|------------------------------------|
| Spain   | <i>El Mundo</i> <sup>a</sup>                    | 1                                  |
|   | <i>El Pais</i> <sup>a</sup>                     | 1                                  |
|   | <i>El Pùblico</i> <sup>a</sup>                  | 1                                  |
| Turkey  | <i>Cumhuriyet</i> <sup>a</sup>                  | 1                                  |
|   | <i>Hurriyet</i> <sup>a</sup>                    | 1                                  |
|   | <i>Posta</i> <sup>a</sup>                       | 1                                  |
|   | <i>Sabah</i> <sup>a</sup>                       | 1                                  |
|   | <i>Zaman</i> <sup>a</sup>                       | 1                                  |
| United Kingdom                                  | <i>The Guardian</i> <sup>a</sup>                | 4                                  |
|   | <i>The Times</i> <sup>a</sup>                   | 4                                  |
|   | <i>The Telegraph</i> <sup>a</sup>               | 4                                  |
|   | <i>Daily Mail</i> <sup>a</sup>                  | 3                                  |
|   | <i>The Independent</i> <sup>a</sup>             | 4                                  |
|   | <i>The Mirror</i> <sup>a</sup>                  | 2                                  |
|   | <i>The Sun</i> <sup>a</sup>                     | 2                                  |
|   | <i>Financial Times</i> <sup>a</sup>             | 2                                  |
|   | <i>Birmingham Mail</i> <sup>a</sup>             | 1                                  |
|   | <i>The Express</i> <sup>a</sup>                 | 1                                  |
|   | <i>Leicester Mercury</i> <sup>a</sup>           | 1                                  |
|   | <i>London Standard</i> <sup>a</sup>             | 1                                  |
|   | <i>Newcastle Evening Chronicle</i> <sup>a</sup> | 1                                  |
|   | <i>Yorkshire Evening Post</i> <sup>a</sup>      | 1                                  |
|   | <i>Western Mail</i> <sup>a</sup>                | 1                                  |
|   | BBC <sup>c</sup>                                | 1                                  |
|   | United States                                   | <i>New York Times</i> <sup>a</sup> |
| <i>Washington Post</i> <sup>a</sup>             |   | 12                                 |
| <i>Los Angeles Times</i> <sup>a</sup>           |   | 5                                  |
| <i>USA Today</i> <sup>a</sup>                   |   | 5                                  |
| <i>Wall Street Journal</i> <sup>a</sup>         |   | 2                                  |
| <i>Atlanta Journal Constituion</i> <sup>a</sup> |   | 3                                  |
| <i>Chicago Sun Times</i> <sup>a</sup>           |   | 2                                  |
| <i>Chicago Tribune</i> <sup>a</sup>             |   | 2                                  |
| <i>Detroit Free Press</i> <sup>a</sup>          |   | 2                                  |
| <i>Michigan Daily</i> <sup>a</sup>              |   | 2                                  |
| <i>National Review</i> <sup>a</sup>             |   | 2                                  |
| <i>Democrat-Gazzette</i> <sup>a</sup>           |   | 1                                  |
| <i>Atlanta Latino</i> <sup>a</sup>              |   | 1                                  |
| <i>Baltimore Sun</i> <sup>a</sup>               |   | 1                                  |
| <i>Boston Globe</i> <sup>a</sup>                |   | 1                                  |
| <i>Businessweek</i> <sup>a</sup>                |   | 2                                  |
| <i>Chattanooga Times</i> <sup>a</sup>           |   | 1                                  |
| <i>Christian Science Monitor</i> <sup>a</sup>   |   | 1                                  |
| <i>Daily Herald</i> <sup>a</sup>                |   | 1                                  |
| <i>Dallas Morning News</i> <sup>a</sup>         |   | 1                                  |
| <i>Deseret News</i> <sup>a</sup>                | 1   |                                    |
| <i>Houston Chronicle</i> <sup>a</sup>           | 1   |                                    |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>Lansing State Journal</i> <sup>a</sup>         | 1 |
| <i>Newark Star-Ledger</i> <sup>a</sup>            | 1 |
| <i>Philadelphia Daily News</i> <sup>a</sup>       | 1 |
| <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> <sup>a</sup>         | 1 |
| <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> <sup>a</sup>       | 1 |
| <i>Plaindealer</i> <sup>a</sup>                   | 1 |
| <i>Reading Eagle</i> <sup>a</sup>                 | 1 |
| <i>Richmond Times Dispatch</i> <sup>a</sup>       | 1 |
| <i>Salt Lake Tribune</i> <sup>a</sup>             | 1 |
| <i>Slate</i> <sup>a</sup>                         | 1 |
| <i>St. Louis Post Dispatch</i> <sup>a</sup>       | 1 |
| <i>Standard-Examiner</i> <sup>a</sup>             | 1 |
| <i>Star Tribune</i> <sup>a</sup>                  | 1 |
| <i>Charleston Gazette</i> <sup>a</sup>            | 1 |
| <i>Dallas Morning News</i> <sup>a</sup>           | 1 |
| <i>Denver Post</i> <sup>a</sup>                   | 1 |
| <i>Harrisburg Patriot News</i> <sup>a</sup>       | 1 |
| <i>Intelligencer-Journal</i> <sup>a</sup>         | 1 |
| <i>Lancaster New Era</i> <sup>a</sup>             | 1 |
| <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> <sup>a</sup>         | 1 |
| <i>Richmond Times Dispatch</i> <sup>a</sup>       | 1 |
| <i>Roanoke Times</i> <sup>a</sup>                 | 1 |
| <i>San Francisco Chronicle</i> <sup>a</sup>       | 1 |
| <i>The Spectrum</i> <sup>a</sup>                  | 1 |
| <i>Star Tribune</i> <sup>a</sup>                  | 1 |
| <i>Topeka Daily Capital</i> <sup>a</sup>          | 1 |
| Associated Press <sup>a</sup>                     | 3 |
| Gannett News Service <sup>a</sup>                 | 1 |
| United Press International <sup>a</sup>           | 1 |
| CBS <sup>c</sup>                                  | 5 |
| Fox News <sup>c</sup>                             | 5 |
| NBC <sup>c</sup>                                  | 5 |
| ABC <sup>c</sup>                                  | 4 |
| CNN <sup>c</sup>                                  | 4 |
| CNBC <sup>c</sup>                                 | 1 |
| MSNBC <sup>c</sup>                                | 1 |
| PBS <sup>c</sup>                                  | 1 |
| wsbtv.com <sup>c</sup>                            | 1 |
| <i>Education Week</i> <sup>b</sup>                | 2 |
| <i>Chronicle of Higher Education</i> <sup>b</sup> | 2 |
| <i>Time</i> <sup>d</sup>                          | 3 |
| <i>Newsweek</i> <sup>d</sup>                      | 1 |
| <i>U.S. News &amp; World Report</i> <sup>d</sup>  | 1 |
| NPR <sup>e</sup>                                  | 3 |
| Uruguay <i>El Observador</i> <sup>a</sup>         | 1 |

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Notes. Medium type = <sup>a</sup>Newspaper; <sup>b</sup>Education news; <sup>c</sup>Television; <sup>d</sup>Magazine; <sup>e</sup>Radio.

**III ARTICLE II:  
U.S. NEWS MEDIA FRAMING OF THE CHILEAN  
EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM FROM 2006 TO 2016**

**Abstract**

This study examined the U.S. news media framing of the Chilean educational system over a 10-year period from 2006 to 2016. A media content analysis was conducted to identify the news framing in terms of issues, sources, and episodic-thematic frames. Results suggested the top two issues were student protests and education reform, and the top sources were government officials and student leaders. The news coverage was predominantly framed thematically (i.e., societal responsibility). The association between news frames suggested that government officials and student leaders and education reform and social issues tended to be framed thematically in terms of social responsibility. This study contributes to our knowledge of how the American public may have been informed about the Chilean educational system.

*Keywords:* education in the news media, framing theory, education policy

## Introduction

The Chilean market-oriented educational system “offers an instructive and cautionary tale” (Pribble & Erkulwater, 2017, para. 3) from a comparative perspective for the United States (Portales & Vasquez Heilig, 2014).<sup>1</sup> Chile in the 1980s was “one of the countries where market-oriented reforms in education were implemented more drastically” (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013, p. 110). Yet, educational and economic inequities have grown throughout the Chilean society, eventually materializing into massive student movements that rejected the market-oriented educational system in 2006 and 2011 (Cabalin, 2012, 2016). These student movements received a great deal of international media attention, and since then, Chile’s market-oriented educational policies have been tempered to some degree (M. O’Malley, personal communication, October 6, 2016). However, market-oriented educational reforms like school choice remain at the top of the policy agenda in the United States (American Educational Research Association, 2016; Donald J. Trump for President, 2016). From a comparative perspective, the U.S. news media provide an important venue for informing the American public about the Chilean educational system.

Previous research has examined education in the news media (Goldstein, 2011; Tamir & Davidson, 2011; Wubbena, 2015; Wubbena, 2017a, 2017b; Wubbena, Ford, & Porfilio, 2016). Cabalin (2014a) examined how Chile’s elite newspaper framed the 2011 Chilean student movement, and Wubbena (2017b) examined the visual framing of those protests using media images that appeared in the news. Other research examined how the

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<sup>1</sup> Scott and Holme (2016) “deploy the terms market-oriented policies and market-based policies to refer to education policies that incorporate elements of capitalism into their design” (p. 251).

U.S. news media framed market-oriented educational reforms in the United States, like charter schools (Feuerstein, 2014, Rooks & Muñoz, 2015), Teach for America and Teach for All (Gautreaux, 2015; Gautreaux & Delgado, 2016), and Value-Added Measures (Gabriel & Nina-Lester, 2013), among others. Another strand of literature has examined how high performing countries on international tests were portrayed in the news media of their lower performing counterparts (Takayama, Waldow, & Sung, 2013; Waldow, Takayama, & Sung, 2014). The findings of this research suggest the news media tend to support market-oriented educational reforms while also establishing high performing countries as reference societies for enacting such reforms (Baroutsis & Lingard, 2016). However, no research has examined the U.S. news media's framing of Chile's market-oriented educational system. From a comparative perspective, examining how the U.S. news media have framed the Chilean educational system provides insight into the comparative indifference of policy deliberation between two countries, especially when the reference country has rejected and tempered market-oriented policies over the last 10 years, while its counterpart, the United States, continues to push for market-oriented reforms on a national scale. In this regard, the particular issues and sources framed in the news are important, "because all these combined are the crucial components of the education system" (Wong & Jain, 1999, p. 223). In addition, formal news frames provide subtle contextual cues of education that can influence our understanding of it. This study provides a descriptive account of how the American public may have been informed about the Chilean educational system. Indeed, how the news media frame information can shift how individuals attribute responsibility for education problems.

The purpose of this study was to conduct a media content analysis to examine how the U.S. news media have framed the Chilean educational system over a 10-year period from 2006 to 2016. Framing theory was used to analyze news media content in terms of issues, sources, and episodic-thematic news frames (i.e., personal responsibility-societal responsibility). Data were collected from the agenda setting, mainstream news media in the United States, (e.g., *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, etc.; Chomsky, 2014; Green Saraisky, 2016). In the remainder of this article, a tripartite theoretical framework is developed and five guiding research questions are posed concerning the three news frames and their interaction. Then, in the method section, the procedures for data collection and analysis are reviewed. Then, recommendations for future research are discussed before offering some concluding remarks.

### **Theoretical Framework and Research Questions**

Framing served as the guiding theoretical framework for this study. Scheufele and Iyengar (2014) defined framing as a “dynamic, circumstantially-bound process of opinion formation in which the prevailing modes of presentation in elite rhetoric and news media coverage shape mass opinion” (p. 1). Goffman (1974) and Tversky and Kahneman (1981) were some of the first scholars to establish the theoretical foundations of framing (Scheufele, 1999).

Framing theory stems from two different strands of literature (D. Scheufele, 2000). The first strand derives from a sociological foundation based on *media frames* (Goffman, 1974), and the second strand derives from a psychological foundation based on *individual frames* (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981; Kahneman & Tversky, 2001). Druckman (2001) defined media frames as *frames in communication* that “refers to the

words, images, phrases, and presentation styles that a speaker uses when relaying information to another” (p. 227). Frames in communication are important because they can shift an individual’s *frames in thought* (Druckman, 2001). This shift in an individual’s frames in thought has been termed a framing effect (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Scheufele, 1999).<sup>2</sup> As Druckman (2001) writes, “frames in communication often play an important role in shaping frames in thought” (p 228). When based on the actual media frames of news content, the external validity of a framing effect is enhanced (Feuerstein, 2014, 2015).<sup>3</sup>

Media frames can be parsed into a typology of content-related frames and formal frames (B. Scheufele 2004). First, content-related frames are based on content specific to a topic but not necessarily generalizable to other topics. Two relevant content related framing devices include sources and issues (Kang, 2013). For example, a source might be a student leader during a student protest. In this case, educational inequity might constitute the issue. Second, formal frames are not bound to a particular topic. Rather, they serve as reasoning devices that “promote a specific interpretation” (Van Gorp, 2010, p. 92) of explicit news content (e.g., issues and sources) by drawing attention to different contextual cues in the presentation of a message (Van Gorp, 2010). For instance, episodic and thematic frames represent two formal news frames (Iyengar, 1991). These two frames can shift how individuals attribute responsibility for social issues. Similar to previous research (Kang, 2013), this study examines the news framing of the Chilean educational system in terms of issues, sources, and episodic-thematic frames.

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<sup>2</sup> Scheufele (1999) used the phrase media effects rather than framing effects.

<sup>3</sup> Feuerstein (2014) inductively identified two news frames in the media coverage of charter schools. Then, Feuerstein (2015) measured the effects of the two previously identified news frames on participants’ attitudes toward charter school reform.

## **Content-Related Framing: Issue Frames**

Issue framing refers to a “dispute between two or more parties, usually over the allocation of resources or the treatment or portrayal of groups in society” (Hallahan, 1999, p. 217). The issue(s) discussed regarding the Chilean educational system helps structure the news content. Therefore, the first research question posed was (RQ1):

- RQ1: What issues have the U.S. news media discussed about the Chilean educational system over time?

Van Gorp (2010) suggests, “a core function of framing is to define issues” (p. 92). Issues are an important factor for identifying public policy problems and their solutions. Hallahan (1999) suggests “Social problems and disputes can be explained in alternative terms by different parties who vie for their preferred definition a problem or situation to prevail” (p. 210). The news media are able to bring attention to certain issues while excluding other issues from consideration or debate (Green Saraisky, 2016). Herman and Chomsky (1988) call this bounding the debate of permissible discussion. For instance, “When a political issue is more important to elites, individuals are more likely to be exposed to issue-relevant messages, including issue frames” (Lecheler, de Vreese, & Slothuus, 2009, p. 404). Issue framing is an important feature in the news coverage of education (Green Saraisky, 2015).

Previous research has identified common issues in the news coverage of education. Wong and Jain (1999) identified eight educational issue categories (i.e., finance and budget, teacher issues, governance, teaching and learning, facilities, management, assessment, and social issues) in the Chicago news. Chicago has been compared to Chile in terms of the institution of market-oriented educational policies

(Lipman, 2011). Stapleton (2002) identified five primary and secondary issue categories related to educational matters, including governance, budget and finance, school operations, social issues, and other. For example, social issues might include things like student protests and educational inequity while school operations might include things like teacher quality. This study considers these issues as a starting point.

### **Content-Related Framing: Source Frames**

Source framing refers to the persons or organizations that provide journalists with information to write news articles about educational issues. The reliance creates a mutually dependent relationship. As Paletz (2002) suggests, the “reporter-source relationship is symbiotic: they need each other. Howsoever and by whomever provided, information is the vital currency of news” (p. 63). Therefore, the second research question posed was (RQ2):

- RQ2: What sources have the U.S. news media discussed about the Chilean educational system over time?

Green Saraisky (2016) suggests sources are “given status to comment on public problems and prescribe solutions” (p. 28). However, not just anyone can become a source. Gans, 1979/2005) found that sourcing was based on availability and suitability. Elites or official sources, often from government or business, meet both criteria (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). They are positioned at the top of hierarchal organizational structures, representing the centrality of power, and this power allows them to maintain and disseminate suitable information on issues. Noam Chomsky refers to this as the gatekeeping function of the news media (Wubbena, 2015). In this gatekeeping role,

sources become “signifying agents who are actively engaged in constructing meaning about social ideas” (p. 29). And, education is a key societal concern.

Previous research has identified sources used in the news coverage of education. Cabalin (2014b) found that students and university professors in Chile were excluded from the news about quality assurance concerning the university system while the news assigned the quality assurance as a “domain for experts, who have to design and administer quality standards for all educational institutions and actions” (p. 224). In the United States, Yettick (2015) found that although educational experts were often excluded from news coverage of education, government officials were more likely to be sourced for information about education. Think tanks have also been found to gain prominence as sources for information about education (Haas, 2004, 2007; McDonald, 2014). Wong and Jain (1999) identified 12 sources including organizations and advocacy groups. This study considers all of these sources as a starting point.

### **Formal Framing: Episodic-Thematic Frames**

Contextual cues provide important information about a topic. Episodic and thematic framing provide different contextual cues that draw implicit attention to whether responsibility for an issue is attributed to individuals or the structures of society like government and business (Iyengar, 1990, 1991, 1996). Therefore, the third research question posed was (RQ3):

- RQ3: How do the U.S. news media episodically and thematically frame the Chilean educational system over time?

Episodic-thematic news frames represent a form of semi-equivalency framing rooted in equivalency framing. Tversky and Kahneman (1981) found framing dependent

preference reversals, because people interpreted the same information differently depending on *how* it was framed. Such framing dependent preference reversals were found using an Asian disease problem, where equivalent outcomes from a health intervention varied in terms of lives saved or lives lost. They found a common response pattern: “choices involving gains are often risk averse and choices involving losses are often risk taking” (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981, p. 453).

Iyengar’s (1990, 1991, 1996) semi-equivalency framing extended equivalency framing by considering contextual cues in the news framing of social issues (S. Iyengar, personal communication, August 14, 2016). Iyengar (1991) found social issues were generally framed as either episodic or thematic. An episodic frame depicts issues as a specific instance (e.g., homeless person) while a thematic frame depicts issues within a generalized context (e.g., historical statistics of poverty). When a social issue was framed episodically, people attributed responsibility to individuals, whereas when that issue was framed thematically, people shifted responsibility to society. Societal responsibility is likely to elicit governmental change through voting and public policy. However, Iyengar suggests that most news coverage is episodic.

Previous research has examined the episodic-thematic news frames of educational issues (Kim & Telleen, 2016; Milosevic, 2015; Tamir & Davidson, 2011; Ulmer, 2014). Tamir and Davidson (2011) examined the news framing of three popularly debated education reforms in New Jersey during the 1980s. Ulmer (2014) analyzed the news framing of teacher quality. Tamir and Davidson found most issues were framed episodically, whereas Ulmer argued that news media tended to frame the problem of

teacher quality thematically. The findings suggest episodic-thematic news framing may depend on the issues and news sources.

### **Interaction: Content and Formal Frames**

Issues, sources, and episodic-thematic frames do not occur in isolation. They interact with each other to form a framing package—an “internally consistent whole” (Van Gorp, 2010, p. 92). Therefore, the fourth and fifth research questions posed were (RQ4-5):

- RQ4: How do episodic-thematic frames interact with issues in the U.S. news media of the Chilean educational system?
- RQ5: How do episodic-thematic frames interact with sources in the U.S. news media of the Chilean educational system?

Episodic and thematic frames have been found to be associated with different issues and sources represented in the news in different ways. Tamir and Davidson (2011) found that thematic framing of the alternative route to teacher certification helped to silence the fierce conflict of this reform, which eventually became state policy. The thematic framing of this issue placed government officials as being responsible for legislating this policy in order to address issues of teacher quality (Ulmer, 2014). However, the news media also episodically framed the governor as a source. According to Tamir and Davidson, this helped shield the governor from public scrutiny, portraying the “governor as being above the political fray” (p. 233). This example is but one of the many ways that different news frames interact with each other concerning educational policy reforms. By examining the interaction among content-related frames (issue frames, source frames) and formal news frames (episodic-thematic frames), we can better

understand how the American public has been informed about Chile’s educational system.

### **Method**

The study design was based on a media content analysis method. This method was employed to examine the U.S. news media framing of the Chilean educational system from 2006 to 2016. Neuendorf (2017) defines content analysis as the “systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics (p. 1). Content analysis was used to describe news content in terms of issues, sources, and episodic-thematic frames (see Kang, 2013).

### **Data Collection and Sample**

Data collection was based on an exhaustive sampling technique from selected news outlets (Krippendorff, 2013). Queries were conducted on variations of the key phrase “Chile”, “education”, “teacher\*”, “student\*”, “school\*” using NewsBank, Newspaper Source Plus, Lexis-Nexis, Google, and the news outlet’s online archives.<sup>4</sup> This sampling technique was exhaustive because it included all Chilean education-related news articles appearing in selected outlets from January 1, 2006 to December 31, 2016.<sup>5</sup> However, this sampling technique does not mean data were representative of other years or news outlets. The lower year limit was selected because 2006 was the first mass student movement in Chile (Cabalin, 2012), and 2016 was selected as the upper year limit

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<sup>4</sup> News items stored in online databases can be added or deleted in the process of routine maintenance (Wouters, Hellsten, & Leyersdorff, 2004). I also searched the online archives for each news outlet (Green Saraisky, 2016)

<sup>5</sup> Complete years were used to “allow for more reliable multi-year comparison” (Valdez, Delavan, & Freire, 2014, p. 17).

because Chile’s education system remains in a state of change and contestation because of intermittent protests (M. O’Malley, personal communication, October 6, 2016).

U.S. mainstream agenda setting news media were selected for data collection, because “elite media set the framework within which others operate” (Chomsky, 2014, p. 2). Chomsky (2014) suggests the elite news media’s “audience is mostly privileged people. The people who read the *New York Times*—people who are wealthy or part of what is sometimes called the political class—they are actually involved in the political system in an ongoing fashion” (p. 2). And, concerning the American public, the news media continue to remain one of the top sources for information about education (West, Whitehurst, & Dionne, 2011; Rosenstiel, Mitchell, Purcell, & Rainie, 2011). The news mediums included newspapers and newsmagazines. Table 3.1 displays the frequency of news articles by outlet and year of publication in equal, three-year class intervals. Redundant, irrelevant or news articles deemed not in the mainstream press were excluded. All relevant news articles were saved as PDFs (see Appendix A).

Table 3.1

*Frequency of News Items by Outlet and Year Interval*

| Outlet <sup>a</sup>            |                | Years     |           |           | Total |
|--------------------------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
|                                |                | 2006-2008 | 2009-2012 | 2013-2015 |       |
| Chicago Tribune <sup>b</sup>   | Count          | 4         | 0         | 0         | 4     |
|                                | % within Years | 19.0%     | 0.0%      | 0.0%      | --    |
|                                | % of Total     | 3.4%      | 0.0%      | 0.0%      | 3.4%  |
| Huffington Post <sup>b</sup>   | Count          | 0         | 1         | 3         | 4     |
|                                | % within Years | 0.0%      | 1.6%      | 8.8%      | --    |
|                                | % of Total     | 0.0%      | 0.8%      | 2.5%      | 3.4%  |
| Los Angeles Times <sup>b</sup> | Count          | 3         | 2         | 1         | 6     |
|                                | % within Years | 14.3%     | 3.2%      | 2.9%      | --    |
|                                | % of Total     | 2.5%      | 1.7%      | 0.8%      | 5.1%  |
| Newsweek <sup>c</sup>          | Count          | 1         | 1         | 0         | 2     |
|                                | % within Years | 4.8%      | 1.6%      | 0.0%      | --    |

|                                  |                |       |       |       |       |
|----------------------------------|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Seattle Times <sup>b</sup>       | % of Total     | 0.8%  | 0.8%  | 0.0%  | 1.7%  |
|                                  | Count          | 0     | 3     | 0     | 3     |
|                                  | % within Years | 0.0%  | 4.8%  | 0.0%  | --    |
| Associated Press <sup>d</sup>    | % of Total     | 0.0%  | 2.5%  | 0.0%  | 2.5%  |
|                                  | Count          | 9     | 43    | 21    | 73    |
|                                  | % within Years | 42.9% | 68.3% | 61.8% | --    |
| The Economist <sup>c</sup>       | % of Total     | 7.6%  | 36.4% | 17.8% | 61.9% |
|                                  | Count          | 0     | 1     | 0     | 1     |
|                                  | % within Years | 0.0%  | 1.6%  | 0.0%  | --    |
| New York Times <sup>b</sup>      | % of Total     | 0.0%  | 0.8%  | 0.0%  | 0.8%  |
|                                  | Count          | 4     | 9     | 4     | 17    |
|                                  | % within Years | 19.0% | 14.3% | 11.8% | --    |
| Wall Street Journal <sup>b</sup> | % of Total     | 3.4%  | 7.6%  | 3.4%  | 14.4% |
|                                  | Count          | 0     | 1     | 1     | 2     |
|                                  | % within Years | 0.0%  | 1.6%  | 2.9%  | --    |
| Washington Post <sup>b</sup>     | % of Total     | 0.0%  | 0.8%  | 0.8%  | 1.7%  |
|                                  | Count          | 0     | 2     | 4     | 6     |
|                                  | % within Years | 0.0%  | 3.2%  | 11.8% | --    |
|                                  | % of Total     | 0.0%  | 1.7%  | 3.4%  | 5.1%  |
|                                  | Total          | 21    | 63    | 34    | 118   |
|                                  | % of Total     | 17.8% | 53.4% | 28.8% | 100%  |

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

<sup>a</sup>Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

<sup>b</sup>Newspaper (including online and print)

<sup>c</sup>Newsmagazine

<sup>d</sup>Wire service

## Coding Instrument and Procedures

The unit of analysis was each news article. Each news article was coded using an inductive and deductive approach based on latent and manifest content (Van Gorp, 2010). To guide the coding of each news article in a systematic manner, a coding instrument was constructed and recursively modified (see Appendix B). Nominal variables were coded into dichotomous data (i.e., 1 = Yes, 0 = No). This instrument included three sections: descriptive categories, content-related framing, and formal framing.

***Descriptive information.*** Descriptive information was recorded for each news article (Green Saraisky, 2016). First, each article was assigned an identification number.

Then, the news outlet (e.g., *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, Associated Press, etc.), date of publication (i.e., day-month-year format), author(s), and article title were recorded. The genre of each news article was recorded as being news, opinion, or other. Other categories used to collect data included the form of news (textual, visual, or both), section (e.g., front page, education or business sections, etc.), and whether the news was published in print, online, or both. The news outlet and year of publication were grouped into three-year class intervals.

***Content-related framing.*** Content related issue and source frames were identified using a deductive and inductive approach based on a modified version of the constant comparative method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Issues and sources were approached deductively based on categories identified by previous research. During the coding process, new issues and sources were generated using an inductive approach. The issues and source were identified as manifest content. This manifest content required minimal interpretation on the part of the research (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). Each issue or source was coded as a dichotomous variable, where the value of one was assigned when an issue or source was present (i.e., 1 = Yes) and a zero was assigned for issues or sources that were absent from the text (i.e., 0 = No). Although multiple issues and sources were coded for each news article, each issue and source appearing multiple times in the text were only coded once to prevent artificially inflating the categories. The six issues categories included: education reform, economic, school operation, social issues, criminalization, and other. The seven source categories included: citizens, experts and education professionals, government officials, business and other organizations, students and student organizations, other/opinion, and articles where no source was cited.

***Formal framing.*** Formal frames (episodic-thematic) were identified using a deductive coding approach. Since the formal framing approach is not based on meaning derived from content, but rather it is based on an abstract understanding of that content within a particular context, the episodic and thematic frames were often latent in the news text, requiring interpretation and inference (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). The operationalization of both the episodic frame and the thematic frame was based on theoretical definitions provided by previous research (Iyengar, (1990, 1991, 1996; Tamir & Davidson, 2011). Frames were coded as dichotomous variables (i.e., 0 = episodic frame; 1 = thematic frame). However, articles are likely to contain both episodic frames and thematic frames (Iyengar, 1996). Therefore, identifying the prevailing frame in each paragraph followed a two-thirds rule (Iyengar, 1996; Nitz & West, 2004). The dominant episodic or thematic news frame was selected if it was equal to or greater than two-thirds (Borah, 2008). If the two-third threshold was not met, the title, sub-title, and first three paragraphs were used to make an overall judgment about the article's formal framing classification (Dudo, Dahlstrom, & Brossard, 2007; Tamir & Davidson, 2011).

### **Inter-coder Reliability**

Inter-coder reliability checks were conducted to generate coefficients assessing the reliability of replicating the data-making process based on the codebook. Two observers independently coded data (Krippendorff, 2013). Because multiple response categories were used for the issue and source variables, agreement on each of the two variables was achieved by matching all issues or all sources for each unit of analysis. For example, agreement on a unit of analysis occurred if education reform and economic (budget/finance) were identified as issues by both coders. If one coder marked both

issues and the other coder marked only one, then disagreement occurred. Disagreements between the two coders were resolved through discussion and by clarifying the operational definitions of the variables (Kang, 2013).<sup>6</sup>

Krippendorff's alpha ( $k\alpha$ ) was used to calculate reliability agreement for the coding instrument. Krippendorff's  $\alpha$  has been considered a standard reliability statistic used when performing content analysis (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007). Consistency across two observers was based on standardized instructions based on a random subsample (30%;  $n = 35$ ) for each variable: issue, source, and frame. Krippendorff's  $\alpha$  is based on two scale points: 1 = perfect reliability and 0 = absence of reliability (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007). Krippendorff (2013) recommends  $k\alpha \geq .800$  as an acceptable level of agreement. Reliability coefficients were relatively high for issue ( $k\alpha = 0.890$ ),<sup>7</sup> source ( $k\alpha = 0.943$ ),<sup>8</sup> and episodic-thematic frame ( $\alpha = 0.830$ ).<sup>9</sup> Krippendorff's alpha coefficients were all above .800, which suggests an acceptable level of reliability agreement for the issue, source, and formal frame variables.

## Results

Results were reported to address the five research questions. Descriptive statistics are reported in terms of cross-tabulated frequencies and percentages grouped into three-year class intervals. Table 3.1 illustrated the highest frequency of news articles was published in the second, class interval (i.e., 2009-2012;  $n = 63$ ; 53.4%). No articles were

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<sup>6</sup> It is important to note that a limitation of resolving disagreement through discussion is that an unknown level of personal bias can be introduced into the data. However, the higher reliability coefficient values suggest less bias introduced into the data (Lacy, Watson, Riffe, & Lovejoy, 2015).

<sup>7</sup> SPSS syntax: `kalpha judges = i_obs_zane i_obs_emily/level = 1/detail = 0/boot = 5000`

<sup>8</sup> SPSS syntax: `kalpha judges = s_obs_zane s_obs_emily/level = 1/detail = 0/boot = 5000`

<sup>9</sup> SPSS syntax: `kalpha judges = f_obs_zane f_obs_emily/level = 1/detail = 0/boot = 5000`

found in the years 2010 and 2016. These years were excluded from analysis. The outlets with the highest frequency of news articles were The Associated Press ( $n = 73$ ; 61.9%) and *The New York Times* ( $n = 14.4\%$ ) followed by both the *Los Angeles Times* ( $n = 6$ ; 5.1%) and *Washington Post* ( $n = 6$ ; 5.1%). Each of the five guiding research questions will now be addressed in turn below.

### **Research Question #1: Issue Framing**

The first research question asked: what issues have the U.S. news media discussed about the Chilean educational system over time? Table 3.2 displays the frequency and percentages of issues appearing in the news over time. There were 276 issues identified, which fell into six categories. However, the plurality of issues was concentrated in two categories. The social issue category was recorded in 90.7% ( $n = 107$ ) of the news articles, and the education reform category was recorded in 81.4% ( $n = 96$ ) of the news articles. The other two main categories included criminalization (22.9%;  $n = 27$ ) and economic: budget and finance (18.6%;  $n = 22$ ).

Both social issues and education reform remained the dominant issues across the three time intervals. During the middle time interval from 2009 to 2013, there was a spike in the criminalization issue (27%;  $n = 17$ ). Issues from the different categories have been illustrated in the news excerpt below related to the education demands of the 2006 student movement:

Their demands include more teachers and school construction, so as to reduce class sizes, and also the elimination of fees for the national college entrance exam and free bus fare. With prices of copper, the country's chief export, at record highs and government coffers bulging with years of budget surpluses, the students

maintain that the state can afford to invest more in education. (Rohter, 2006, para.

4)

Table 3.2

*Frequency of News Items by Issue and Year Interval*

| Issue <sup>a</sup>                  |                | Years     |           |           | Total |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
|                                     |                | 2006-2008 | 2009-2012 | 2013-2015 |       |
| Education Reform                    | Count          | 17        | 55        | 24        | 96    |
|                                     | % within Issue | 17.7%     | 57.3%     | 25.0%     | --    |
|                                     | % within Years | 81.0%     | 87.3%     | 70.6%     | --    |
|                                     | % of Total     | 14.4%     | 46.6%     | 20.3%     | 81.4% |
| Economic (including budget/finance) | Count          | 3         | 8         | 11        | 22    |
|                                     | % within Issue | 13.6%     | 36.4%     | 50.0%     | --    |
|                                     | % within Years | 14.3%     | 12.7%     | 32.4%     | --    |
|                                     | % of Total     | 2.5%      | 6.8%      | 9.3%      | 18.6% |
| School Operations                   | Count          | 2         | 3         | 4         | 9     |
|                                     | % within Issue | 22.2%     | 33.3%     | 44.4%     | --    |
|                                     | % within Years | 9.5%      | 4.8%      | 11.8%     | --    |
|                                     | % of Total     | 1.7%      | 2.5%      | 3.4%      | 7.6%  |
| Social Issues                       | Count          | 20        | 58        | 29        | 107   |
|                                     | % within Issue | 18.7%     | 54.2%     | 27.1%     | --    |
|                                     | % within Years | 95.2%     | 92.1%     | 85.3%     | --    |
|                                     | % of Total     | 16.9%     | 49.2%     | 24.6%     | 90.7% |
| Criminalization                     | Count          | 6         | 17        | 4         | 27    |
|                                     | % within Issue | 22.2%     | 63.0%     | 14.8%     | --    |
|                                     | % within Years | 28.6%     | 27.0%     | 11.8%     | --    |
|                                     | % of Total     | 5.1%      | 14.4%     | 3.4%      | 22.9% |
| Other                               | Count          | 1         | 7         | 7         | 15    |
|                                     | % within Issue | 6.7%      | 46.7%     | 46.7%     | --    |
|                                     | % within Years | 4.8%      | 11.1%     | 20.6%     | --    |
|                                     | % of Total     | 0.8%      | 5.9%      | 5.9%      | 12.7% |
|                                     | Total          | 21        | 63        | 34        | 118   |
|                                     | % of Total     | 17.8%     | 53.4%     | 28.8%     | 100%  |

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

<sup>a</sup>Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

## **Research Question #2: Source Framing**

The second research question asked: what sources have the U.S. news media discussed about the Chilean educational system over time? There were 176 total sources either quoted in the news text or not cited at all. Sources fell into seven categories. However, the plurality of sources was concentrated in three categories. Government officials were the most quoted source (45.8%;  $n = 54$ ) followed by students and student organizations (44.1%;  $n = 52$ ) and news articles with no cited source (20.3%;  $n = 24$ ). Table 3.3 displays the frequency and percentages of sources appearing in the news over time. During the first time interval, students and student organizations were the most interviewed source (57.1%;  $n = 12$ ). During the second time interval, students and student organizations (49.2%;  $n = 31$ ) and government officials (47.6%;  $n = 30$ ) were the most cited sources. It is also important to note during the second time interval, news articles without a cited source peaked (25.4%;  $n = 16$ ). However, during the last time interval, government officials were the most cited source (50%;  $n = 17$ ). Below is an example news excerpt of an interviewed source:

‘In concrete terms, you could say we have accomplished little or nothing,’ student leader Camila Vallejo told The Associated Press in an interview ahead of Wednesday’s march, which activists said drew 100,000 people. ‘But in broad strokes, the student movement has made a break in Chilean society. There’s a before and after 2011, and we’re talking about issues that were taboo in Chile for the first time.’ (Henao, 2012, para. 6)

Table 3.3

*Frequency of News Items by Source and Year Interval*

| Source <sup>a</sup>  |                 | Years     |           |           | Total |
|--|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
|  |                 | 2006-2008 | 2009-2012 | 2013-2015 |       |
| Citizens   | Count           | 1         | 2         | 4         | 7     |
|  | % within Source | 14.3%     | 28.6%     | 57.1%     | --    |
|  | % within Years  | 4.8%      | 3.2%      | 11.8%     | --    |
|  | % of Total      | 0.8%      | 1.7%      | 3.4%      | 5.9%  |
| Experts and Education Professionals                            | Count           | 3         | 7         | 6         | 16    |
|  | % within Source | 18.8%     | 43.8%     | 37.5%     | --    |
|  | % within Years  | 14.3%     | 11.1%     | 17.6%     | --    |
|  | % of Total      | 2.5%      | 5.9%      | 5.1%      | 13.6% |
| Government Officials   | Count           | 7         | 30        | 17        | 54    |
|  | % within Source | 13.0%     | 55.6%     | 31.5%     | --    |
|  | % within Years  | 33.3%     | 47.6%     | 50.0%     | --    |
|  | % of Total      | 5.9%      | 25.4%     | 14.4%     | 45.8% |
| No Source Cited  | Count           | 4         | 16        | 4         | 24    |
|  | % within Source | 16.7%     | 66.7%     | 16.7%     | --    |
|  | % within Years  | 19.0%     | 25.4%     | 11.8%     | --    |
|  | % of Total      | 3.4%      | 13.6%     | 3.4%      | 20.3% |
| Business and Other Organizations                               | Count           | 2         | 7         | 6         | 15    |
|  | % within Source | 13.3%     | 46.7%     | 40.0%     | --    |
|  | % within Years  | 9.5%      | 11.1%     | 17.6%     | --    |
|  | % of Total      | 1.7%      | 5.9%      | 5.1%      | 12.7% |
| Other/opinion pieces   | Count           | 0         | 1         | 7         | 8     |
|  | % within Source | 0.0%      | 12.5%     | 87.5%     | --    |
|  | % within Years  | 0.0%      | 1.6%      | 20.6%     | --    |
|  | % of Total      | 0.0%      | 0.8%      | 5.9%      | 6.8%  |
| Students and Student Organizations (including student leaders) | Count           | 12        | 31        | 9         | 52    |
|  | % within Source | 23.1%     | 59.6%     | 17.3%     | --    |
|  | % within Years  | 57.1%     | 49.2%     | 26.5%     | --    |
|  | % of Total      | 10.2%     | 26.3%     | 7.6%      | 44.1% |
|  | Total           | 21        | 63        | 34        | 118   |
|  | % of Total      | 17.8%     | 53.4%     | 28.8%     | 100%  |

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

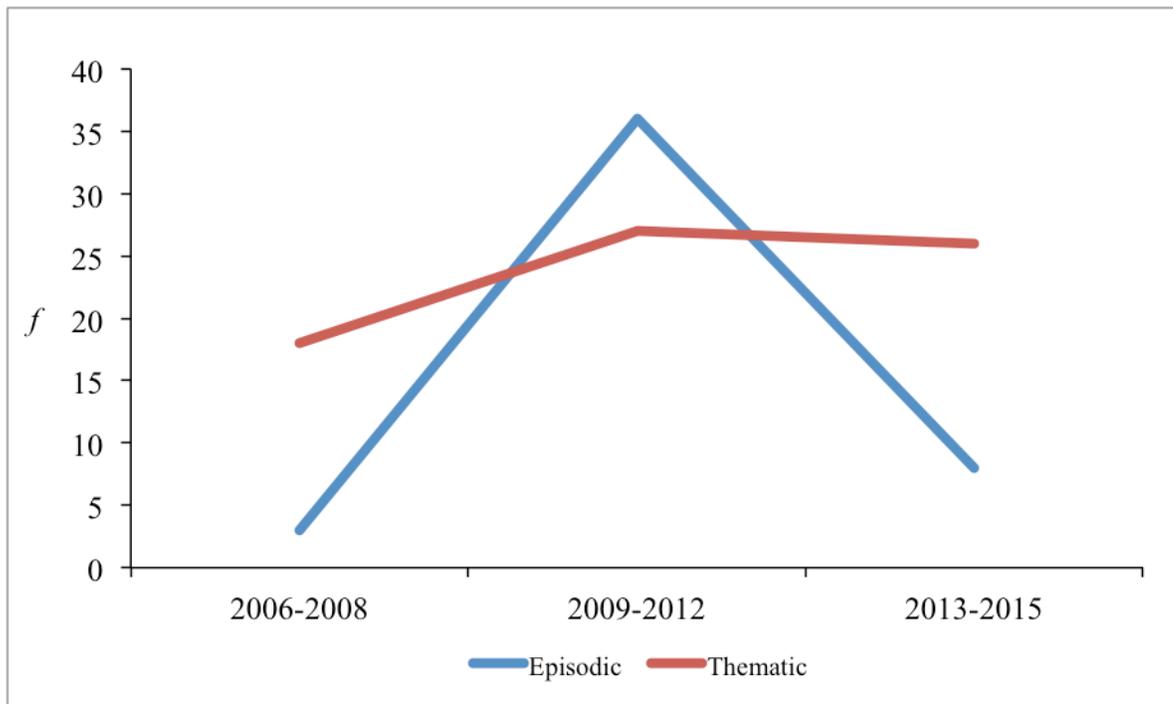
<sup>a</sup>Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

### Research Question #3: Episodic-Thematic Framing

The third research question asked: how do the U.S. news media episodically and thematically frame the Chilean educational system over time? Figure 3.1 illustrates the

distribution of episodic and thematic news frames in the U.S. news media over time. A chi-square goodness of fit test was conducted to examine whether episodic and thematic frames were equally distributed. Results suggested that episodic and thematic frames are not equally likely to occur,  $\chi^2(1) = 4.88, p = .027$ . The dominant news frame was thematic (60.2%;  $n = 71$ ) followed by episodic (39.8%;  $n = 47$ ). Figure 3.1 illustrates that, although the episodic frame peaked during the second time interval from 2009-2012 (57.1%;  $n = 36$ ), the thematic frame held more consistent across the three time intervals. The thematic frame was the dominant news frame during the first time interval from 2006-2008 (85.7%;  $n = 18$ ) and last time interval from 2013-2015 (76.5%;  $n = 26$ ). Below, is a news excerpt illustrating an example of the thematic news framing of social responsibility:

The country, seen as a model of progress since dictator Augusto Pinochet's iron grip slipped 21 years ago, continues to be buffeted by the most serious and sustained protests in a generation of democracy. That has raised an uncomfortable question: Why do so many Chileans—tens of thousands in the streets, millions more who say they support the protesters—believe that their country has failed to address widespread needs, beginning with an education system that even the government acknowledges has flaws. (Forero, 2011, para. 3)



*Figure 3.1.* Frequency Distribution of Episodic-Thematic Frames by Year Interval.

The next news excerpt illustrates an example of the episodic news framing of individual responsibility in the news coverage of the Chilean educational system:

A demonstrator stands on top of an overturned car during a student protest in Santiago, Chile, Tuesday, Aug. 9, 2011. Masked demonstrators burned cars and barricades, looted storefronts and threw furniture at police as students marched by the tens of thousands to keep pressure on the government for changes in public education. Police responded with tear gas and water cannons. (Quilodran, 2011, para. 1)

#### **Research Questions #4 and #5: Framing Interactions**

The fourth research question asked: how do episodic-thematic frames interact with issues in the U.S. news media of the Chilean educational system? Table 3.4 displays the association between formal frames (i.e., episodic-thematic framing) and issues. The

education reform issue tended to be framed more thematically (60.4%;  $n = 58$ ) than episodically (39.6%;  $n = 38$ ). Social issues also tended to be framed more thematically (62.6%;  $n = 67$ ) than episodically (37.4%;  $n = 40$ ). However, the criminalization issue tended to be framed more episodically (55.6%;  $n = 15$ ) than thematically (44.4%;  $n = 12$ ), although other issues tended to be framed thematically.

Table 3.4

*Frequency of Interaction between Issue and Episodic-Thematic Frames*

| Issue                               |                | Formal Frames <sup>a</sup> |          | Total |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|----------|-------|
|                                     |                | Episodic                   | Thematic |       |
| Education Reform                    | Total          | 38                         | 58       | 96    |
|                                     | % within Issue | 39.6%                      | 60.4%    | --    |
|                                     | % within Frame | 80.9%                      | 81.7%    | --    |
|                                     | % of Total     | 32.2%                      | 49.2%    | 81.4% |
| Economic (including budget/finance) | Total          | 5                          | 17       | 22    |
|                                     | % within Issue | 22.7%                      | 77.3%    | --    |
|                                     | % within Frame | 10.6%                      | 23.9%    | --    |
|                                     | % of Total     | 4.2%                       | 14.4%    | 18.6% |
| School Operations                   | Total          | 3                          | 6        | 9     |
|                                     | % within Issue | 33.3%                      | 66.7%    | --    |
|                                     | % within Frame | 6.4%                       | 8.5%     | --    |
|                                     | % of Total     | 2.5%                       | 5.1%     | 7.6%  |
| Social Issues                       | Total          | 40                         | 67       | 107   |
|                                     | % within Issue | 37.4%                      | 62.6%    | --    |
|                                     | % within Frame | 85.1%                      | 94.4%    | --    |
|                                     | % of Total     | 33.9%                      | 56.8%    | 90.7% |
| Criminalization                     | Total          | 15                         | 12       | 27    |
|                                     | % within Issue | 55.6%                      | 44.4%    | --    |
|                                     | % within Frame | 31.9%                      | 16.9%    | --    |
|                                     | % of Total     | 12.7%                      | 10.2%    | 22.9% |
| Other                               | Total          | 6                          | 9        | 15    |
|                                     | % within Issue | 40.0%                      | 60.0%    | --    |
|                                     | % within Frame | 12.8%                      | 12.7%    | --    |
|                                     | % of Total     | 5.1%                       | 7.6%     | 12.7% |
|                                     | Total          | 47                         | 71       | 118   |
|                                     | % of Total     | 39.8%                      | 60.2%    | 100%  |

*Note.* Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

<sup>a</sup>Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

The fifth research question asked: how do episodic-thematic frames interact with sources in the U.S. news media of the Chilean educational system? Table 3.5 displays the association between formal frames (i.e., episodic-thematic framing) and sources. Government officials tended to be framed more thematically (74.1%;  $n = 40$ ) than episodically (25.9%;  $n = 14$ ). Students and student organizations also tended to be framed more thematically (65.4%;  $n = 34$ ) than episodically (34.6%;  $n = 18$ ). However, the news articles not citing a source tended to be framed more episodically (62.5%;  $n = 15$ ) than thematically (37.5%;  $n = 9$ ), although other issues tended to be framed thematically.

Table 3.5

*Frequency of Interaction between Source and Episodic-Thematic Frames*

| Source                              |                 | Frame <sup>a</sup> |          | Total |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|-------|
|                                     |                 | Episodic           | Thematic |       |
| Citizen                             | Total           | 0                  | 7        | 7     |
|                                     | % within Source | 0%                 | 100%     | --    |
|                                     | % within Frame  | 0%                 | 9.9%     | --    |
|                                     | % of Total      | 0%                 | 5.9%     | 5.9%  |
| Experts and Education Professionals | Total           | 0                  | 16       | 16    |
|                                     | % within Source | 0%                 | 100%     | --    |
|                                     | % within Frame  | 0%                 | 22.5%    | --    |
|                                     | % of Total      | 0%                 | 13.6%    | 13.6% |
| Government Officials                | Total           | 14                 | 40       | 54    |
|                                     | % within Source | 25.9%              | 74.1%    | --    |
|                                     | % within Frame  | 29.8%              | 56.3%    | --    |
|                                     | % of Total      | 11.9%              | 33.9%    | 45.8% |
| No Source Cited                     | Total           | 15                 | 9        | 24    |
|                                     | % within Source | 62.5%              | 37.5%    | --    |
|                                     | % within Frame  | 31.9%              | 12.7%    | --    |
|                                     | % of Total      | 12.7%              | 7.6%     | 20.3% |
| Business and Other Organizations    | Total           | 6                  | 9        | 15    |
|                                     | % within Source | 40%                | 60%      | --    |
|                                     | % within Frame  | 12.8%              | 12.7%    | --    |
|                                     | % of Total      | 5.1%               | 7.6%     | 12.7% |
| Other/opinion                       | Total           | 1                  | 7        | 8     |

|  |                 |       |       |       |
|--|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|
| pieces   | % within Source | 12.5% | 87.5% | --    |
|  | % within Frame  | 2.1%  | 9.9%  | --    |
|  | % of Total      | 0.8%  | 5.9%  | 6.8%  |
| Students and<br>Student<br>Organizations<br>(including student<br>leaders) | Total           | 18    | 34    | 52    |
|  | % within Source | 34.6% | 65.4% | --    |
|  | % within Frame  | 38.3% | 47.9% | --    |
|  | % of Total      | 15.3  | 28.8% | 44.1% |
|  | Total           | 47    | 71    | 118   |
|  | % of Total      | 39.8% | 60.2% | 100%  |

*Note.* Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

<sup>a</sup>Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

## Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine how the U.S. news media have framed the Chilean educational system from 2006 to 2016. In order to do so, this study content analyzed the mainstream U.S. news media coverage of the Chilean educational system. The news content was analyzed in terms of three media frames: issues, news sources, and episodic-thematic news frames (i.e., personal responsibility-societal responsibility). The study then examined the interaction or association between issues, sources, and formal news frames.

This study makes both a general and a specific contribution to the field of literature concerned with the portrayal of education in the news media. In regard to the more general contribution, this study adds to the field of literature concerning education in the news media (see Wubbena, 2017a). It also contributes to the literature concerning the news coverage of market-oriented education policies (e.g., Cabalin (2014a; Gabriel & Nina-Lester, 2013; Gautreaux, 2015; Gautreaux & Delgado, 2016; Goldstein, 2011; Feuerstein, 2014, Rooks & Muñoz, 2015; Wubbena, 2015; Wubbena, 2017; Wubbena, Ford, & Porfilio, 2016).

In addition, this study makes a more specific contribution to the field of literature concerning the news media and educational policy deliberation between countries. This literature has focused on how countries that perform well on international assessments have been represented in the news media of other countries (Baroutsis & Lingard, 2016; Takayama, Waldow, & Sung, 2013; Waldow, Takayama, & Sung, 2014). This article, however, takes a different approach toward examining the portrayal of education in the news media.

This study extends previous research by examining how the U.S. news media have framed the Chilean market-oriented educational system. It makes a contribution to the field of literature by examining the flipside of policy deliberation between countries. That is, between the United States, where market-oriented educational reforms remain at the top of the policy agenda, and Chile, where market-oriented educational reforms have been contested in massive student movements and, subsequently, tempered to some degree through policy changes at the national scale. This study does not examine those changes. However, it does examine the issues leading up to those changes as represented by the U.S. news media. In particular, the findings of this study make a contribution to our understanding of the comparative indifference in policy deliberations between two counterpart countries concerning market-oriented education. The United States and Chile can be considered counterpart countries because both countries have incorporated market-oriented policies into the design of their educational systems.

What were the dominant news frames identified in this study? The news frames of the Chilean education system were examined in three ways. The first way examined three types of news frames in the U.S. media coverage of the Chilean educational system.

Those news frames included issues, sources, and formal frames. Formal news frames were either episodic or thematic. The dominant issue news frames were education reforms and social issues. The education reforms news frame included educational policy changes, whether brought about through protest demands or presented/implemented by the government. The social issues frame included things like economic and educational inequity and lack of educational opportunity. Government officials and students and student organizations, including student leaders, were the most cited sources. The news media's coverage of the Chilean educational system tended to be more thematically framed rather than episodically framed. This finding is interesting because previous research suggests the U.S. news media tend to frame education in the United States more episodically (Tamir & Davidson, 2011). By framing education episodically, Tamir and Davidson (2011) suggest the news media in the United State insulate "powerful actors and proposed policies from public scrutiny" (p. 254). These power actors, according to Tamir and Davidson, include official sources such as political and economic elites. However, although U.S. media tend to episodically frame social and educational issues in the United States (Iyengar, 1990, 1991, 1996; Tamir & Davidson, 2011), this study found an exception to this tendency—the U.S. news media's framing of the Chilean educational system.

The second way included an examination of the three types of news frames over time. Both education reform and social issues maintained constant attention in the news media over time. However, during the peak of the student movement in 2011, the news media also began to criminalize student protesters and they reported on corrupt government officials, resulting in more episodic framing. Government officials and

student organizations were the most cited source by the U.S. news media. During the final time interval (2013-2015), government officials were the most cited source, likely due to the second term of Bachelet and her promise for education reform. In addition, the findings of this study revealed that the news media consistently framed the Chilean education system thematically over time. However, during the second, time interval (2009-2012), there was a rise in episodic framing. This rise was likely due to the spike in police violence during the more massive 2011 Chilean student movement.

The third way included examining the association between issue and source frames and their formal, episodic-thematic frame counterparts. Results suggested there was an association between thematic framing and education reform and social issues. However, criminalization tended to be associated with the episodic frame. This latter finding is consistent with previous research (Iyengar, 1991), which has implications that will be discussed below. Results also suggested there was an association between the thematic news frame and official sources, such as government officials and student organizations. However, when the news media did not include an interviewed source, the news framing of the Chilean educational system tended to be episodic. This finding suggests the importance of official sources to the U.S. news media's thematic framing of education in Chile. Without these sources, the U.S. news media are likely to revert back to their tendency to frame educational issues episodically (Tamir & Davidson, 2011).

What do the dominant news frames identified by this study mean? And, following from this question, what are the practical implications of these news frames from a theoretical perspective for how individuals might attribute responsibility for educational problems in Chile? Although this study identified the dominant news frames

in the mainstream U.S. news coverage of the Chilean educational system, previous experimental research suggests that information framed differently can shift how individuals' attribute responsibility for social issues. The dominant news frames identified in this study can be interpreted in light of their theoretical meaning, which can very much have practical implications for members of the public. The findings that social issues and education reform both tended to be framed thematically is a good sign. It means that individuals exposed to these news frames may be more likely to attribute responsibility for the educational problems in Chile to the government. In fact, this appears to be supported by the findings that during the last time interval, government officials were the most cited source. This finding is notable because it highlights the role of government in treating educational problems that have been attributed to the institutionalization of neoliberal educational policies instituted in the 1980s under the Pinochet dictatorship. The less dominant episodic frames suggest that the attribution of responsibility for crime and the criminalization of the student movements might be viewed by members of the public as not having a relation to the larger, social and political-economic context. For instance, such criminalization might be attributed to bad actors, which can protect institutions from needed change.

One of the most interesting findings from this study was the formal news framing over time. The peak in episodic coverage during the second time interval suggests the rise of political tension and conflict between the mass student movement and resistance to institutional changes to the educational system. The 2011 student movement was considered much larger and more prolonged than the 2006 secondary student movement, which tended to be framed thematically. However, the thematic framing of the Chilean

educational system by students and student organizations was sustained over time, leading political officials to be the most dominant source for information during the last time interval. This finding suggests the importance of maintaining a consistent thematic frame of educational problems to drive institutional change. Iyengar (1991) suggested that when individuals are exposed to thematically framed news, they become more likely to assign responsibility for social issues to politicians and government. This societal responsibility naturally entails policy solutions at the institutional level that take into account the conditions contributing to a particular social problem. In the case of Chile, the conditions contributing to mass discontent and contestation were the market-oriented educational policies institutionalized since the Pinochet dictatorship.

It is important to note that one of the central features of media framing is that it is not necessarily dependent on the quantity of news, although there continues to be a debate in the framing literature as to whether framing is a form of second-level agenda setting and, therefore, more dependent on quantity (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver (1997) or if framing theory represents something distinct from agenda-setting (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2014). This study draws on the insights from both framing perspectives. However, it does tend to favor the latter perspective over the former, but this latter perspective is very much dependent on the former perspective. For instance, the quantity of news examined in this study held a secondary focus to the interaction among the three dominant news frames. In this sense, the quantity of news provided a practical approximation to the specific information that the American public may have been exposed to about the Chilean educational system, even if this exposure was infrequent. But, had the U.S. news not reported on the Chilean educational system, there would have

been no content in which to examine and identify the dominant news frames. Besides, even if the American public has infrequently encountered the news content examined in this study, it does not mean they would generalize the effects of the dominant news framing of Chile's market-oriented educational system to policy and school improvement efforts in the United States.

The difference in the dominant news frames identified in this study brings attention to the different contextual cues drawn upon for disseminating information about a country's educational system beyond its borders. From a comparative perspective, politicians, educational reform advocates, and the American public can learn from the problems stemming from Chile's market-oriented educational system. Many of these problems, like student debt, continue to fester just below the surface of mainstream thought in the United States. This comparative indifference means that economic forces seem more likely to drive policy proposals and recommendations when those recommendations and policy proposals reinforce the dominate economic perspective. When the news media accentuates and makes more salient the consequences of market-oriented educational reforms in one country through thematic framing that drives social attribution of responsibility, those consequences might be ignored by the other country, such as the United States (see Pribble & Erkulwater, 2017). This interpretation is not completely warranted by this study; however, the conclusions that can be drawn from this study do provide scholars with some initial directions for future research.

### **Limitations and Directions for Future Research**

The conclusions drawn from this study should be interpreted with consideration for several limitations. For one, this study content analyzed mainstream news media

coverage of the Chilean educational system. It did not analyze alternative media, network television news, local news, or social media. I suspect that the findings of this study may have differed with these other news mediums, but this suspicion is empirical in nature. Therefore, future research can examine the Chilean education system in the news of these other media types. Nonetheless, many of the news outlets included in this study have been considered agenda setting, and scholarship suggests these national outlets often set the agenda for all other types of news (Chomsky, 2014). Moreover, Shine (2015) “indicates that newspapers continue to set the news agenda for radio, television and online media outlets” (p. 504).

For comparative purposes, future research might employ the theoretical framework from this study and Wong (2013) to examine the U.S. news framing of market-oriented educational policies and reforms in the United States. Of course, previous research has examined many different features of the U.S. educational system in the news media, but less research has examined the media content in terms of frames associated with attribution of responsibility.

This study broadly looked at how the news media framed the Chilean education system. Therefore, there were a wide variety of specific issues and news sources identified in the news content. In this sense, this study allows us to see the forest for the trees. However, seeing only the big picture rather the multi-levels of trees can be limiting; it may also be limiting because it can provide a misleading picture. It is equally important to consider the representation of specific aspects and issues regarding the Chilean educational system. Future research can employ a qualitative approach to examine the media content of, for example, the 2011 Chilean student movement from the

perspective of the U.S. news media. This approach might follow down similar lines of inquiry as Cabalin (2014) and Wubbena (2017).

Moreover, this study examined the U.S. news content of the Chilean educational system by employing a media content analysis method. It did not, however, employ an experimental methodological approach.<sup>10</sup> This type of approach could be used to measure the effects of the dominant news frames identified in this study on audience members. Therefore, another limitation of the current study was that it did not measure the effects of news content, and the practical claims stemming from the theoretical interpretation of dominant news frames remain speculative at best. Future research should employ experimental methods to examine how the dominant U.S. news frames identified in this study actually shift how individuals' attribute responsibility for the problems associated with the Chilean education system. This research could also examine whether there is a carryover effect regarding how individuals attribute responsibility for educational issues in the United States.<sup>11</sup>

## **Conclusion**

This study provided the first descriptive account of how the U.S. news media have framed the Chilean educational system over time. It identified the dominant content-related and formal news frames in this media coverage. In particular, the news media was analyzed to identify the dominant issues, sources, and episodic-thematic news frames. The dominant issues identified were education reform and social issues related to

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<sup>10</sup> To see the empirical continuations of inquiry from the framing of news content to experimental effects concerning charter schools, see Feuerstein (2014, 2015).

<sup>11</sup> Iyengar (1996) examined the framing effect (with concern for the attribution of causal and treatment responsibility) of national issues in the U.S. television news. Iyengar also examined carryover effects between issues and news frames, which he calls "spillover effects" (p. 68).

educational and economic inequity and opportunity. The news media's thematic framing was assisted by its sourcing, which relied on government officials and student organizations. Chile's educational system tended to be framed thematically, with a reliance on government responsibility, over time.

These findings provide insight into how the American public may have been informed about issues associated with market-oriented educational policies. From a comparative perspective, this study provides insight into the comparative indifference of policy deliberation between Chile and the United States. How the American public has been informed is important because Chile has rejected and tempered their market-oriented education policies while the United States continues to push for market-oriented educational reforms on a national scale.

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## APPENDIX A

### Data Source

#### Chicago Tribune

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## APPENDIX B

### Codebook

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <b>Identification #:</b> _____<br><b>Coder:</b> _____  |  |
| <b>Section I: Descriptive categories</b>   |  |
| 1. News outlet   | <input type="checkbox"/> Chicago Tribune = 1<br><input type="checkbox"/> Huffington Post = 2<br><input type="checkbox"/> Los Angeles Times = 3<br><input type="checkbox"/> Newsweek = 4<br><input type="checkbox"/> Seattle Times = 5<br><input type="checkbox"/> Associated Press = 6<br><input type="checkbox"/> The Economist = 7<br><input type="checkbox"/> New York Times = 8<br><input type="checkbox"/> Wall Street Journal = 9<br><input type="checkbox"/> Washington Post = 10 |
| 2. Publication date <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Date format: DD-month abbreviation-YYYY (e.g., 22-Dec-1986)</li> </ul>  | _____ / _____ / _____  |
| 3. Author(s) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Author format: Last Name, First Name, Middle Initial followed by “,” for second author (e.g., Carter, Adam)</li> </ul> |  |
| 4. Headline/subheading   |  |
| 5. Journalistic genre  | <input type="checkbox"/> blog = 1<br><input type="checkbox"/> editorial/opinion = 2  |

|  |   |
|--|---|
|  | <input type="checkbox"/> newsmagazine = 3<br><input type="checkbox"/> news report = 4<br><input type="checkbox"/> op-ed = 5<br><input type="checkbox"/> other ( _____ )   |
| 6. Source type   | <input type="checkbox"/> print = 1<br><input type="checkbox"/> online = 2<br><input type="checkbox"/> both (print/online) = 3   |
| 7. Section   | <input type="checkbox"/> front page = 1<br><input type="checkbox"/> national = 2<br><input type="checkbox"/> international = 3<br><input type="checkbox"/> business = 4<br><input type="checkbox"/> education = 5<br><input type="checkbox"/> feature = 6<br><input type="checkbox"/> other ( _____ )   |
| 8. Visuals   | <input type="checkbox"/> No = 0<br><input type="checkbox"/> Yes = 1   |
| 9. Word count  | _____ /100 = _____  |
| <b>Section II: Content-related framing categories</b>  |   |
| 10. Issue framing *check all that apply<br><br><b>Definition:</b><br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Issue</i> is “something that is discussed or disputed” (Merriam-Webster, 2016)</li> </ul> | <input type="checkbox"/> assessment = 1<br><input type="checkbox"/> educational inequity/inequality = 2<br><input type="checkbox"/> facilities/resources = 3<br><input type="checkbox"/> finance and budget = 4<br><input type="checkbox"/> governance = 5<br><input type="checkbox"/> management = 6<br><input type="checkbox"/> quality assurance = 7<br><input type="checkbox"/> social issues = 8<br><input type="checkbox"/> student debt = 9<br><input type="checkbox"/> student protests = 10<br><input type="checkbox"/> teacher issues = 11<br><input type="checkbox"/> teaching and learning = 12<br><input type="checkbox"/> other ( _____ ) |
| 11. Source framing *check all that apply   | <input type="checkbox"/> activist groups/organizations = 1  |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p><b><u>Definition:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Media sources</i> represent those who are “given status to comment on public problems and prescribe solutions” (Green Saraisky, 2016, p. 28). Source are quoted in the text by journalist.</li> </ul>   | <p> <input type="checkbox"/> business leaders = 2<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> experts = 3<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> for-profit/not-for-profits = 4<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> government officials = 5<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> members of the public = 6<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> parents = 7<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> student leaders = 8<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> student organizations = 9<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> students = 10<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> teacher groups = 11<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> teachers = 12<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> university professors = 13<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> other = 14 ( _____ ) </p>  |
| <p><b>Section III: Formal-framing categories</b></p>   |   |
| <p>12. Thematic-episodic framing</p> <p><b><u>Definitions:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Thematic frame</i> places public issues in a general or abstract context.</li> <li>• <i>Episodic frame</i> take the form of a case study or event-oriented report and depict public issues regarding concrete instances.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Instructions:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Check title and sub-title</li> <li>• Check each paragraph</li> <li>• Count number of thematic and episodic paragraphs</li> <li>• Sum total and divide by each type of frame [t/(t+e); e/(t+e)]</li> <li>• Classify article according to 2/3rds rule</li> <li>• Tie goes to article based on title/sub-title and first three paragraphs</li> </ul> | <p><b>Thematic frame:</b></p> <p> <input type="checkbox"/> a broad or nonspecific time frame<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> multiple and/or stunted storylines<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> large number of often abstract characters (e.g., “the public,” “teachers,” “parents”)<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> a mention of conflict tied to abstract actors (e.g., teachers, politicians, legislators, academia, not unions) </p> <p><b>Episodic frame:</b></p> <p> <input type="checkbox"/> a limited time frame<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> limited number of well-developed story lines (often only one)<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> emotive or graphic language<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> small cast of often concrete characters (e.g., trade union leader X; headmaster Y)<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> a mention of conflict tied to a specific actor (individual or organization)<br/> <input type="checkbox"/> a focus on interpersonal tactics and strategies </p> <p><b>Overall article (apply 2/3rds rule):</b></p> <p>Thematic (≥ 2/3rds) = 1</p> <p style="text-align: center;">No = 0</p> |

|  |   |
|--|---|
|  | <p>____ Yes = 1</p> <p>Episodic (<math>\geq 2/3</math>rds) = 2</p> <p>____ No = 0</p> <p>____ Yes = 1</p> |
|--|---|

**IV ARTICLE III:  
VISUALLY FRAMING A PEDAGOGY FOR SPACE DURING  
THE 2011 CHILEAN STUDENT MOVEMENT**

**Abstract**

The 2011 Chilean student protests were a powerful social movement aimed at transforming education and, with it, the social spaces and formations of daily life. This social movement was pedagogical because students worked to transform the city into a classroom to gain control over the production of space. In this vein, the student movement provided a catalyst for reconstituting public education as a universal social right. Based on the perspective of spatial educational theory, I conducted a visual framing analysis of three photographs taken during the 2011 Chilean student movement. I employed a four-tiered visual framing method. The three photographs were purposefully selected from different media sources to represent the three dimensions of spatial educational theory, including learning in conceived space, studying in lived space, and teaching in perceived space. In doing so, this article provides a novel way to explain spatial educational theory by visually operationalizing it as a pedagogy for space during the Chilean student movement. This article also works to broaden our conceptualization of student movements as pedagogical events for social transformation.

*Keywords:* pedagogy, space, visual framing, media, educational policy, student movement

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The 2011 Chilean student protests were a powerful social movement aimed at transforming education and, with it, the social spaces and formations of daily life. As one of the largest social movements since Chile's return to democracy in 1990, this movement marked a rejection of market-oriented educational policies instituted under the Pinochet dictatorship (Cabalin, 2012, 2014). Following the overthrow of Chile's democratic government in 1973, the military regime of General Pinochet instituted neoliberal reforms to privatize the public sector. In 1981, they installed a market-oriented educational system primarily based on parental choice and school competition (Bellei, Cabalin, & Orellana, 2014). Since then, Chile has steadily emerged on the international scene as a highly unequal society with students lacking equal access to quality education and university students facing the indentured servitude of student debt (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013). Consequentially, this market-oriented educational system has not only restricted the right to education, but it has also restricted the right to move within and throughout space. In response, the student movement provided a catalyst for students, as political agents, to rupture the neoliberal imperative by demanding free public education as a universal social right (Bellei et al., 2014). In this sense, as O'Malley and Nelson (2013) argued, the student movement was pedagogical because the city was transformed into a classroom for the "right to be in and move through space, about the right to have control over the production of space" (Ford, 2016a, p. 15).

Research in critical education has sought to understand the interrelationship between the spatial configurations of daily life and educational policy and pedagogy

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<sup>1</sup> The final, definitive version of this paper has been published in *Policy Futures in Education*, 2017 published by SAGE Publishing, All rights reserved.

(Ferrare & Apple, 2010; Ford, 2013, 2014; Gulson & Symes, 2007a, 2007b; Lipman, 2011; Middleton, 2013; Neary & Amsler, 2012; Peters, 2011; Peters & Kessl, 2009). Peter McLaren (1998) first argued: “Critical pedagogy needs to move into the direction of challenging new carceral systems of social control through the development of a critical pedagogy of space” (p. 454). McLaren argued for infusing a critical pedagogy of space with political economy to advance the struggle against the oppressive and exploitative nature of capitalism. Building on McLaren’s work and Morgan’s (2000) call to “interpret spaces as social texts” (p. 285), Derek Ford (2017) developed a spatial educational theory and operationalized it as a revolutionary political pedagogy for space. Drawing on Henri Lefebvre’s (1974/1991) insights regarding the social production of space, Ford’s pedagogy for space consists of a spatial-educational triad with three dimensions: (a) learning in conceived space, (b) studying in lived space, and (c) teaching in perceived space. By reading the spatial-educational triad into the 2015 Baltimore protests, Ford demonstrated the triad works “not in a linear progression, but a constant and contingent dialectical movement across and between the three acts” (Ford, 2015, pp. 193-194). However, what does this pedagogy for space look like? In this article, I methodologically extend Ford’s operationalization of spatial educational theory by considering research on the visual media framing of education (Allweiss, Grant, & Manning, 2014; Cabalin & Antezana, 2016; Feuerstein, 2015). Indeed, visuals can provide a means for observing a pedagogy for space. As Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) argue, “visuals such as photographs [not only] seem closer to reality ... [but they are also] “powerful framing tools because they are less intrusive than words and as such require less cognitive load” (p. 50). In this sense, spaces should not only be read as

lexical text, but they should also be read as visual text, which can refine our understanding of the pedagogical nature of the 2011 Chilean student movement.

The purpose of this article was to conduct a visual framing analysis of three photographs to understand what the three dimensions of a pedagogy for space looked like during the 2011 Chilean student movement. Based on a review of the literature, I developed a coding scheme representing the three dimensions of Ford's spatial educational theory. This coding scheme guided the purposeful selection of three photographs. The photographs were obtained from different media sources, including *The Guardian*, *The Boston Globe*, and Wikimedia Commons. The unit of analysis was each photograph. I analyzed each photograph using a four-tiered visual framing analysis method (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011). Together, the three photographs represented a pedagogy for space for "understanding and producing space in ways that disrupt the contemporary global political-economic order, and hopefully contribute to the overthrow of that order and the reconceptualization and enactment of a different order" (Ford, 2015, p. 8). Therefore, to inquire into a pedagogy for space during the 2011 Chilean student movement, I posed the following three guiding research questions:

- What did learning in conceived space look like?
- What did studying in lived space look like?
- What did teaching in perceived space look like?

This article proceeds in five sections. In the first section, I provide the background to and context of the 2011 Chilean student movement. This social movement consisted of student protests that will be depicted visually. In the second section, I present spatial educational theory as the guiding theoretical framework. In particular, the

spatial-educational triad consists of three dimensions that provide the operational basis for observing the student movement as a pedagogy for space. In the third section, I review the methodology, including methods of data collection, coding, and procedures for conducting the visual framing analysis. In the fourth section, I carry out the visual framing analysis of the three photographs taken during the Chilean student movement. I use a systematic three-trope process, where each photograph is analyzed and discussed. In the last section, I provide some brief concluding remarks.

### **Background and Context: The 2011 Chilean Student Movement**

To understand the 2011 Chilean student movement, one must understand this movement as a moment, as a culminating event beginning with the democratic election of Latin America's first socialist president, Salvador Allende, in 1970. Allende instituted a host of nationalization policies, for sectors like copper and telecommunication, which threatened the United States' economic interests (Klein, 2007). In response, the United States ran a host of covert action projects, such as funding opposition leaders and running propaganda campaigns, to undermine the legitimacy of Allende's presidency (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013). These political action projects helped to develop the conditions for a coup d'état led by General Augusto Pinochet on September 11, 1973, which marked a transition for Chile from democracy to dictatorship. Under the guidance of the University of Chicago economist Milton Friedman and the Chicago Boys (i.e., Chilean economists trained at the University of Chicago), Pinochet restructured Chile's political economic system (Harvey, 2011). This system repurposed the state to serve a subsidiary role, providing for the privatization of the public sector while increasing competition through deregulation and allowing for the opening of new markets (Ostry,

Loungani, & Furceri, 2016). One of these new markets was education. Upon Chile's return to democracy in 1990, however, the continuation of neoliberal policies has exacerbated widespread discontent and socio-economic inequality in Chile, as it has for many other countries throughout the world (Harvey, 2011; Wubbena, 2016).

The neoliberal framework reconstituted public education into a market through the market-oriented principles of competition, school choice, and privatization (Bellei et al., 2014). With the state taking a subsidiary role, the privatization of education expanded a competitive market for school choice and student access and enrollment. However, prior to this competitive market in higher education, there were a limited number of universities (now referred to as the "traditional universities"). Because of the limited access, these universities had highly competitive admission for students, which tended to favor economic and intellectual elites rather than those from the lower, working class. However, the birth of the market model for higher education succeeded in increasing the institutional capacity for students and older adults to gain access to higher education. For example, in 1973, 67% of all students attended public universities, whereas, in 2013, 72% of all students attended private universities (Bellei et al., 2014). While the number of public universities remained steady over time, the competitive higher education market increased its institutional capacity with private universities and technical institutions, and this increase in institutional capacity provided many students and older adults with a chance to attend higher education. For example, while in 1990 student enrollment in higher education was only 17% in 2012, this student enrollment increased to 60% (UNESCO, 2012).

However, the increased enrollment in higher education also corresponded to decreased direct state funding, creating somewhat of a double-edged sword. While institutional capacity expanded access for students to attend higher education, the corresponding decrease in direct state funding pushed students toward obtaining private financing, such as private student loans, and other fees to attend university. For example, per the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2013), families and students in Chile are expected to fund more of their education than any other OECD member country. The increased dependency of students on private financing and increased institutional capacity for students to attend higher education has left many students facing the indentured servitude of student debt (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013). Along with other social, political, and economic forces at play, Chile has become one of the most economically unequal societies, having the highest level of income inequality out of all other OECD countries (OECD, 2016).

In response, student organizations in Chile have played a major role in contesting the current neoliberal order. Although student organizations were banned under the dictatorship, the Chilean Student Confederation (CONFECH) emerged in the late 1980s to challenge the dictatorship before Chile's return to democracy in 1990 (Bellei et al., 2014). CONFECH consists of federations of democratically elected students from public and private universities throughout Chile; however, before 2011, CONFECH excluded private university students (Bellei et al., 2014). In the late 1990s, CONFECH protested inequities in education and—motivated by the massive 2006 high school student movement—helped organize and lead the popular 2011 Chilean student movement (Cabalin, 2012, 2014). Two popular student leaders of this movement included Camila

Vallejo, President of the Student Federation of the University of Chile (FECH) and Giorgio Jackson, President of the Student Federation of the Catholic University (FEUC). Bellei, Cabalin, and Orellanac (2014) suggest that CONFECH's organizational success can be attributed to its student leaders' ability to unify students as agents of political collectives, translating their power into mass protests for social transformation.

The 2011 Chilean student movement lasted over a seven-month period and consisted of some 36 massive protests (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013). In April of 2011, the first protest was held with about 8000 students (Bellei et al., 2014); the movement swelled to almost a million students one month later, on 30 May 2011 (Cummings, 2015). This movement integrated many of the demands made from the secondary student movement in 2006; however, it also extended the reach of these demands to higher education (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013). According to Bellei et al. (2014), there were five central demands that served as the impetus for the student movement. These demands included equal access to higher education, expansion of public education, strengthening of state responsibility for regulating education, removal of the for-profit motivation behind education, and increased student access and participation in higher education (Bellei et al., 2014).

Students mobilized to support these demands by engaging in a variety of traditional and innovative protests (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013; Cabalin, 2014). The CONFECH student leaders led more conventional protest rallies, such as marches filled with scripted chants, signs, and slogans (Franklin, 2011). Other times the protests became creative acts, for instance, on June 24, 2011, a flash mob took place at the president's house with students dancing to Michael Jackson's "Thriller" while wearing

gravestone hats displaying how much debt each student owed (Goldman, 2012). Students participated in hunger strikes, occupied university buildings, and held a kiss-in among other events (Delgado & Ross, 2016). Students also engaged in more resistive forms of protest, including activities like graffiti and confronting police with firebombs and rocks, to which the police responded with water cannons, tear gas, and brute force (Taylor, 2011). To understand the underlying pedagogical nature of the 2011 Chilean student movement, I now turn to the framework of spatial educational theory.

### **Theoretical Framework: Spatial Educational Theory**

Ford's (2017) spatial educational theory served as the guiding theoretical framework. This framework consists of a spatial-educational triad that includes three dimensions: learning in conceived space, studying in lived space, and teaching in perceived space. In practice, the three spatial educational dimensions operate in a triple dialectical configuration. This triple dialectic among and between the three dimensions serves as the basis for operationalizing spatial educational theory as a pedagogy for space during the 2011 Chilean student movement.

#### **Learning in Conceived Space**

The first dimension of the spatial educational theory is learning in conceived space. Learning in conceived space includes a spatial dimension and an educational dimension. Concerning the spatial dimension, Ford (2016a, 2017) draws on Henri Lefebvre's (1974/1991) conception of conceived space, which Lefebvre also refers to as representations of space. Representations of space orders social relations in ways that have been conceived by others, such as map makers, city planners, politicians and policymakers, architects, real estate developers, and bankers among others (Ford, 2016a).

Conceived space embodies dictates that govern and control individuals and, therefore, collective autonomy and will. As Ford (2017) writes, “Representations of space tell us what to do in certain spaces; they tell us what is allowed and what is not allowed, where we should stand or sit, nap or congregate” (p. 104). In essence, conceived space makes objects out of subjects or rather subjects become the embodiment of objects. In this sense, representations of space serve the capitalist mode of re-/production by prescribing paths, making encounters predictable and risk-free for transaction and exchange. For example, during the Baltimore protests, conceived space included things like “sports arenas, corporate headquarters, high-rise hotels and condominiums, and chain restaurants [that] take up the majority of space” (Ford, 2016a, pp. 187-188).

Learning augments and operationalizes representations of space. To narrow in on learning in conceived space, Ford (2016a, 2017) draws on the work of Gert Biesta and Tyson Lewis. Accordingly, “learning is always concerned with and determined by ends (learning goals, outcomes, etc.)” (Ford, 2016c, p. 3). The logic of learning like the logic of conceived space is about the re-/production of capitalism and, therefore, learning is ultimately about social reproduction (Bowles & Gintis, 1976/2011; Giroux, 1983; Wubbena, 2015). Learning, however, holds within itself its own destruction. For instance, Biesta (2014) speaks of a learning society in which one is expected to embrace being a lifelong learner. In this sense, learning is about potentiality, what Lewis (2013) refers to as the organizing principle of the learning society. However, the actualization of potential by reaching learning outcomes destroys the potentiality of the learner (Lewis, 2011, 2013). Ford (2016a) adds that, “Learning, that is, describes a process and doesn’t denote the content that should be contained in that process, which eclipses discussions

about the purpose of education” (p. 183). This process allows the purpose of education and the learner to be made and re-made for the current and future needs of capitalism. Ford (2016a) provides many examples of learning in conceived space during the Baltimore protests, including “organized contingents of groups, scripted chants, well-formulated slogans and demands, printed placards, painted banners, and a clear spatial trajectory through the city” (p. 188).

### **Studying in Lived Space**

The second dimension of the spatial educational theory is studying in lived space. Studying in lived space includes a spatial dimension and an educational dimension. Ford (2016a, 2017) draws on Lefebvre’s (1974/1991) conception of lived space, which Lefebvre also refers to as representational space. Representational space, according to Lefebvre, includes the lived spaces of daily life. The representational nature of lived space is presupposed by representations of space and, therefore, the way space is conceived can render lived space as unrecognizable, because it is difficult to represent everything within a lived space. In this sense, representational space is produced in myriad ways and interactions, as it is inhabited on a daily basis. Representational space is also considered the space of the imagination—users may resist conceived space for the unimaginable or become passive to its domination (Lefebvre, 1974/1991). During the Baltimore protests, for example, Ford (2016a) writes, there was “wandering within and beyond boundaries ... Instead of ... orchestrated contingents, there were cries of indignation and anger and multitudinous swarms forming and disbanding; advancing, retreating, and advancing yet again” (p. 189).

Studying augments and operationalizes representational space. Ford (2016a, 2016c, 2017) draws on Lewis' (2011, 2013) theory of studying. The studier studies, and by studying, the studier, is concerned with perpetual activity focused on means without actualizing some predetermined outcome. For instance, Ford (2016a) argues that while learning is always a means toward some predetermined end, studying is about a means toward infinite potentiality. Through studying the studier "interrupts the demand to actualize potential by introducing a hyphen in between potential and im-potential, so that the slogan of the studier becomes 'I can... I cannot'" (Ford, 2016c, p. 4). As Lewis (2013) writes, studying "suspends ends yet does not retreat into pure potentiality. It is the ambiguous state of recessive sway that holds within itself this and that without choosing either" (p. 147). In this sense, studying "opens up what has been learned to the possibility of being otherwise, opening up ellipses within the learning society that can be stretched to render it inoperative" (Ford, 2016c, p. 4). This is because studying holds within itself latent potential that is preserved from being actualized. Lewis (2013) refers to the method of the studier as a means to "experience the im-potentiality to be and not to be, do and not do simultaneously" (p. 94). During the Baltimore protests, for example, Ford (2016a) writes that when night fell people started wandering within and beyond spatially prescribed boundaries as "bottles, cans, rocks, and other objects [were] constantly being hurled across the barricades. Many people [were] standing right up at the barricades, unafraid of the cops and the state power that they represent" (p. 188). In order to bring learning in conceived space and studying in lived space together in dialectical tension, I now turn to teaching in perceived space.

## Teaching in Perceived Space

The third dimension of the spatial educational theory is teaching in perceived space. Teaching in perceived space includes a spatial dimension and an educational dimension. Ford (2016a, 2017) draws on Lefebvre's (1974/1991) conception of perceived space, which Lefebvre also refers to as spatial practice. Ford (2016a) comments, "In bodily terms, Lefebvre will refer to these spaces as perceived spaces, because they are tied up with the ways in which we think of—or fail to think of—the spaces that structure our lives" (p. 182). In this sense, spatial practice becomes recognizable as a social formation. This social formation functions to organize and govern not only bodies in space but also how daily life is perceived. Lefebvre defines an extreme example of spatial practice as the "daily life of a tenant in a government-subsidized high-rise housing project" (p. 38). This housing project, its location, and its relation to the city context are the dictates of conceived space. Yet, the spatial practice of tenants living within this government housing mediates conceived space and lived space through daily routines and their associated links with work and leisure to provide spatial continuity and cohesion (Lefebvre, 1974/1991). As Lefebvre (1974/1991) notes, spatial practice "secretly creates that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it" (p. 38). For example, during the Baltimore protests, Ford (2016a) writes how Black religious leaders used the police station as a staging ground to organize the first of many protests.

Teaching augments and operationalizes spatial practice as perceived by the teacher. Ford draws on Biesta's (2014) theory of teaching. Ford (2016a) suggests the teacher is made in the act of teaching by "bringing something new to the student, some

idea, concept, object, or action; the teacher is responsible for arranging encounters. ... [T]his new thing will be something that is new to the student, but not necessarily new to the world” (p. 186). In this sense, teachers serve as a “collective organ” (Ford, 2016a, p. 190) made in the act of teaching, and they provide an intervention into the existing order of things. This intervention is political because teaching inherently functions as a governing mechanism that orients, balances, and anticipates the need for learning, studying, and teaching. Teachers can represent a variety of people, such as a teacher in the traditional sense, or leaders of a church or other organization. For example, during the Baltimore protests the teachers included the Fruits of Islam, Bloods, Crips, and Black Guerrilla Family, which “united to ‘minimize looting and refocus the youth’s righteous militancy’” (Ford, 2016a, p. 190). By operationalizing spatial educational theory as a pedagogy for space, we are provided with a framework for visualizing the pedagogical nature of the 2011 Chilean student movement.

## **Method**

### **Sample**

Data were based on a purposeful sample of visual documents (Merriam, 2009). The visual documents included three preexisting photographs. Each photograph was selected to represent a different dimension of the 2011 Chilean student movement. I searched various online databases from September 11, 2016 to September 26, 2016 for variants of the key phrase: “2011 Chilean student protest movement”. One concern when using preexisting images is copyright permission (Feuerstein, 2015; Allweiss et al., 2014). In response, I first searched the Creative Commons (CC) database ([search.creativecommons.org](http://search.creativecommons.org)) for images under the CC licensing agreement. This

agreement allows the free use of images without permission. The CC database provides a point of access for search services like Google Images (CC Search, 2016). I searched Google Images, Flickr, Pixabay, Wikimedia Commons, and YouTube (for screenshots). The search was filtered for images under CC copyright license agreement. I identified the first photograph from the Wikimedia Commons database. However, limited images were available under CC license, so I extended the search without the CC filter, using Google Images to identify the last two photographs. The second photograph was published online in *The Guardian*, and the third photograph was published online in *The Boston Globe*. I contacted both photographers by email and was granted written permission to include their photographs in this article.

### **Data Collection**

Table 4.1 presents the coding scheme used for identifying and selecting the three photographs. I developed this coding scheme by reviewing the literature on spatial educational theory (Biesta, 2014, 2015; Ford, 2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2017; Lefebvre, 1974/1991; Lewis, 2011, 2013). The coding scheme was divided into three dimensions to represent spatial educational theory: learning in conceived space, studying in lived space, and teaching in perceived space. Each dimension of the coding scheme was then divided into two sub-dimensions. The two sub-dimensions included a spatial category (i.e., conceived, lived, and perceived space) and an educational category (i.e., learning, studying, and teaching). The photographs were identified and selected using a deductive approach, where only some key ideas and examples from the coding scheme needed to be present. In other words, each photograph was not required to have exhausted the key ideas or examples from the coding scheme, since I do not claim this

coding scheme is an exhaustive representation of the spatial educational theory. This deductive approach guided the identification and selection of visual documents, moving the identification of photographs from general approximations to specific features of spatial educational theory. Moreover, the deductive identification and selection of visuals were based on both manifest content and latent content. While manifest content includes descriptive features that can be directly observed, latent content requires one to make varying degrees of interpretation and inference (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999).

Table 4.1

*Coding Scheme: Dimensions of Spatial Educational Theory*

| Dimensions                                     | Key Ideas   | Examples   |
|--|---|--|
| 1. Learning in conceived space                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Orders social relations</li> <li>• Prescribes directional paths</li> <li>• Establishes boundaries</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• City maps</li> <li>• Roadway signs</li> <li>• Sidewalks, streets, parks</li> </ul>  |
| 1a. Conceived space (representations of space) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conceived by capitalist, bureaucrats, map makers, etc.</li> <li>• Official knowledge and ideology</li> <li>• Exchange value</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Buildings</li> <li>• Brick and mortar businesses</li> </ul>   |
| 1b. Learning                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ends predetermined by capital</li> <li>• Never-ended process</li> <li>• Competency-based</li> <li>• Individual responsibility</li> <li>• Actualizes potentiality</li> <li>• Measurability and efficiently</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Standardized testing</li> <li>• Learning outcomes</li> <li>• Job training</li> <li>• Benchmark testing</li> <li>• Competency standards</li> </ul> |
| 2. Studying in lived space                     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Inhabited spaces (lived in)</li> <li>• Ontological (being)</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Graffiti</li> <li>• Wandering about</li> </ul>  |
| 2a. Lived space (representational space)       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Affect (feeling)</li> <li>• Makes social space</li> <li>• Use value</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Throwing rocks, tear gas canisters, etc.</li> <li>• Flirting</li> </ul>   |
| 2b. Studying                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Experimentation with boundaries</li> <li>• Detached from predetermined ends</li> <li>• Im-potentiality: can-cannot</li> <li>• Perpetual activity</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Running back and forth without commitment to either direction</li> </ul>  |

|  | • Non-linear   |  |
|--|--|--|
| 3. Teaching in perceived space         | • Organizes of daily life                                  | • Daily routine  |
| 3a. Perceived space (spatial practice) | • Guides people in space                                   | • Urban experience and reality                                   |
|  | • Production and reproduction                              | • Residents in a government subsidized high-rise housing project |
|  | • Mediates conceived and lived space                       |  |
|  | • Thinking/not thinking of how space structures daily life |  |
|  | • Reproduces social relations                              |  |
| 3b. Teaching                           | • Act of intervention                                      | • Fruits of Islam  |
|  | • Transforms the existing order                            | • Triad of gangs: the Bloods, Crips, and Black Guerrilla Family  |
|  | • Adds political content to learning and studying          | • Student organization   |
|  | • Transcendental act                                       | • Student protest leaders  |
|  | • Weak authority   |  |
|  | • Arranges encounters                                      |  |
|  | • Allows for difference to emerge                          |  |
|  | • Holds learning-studying in tension                       |  |

*Note.* The coding scheme was based on a review of the literature relevant (Biesta, 2014, 2015; Ford, 2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2017; Lefebvre, 1974/1991; Lewis, 2011, 2013).

Informed by the coding scheme in Table 4.1, I identified and selected three photographs based on varying degrees of both manifest content and latent content. First, I selected a photograph depicting learning in conceived space that used an extreme long shot of the city with a high-angle. This view provided an elevated perspective portraying the mass of student protesters and their relationship to the city context. I also looked for an image with students marching down a street lined with businesses while peacefully carrying signs and banners, conforming to the requisites of conceived space. Second, I selected a photograph depicting studying in lived space that used a long shot of protesters in an escalated state of tension with police. The photograph depicted student protesters as more chaotic while still making visible their actions as testing the boundaries of conceived space. Lastly, I selected a photograph depicting teaching in perceived space that used a medium shot of a student leader. I selected a photograph where a student

leader was performing the balancing act between studying in lived space and learning in conceived space. This photograph required more interpretation and inference than the previous two photographs, because I needed to draw out the unobservable connections and dialectical relations between learning and studying.

### **Positionality**

Since qualitative researchers are the instrument of data collection, analysis, and interpretation, I want to acknowledge my positionality. I engaged in reflexivity to make my positionality explicit by recursively examining, questioning, and explaining the potential influence of my past experiences on the research process (Creswell, 2013). I approached this project as a non-Latin critical scholar from the United States. My interpretations provided an outsider or etic perspective on the pedagogical nature of the 2011 Chilean student movement. While I observed the student movement through the news media, I was separated from this phenomenon by physical and psychological distance. As O'Malley (2017) cautions, "I am more able to argue credibility for the project's potential to inform, rupture, and problematize my own theoretical and lived understandings ... rather than to narrate something identified as 'Chilean experience'" (p. 9). I, however, do share some closeness with Chile. My interest with Chile began early in my doctoral course work as I traced the roots of market-oriented educational reforms. I also became interested in the whole discursive milieu and pervasive logic of neoliberal thought. This interest led to my first engagement with research on education in the media beginning with Cabalin (2014). Moreover, I studied in Chile as a 100,000 Strong—Gabriela Mistral scholar, where I participated in a transnational research project on public

pedagogy led by Michael O'Malley.<sup>2</sup> These experiences coincided with my studies of critical pedagogy, media studies, and critical geography. And, these different streams of thought converged into the current research project.

### **Visual Data Analysis**

The unit of analysis was each photograph. Each of the three photographs selected represented a different spatial-educational dimension of the 2011 Chilean student movement. To provide a detailed analysis of each of the visuals, I followed a similar analytical approach to previous research (Allweiss et al., 2014; Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011). This analytical approach was based on Rodriguez and Dimitrova's (2011) four-tiered visual framing method. This four-tiered visual framing method stretches the analytical process from concrete and descriptive to abstract and interpretive. The first level required the analysis of visuals as denotative systems characterized by descriptions of who or what was being visually depicted. The second level required the analysis of visuals as stylistic-semiotic systems. This level examined the stylistic conventions and technical transformations in each photograph. The third level required the analysis of visuals as connotative systems. This level considered the symbolic meaning derived from persons and/or objects in each photograph. The fourth level required the analysis of visuals as ideological representations of the interests being served or not being served in

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<sup>2</sup> I was selected as one of 18 students at Texas State University to serve as a 100,000 Strong in the Americas—Gabriela Mistral Scholar. The 100,000 Strong in the Americas was President Obama's signature educational initiative aimed at promoting transnational partnerships and research among institutions of higher education in the Western Hemisphere. The Gabriela Mistral Scholar award was named after Gabriela Mistral, a Chilean poet, who was the first (and to date, only) Latin American to win a Nobel Prize in Literature (<http://projectlearn.wp.txstate.edu>; <http://www.100kstrongamericas.org>).

each photograph. I analyzed each photograph at the four levels of analysis using a systematic three-trope process, where each photograph was analyzed and discussed.

### **Visually Framing the 2011 Chilean Student Movement**

In this section, I visually illustrate a pedagogy for space during the 2011 Chilean student movement. I provide a visual analysis of each photograph by employing the four-tiered visual framing method. I draw out and make explicit their spatial-educational features to address the three research questions from the introduction.

#### **What Did Learning in Conceived Space Look Like?**



*Figure 4.1.* Learning in Conceived Space. From “Estudiantes Chilenos marchando por la Alameda” [Chilean students marching on the avenue], by Nicolás15, July 14, 2011 (Wikimedia Commons). Reprinted under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0.

Figure 4.1 represents what learning in conceived space looked like during one of the 2011 Chilean student protests. The photograph titled “Estudiantes Chilenos Marchando por La Alameda” (Chilean Students Marching on the Avenue) was obtained from Wikimedia Commons. The caption indicates the protest took place on July 14, 2011, a little more than two and a half months into the seven-month student movement. The caption also indicates the protest took place on “La Alameda” (i.e., The Avenue). A popular avenue in Santiago, Chile, the official name of La Alameda is Avenida Libertador General Bernardo O’Higgins, named after Bernardo O’Higgins, who led Chile’s independence from Spanish rule in the 1800s. Running east-to-west across the city center, the avenue gives symbolic significance over the struggle between democratic socialism and the current neoliberal capitalist-democratic order with the political economic policies and practices inherited from the military dictatorship. I now visually analyze a 2011 Chilean student protest as an example of learning in conceived space.

The photograph of learning in conceived space depicts peaceful student protesters carrying signs and banners, conforming to the requisites of conceived space. Conceived space is indicative of how “technocrats and city planners, bankers and bureaucrats, real estate developers and landlords” (Ford, 2015, p. 179) have conceived and configured the social space of the city. The re-/production of this space has provided for the ordering of encounters and a clear spatial trajectory where social relations occur, develop, and dissolve according to the needs of capital. For instance, the photograph contains particular physical features, including features that are part of the built environment and natural world. The central feature of the photograph is La Alameda filled with a mass of student protesters. La Alameda is lined by leafless trees planted in green grass that

extends parallel alongside the avenue extending out to what looks to be a major intersection. Buses appear to be in operation, ensuring exchange value is not impeded by the lack of transportation to move within and throughout the city. There are sidewalks in the background extending both parallel and perpendicular to La Alameda. In the background, there is also a building that looks to be some type of business, and there is a large shadow, which suggests there is another building hidden from view that cannot be directly observed. The main avenue and the businesses that line it are important; they are “concerned with consumption, with order, with exchange-value” (Ford, 2016a, p. 181). Conceived space tells protesters “what to do in a certain space: they tell us what is allowed and what is not, where we should stand or sit, nap or congregate” (Ford, 2016a, p. 181) and, in this sense, the street serves as a boundary that guides the mass of protesters down an orderly and prescribed path.

In the photograph, learning in conceived space is illustrated in many ways. Perhaps one of the most prominent ways is in how conceived space directs protesters, guiding them down a prescribed path toward some end, likely a culminating event where student demands are projected on a loud speaker. In this sense, traditional protests are learning opportunities, because “learning is always concerned with and determined by ends (learning goals, outcomes, etc.)” (Ford, 2016c, p. 3). Moreover, the protesters seem to represent the indebted “consumer with a demand of knowledge” (Ford, 2015, p. 184) that only state power can supply through free education. Therefore, the protest is about the potentiality of the protesters, and this potentiality holds within itself the fruits of its own destruction. Traditional protests, as illustrated in the photo, are a means toward actualizing and, hence, destroying the collective potential of the protest event. For

instance, by destroying the collective potential of the protest event through the actualization of demands or the perceived actualization of demands, protest events can be made and re-made to march against the social consequences of capital, similar to the student who is made and remade through lifelong learning “in order to fit the needs of global capital and to continually attain happiness, satisfaction, and health” (Ford, 2016c, p. 2). However, I would argue that learning in conceived space as illustrated by the street protest event in the photograph is very much accommodated and controlled for by the neoliberal order (Ford, 2016a). In fact, peaceful protests are built into the capitalist-democratic system (e.g., the city’s issuance of protest permits and free speech zones).

Looking at the high concentration of student protesters marching down the avenue, we can observe that most of them are facing one direction while bystanders are either observing them or going on with their daily tasks and the everyday hustle and bustle in a major city. Clearly, the order of physical and social space “offer an already clarified picture” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 189) of the city and state power as the main conceiver of this space. In this regard, notice the Chilean colored flag being carried in the lower left hand side of the photograph. The colors of this flag (i.e., red, blue, and white) constitute many of the colors of other protest signs held throughout the crowd. These colors signify the patriotic nature of the protesters and their demands, suggesting a critique of the neoliberal economy itself rather than the Chilean political and social life. In this sense, the protesters “represent space through signs ... backed up by state power” (Ford, 2015, p. 180). It is this state power that the protesters appeal to in order to destroy the potentiality of their student movement, which is characteristic of the learning society.

## What Did Studying in Lived Space Look Like?



*Figure 4.2. Studying in Lived Space.* From “A demonstrator throws a tear gas canister toward a riot police vehicle during a 48-hour national strike in Santiago on August 25, 2011”, Ivan Alvarado, August 25, 2011 (Photographer, [www.ivanalvarado.com](http://www.ivanalvarado.com)). Reprinted with permission.

Figure 4.2 represents what studying in lived space looked like during a 2011 Chilean student protest. Chilean photographer Ivan Alvarado took this photograph on 25 August 2011 in Santiago, Chile, and the photograph was published online in *The Boston Globe* (Boston.com, 2011). The photograph was taken on the Alameda Bernardo O'Higgins Avenue, which runs through the center of the city. Recall that the O'Higgins Avenue is popularly referred to as La Alameda, and it is where learning in conceived space also took place. Clearly, this photograph is vastly different from, but in many ways it is similar to, the photograph of learning in conceived space. However, this photograph illustrates the re-appropriation of La Alameda from exchange to use. While learning in

conceived space is about signage, order, and reproduction toward a pre-defined outcome, studying in lived space is about affect (including feelings and emotions) and perpetual activity. Also, it is about use value that resists being reduced to exchange. It is about disorder and resistance to reproduction; it refuses to be reduced to signage or to being actualized. I now turn to analyze the photograph in terms of its characteristics related to studying in lived space.

The photograph illustrates students studying in lived space during a 2011 Chilean student protest. Studying in lived space is less orderly and prescriptive than learning in conceived space. In fact, it could be said that, while conceived space precedes learning, studying precedes lived space. Studying becomes the mechanism for producing lived space that is unimaginable to conceived space because “learning is always concerned with and determined by ends (e.g., learning goals, outcomes, etc.)” (Ford, 2015, p. 186). For instance, centered in the above photograph is a protester dressed in dark clothing with a gray face covering. The protester’s arm is raised in a throwing motion with a tear gas canister in hand while other protesters can be observed wandering throughout the street in an unpredictable fashion. All of this studying is the inhabitation of lived space that defies the logic of learning; it “declassifies subjects (makes them unrecognizable to the learning apparatus)” (Lewis, 2016, p. 4). In fact, one can observe the remnants of the perpetual activity that studying elicits. For example, one can observe trash and objects sporadically spread throughout the street, as protesters inhabit lived space, wandering in and out of predetermined paths established by state power, making these conceived paths unrecognizable to the structure and order imposed by this power.

When studying in lived space suspends the rules of protest (Ford, 2016a), it evokes a repressive response from state power attempting to maintain the order and structure of learning in conceived space to meet the needs of capital. For instance, one can observe the trail of tear gas smoke that extends diagonally across the photograph from the protester's hand and ending where the riot truck begins. The riot truck is splattered with orange, blue, and white paint across its protective metal grill, which covers the entire front of the truck. The use of the riot truck can be viewed as an attempt to regain control of the space as it had been conceived by state power—but lived space is clearly dominating in that its reconfiguration is made possible through the perpetual activity of study (Ford, 2016a). We might even say that the water cannon sending a high velocity stream of water extending toward protesters produces a defensive and motivating gesture for studying. This gesture provides for agility and maneuverability, making the lived space a training ground for the craft of study and, as Ford (2016a) notes, protests are “rehearsals for a revolutionary event, for something that we can't quite envision yet, but we know is immanent in the present” (p. 189). In this sense, study provides the protesters with im-potentiality, the “dance to the rhythm of ‘I can, I cannot,’ moving from retreat to advance and back again” (Ford, 2016b, p. 54). In addition, we can observe the presence of graffiti in the background of the photo. This graffiti is sprayed over the security gates in different colors covering the protected storefront of capital. The protection of the storefront serves a similar purpose to that of the metal guard covering the window of the riot truck. They illustrate the way capital and its protective forces of state power work in a coordinated fashion to reproduce the relations of production by collectively unifying political, economic, and cultural relations of society (Ford, 2015,

2016c). Yet, studying provides the pedagogical apparatus to resist these social relations. In this case, studying becomes a central act to social transformation. It is, as Ford (2016c) describes, a “beautiful moment of encounter, the opening up of the possible, the breeding ground of the new” (p. 6). And, this breeding ground requires capitalism and its ilk of state power to be challenged pedagogically and politically. Clearly, studying is in tension with learning, and this tension requires political intervention. This political intervention can come from a traditional teacher, but it also may originate from a student leader or organizer, among others.

### **What Did Teaching in Perceived Space Look Like?**



*Figure 4.3.* Teaching in Perceived Space. From “Chilean student leader Camila Vallejo sits among a peace sign created from empty tear gas canisters used by police against protesters”, Roberto Candia, August 11, 2011 (Photographer, [www.robertocandia.com](http://www.robertocandia.com)). Reprinted with permission.

Figure 4.3 represents an example of what teaching in perceived space looked like during the 2011 Chilean student movement. Chilean photographer Roberto Candia took this famous photograph at the height of the student movement on August 11, 2011, and it was published online in the *The Guardian* newspaper on August 24, 2011 (Franklin, 2011). The person centered in the photograph, Camila Vallejo, a student organizer and protest leader, was voted person of the year in 2011 by *The Guardian* newspaper (Oliver, 2011). The photo was taken on the grounds of the Palacio de La Moneda (“the currency palace”), which houses the offices of the Chilean president and three cabinet ministers. Located just north of the popular La Alameda, La Moneda is situated, covering an entire block, in downtown Santiago, Chile. This location has historical significance in the fight for education and against capital—signifying the violence necessary for the institutionalization of neoliberal education reforms. During the military coup on September 11, 1973, General Pinochet attacked La Moneda with a bombardment of air raids. Giving his last national address by radio, President Allende later committed suicide while Pinochet’s military soldiers stormed La Moneda. This background provides the foundation for understanding the photograph in terms of teaching in perceived space.

The photograph captures the essence of teaching in perceived space with CONFECH student leader, Camila Vallejo, crouched in the center of a peace sign on the grounds of La Moneda. Recall that in 2011, Vallejo was president of FECH at the prestigious University of Chile. Following the 2011 student movement, Vallejo was elected as a member of the Communist Youth of Chile (i.e., the youth arm of the Communist Party of Chile) to the Chamber of Deputies, the lower house of Chile’s

bicameral Congress. In the picture, Vallejo, in her early 20s, is casually dressed wearing muted colors, including blue jeans, brown leather shoes, a dark olive shirt, and covered with a black hoodie. Making glancing eye contact with the camera lens, Vallejo's intense gaze, deep in thought, is complemented by her silver nose ring and wavy dark brown hair. Surrounded by photographers at La Moneda, Vallejo arranges burnt tear gas canisters to form a peace sign on the ground. Students had collected the canisters after they were fired from riot cops during previous protests. Here Vallejo illustrates the central demand of the movement—free education as a universal social right. For instance, as Goldman (2012) reports:

A few months after the protests began, President Piñera spoke from the steps of La Moneda. 'We would all like education, health care and many other things to be free,' he said, 'but when all is said and done, nothing in life is free. Someone has to pay.'

'Obviously someone has to pay,' Vallejo retorted, 'but there's no reason why it must be families financing between 80 and 100 percent of it. Why not the state—through taxes on large corporations, the nationalization of resources, a reduction in financing for the military?' When yet another march ended in violence, Vallejo and her fellow students collected hundreds of tear-gas shells and brought them to La Moneda. 'Here are more than 50 million pesos worth of tear-gas bombs,' announced Vallejo, money, she said, that could have been spent on education. Students formed the shells into a peace sign on the plaza, and Vallejo crouched in the center. (paras. 14–15)

Vallejo makes the state's appropriation of funding for tear gas canisters the object of critique. By joining the struggle for free education as a teacher and leader, Vallejo challenges the origins of student debt, linking it to the misappropriation of priority and funding.

What makes Vallejo a teacher in perceived space? Vallejo's peace sign constructed of the spent tear gas canisters was not only symbolic of the larger demand of the student movement for free education, but it was also symbolic of the necessary task of the teacher. Ford (2015) suggests that what makes a "teacher a teacher is the act of initiation, leadership, intervention" (p. 192). In the photograph, Vallejo advances political content into both learning in conceived space and studying in lived space by performing the "delicate balancing act of studying and learning, to perform the contradictory act of directing and organizing the processes of learning and studying" (Ford, 2016, p. 190). Vallejo treats the political site for intervention as the neoliberalization of education. And she engaged in the delicate balancing act between studying and learning by inserting something new into the student movement—a peace sign made of spent tear gas canisters—that already existed. In this regard, the tear gas canisters signified the repression of studying. Studying is less accepting to state power than is learning, because learning can become subsumed within and accommodated by capital and state power. This is the urge behind the rhetorical ploy of peaceful protesting for capitalist democracy. In this sense, teaching illustrates the contradiction of capitalism through the tear gas canisters; yet, the arrangement of tear gas canisters also signifies the peace hoping to be achieved by the demands from the student movement writ large.

## Conclusion

This article illustrated what spatial educational theory visually looked like during the 2011 Chilean student movement. In doing so, the article contributes to two main strands of critical educational literature: the interrelationship between space and educational policy and pedagogy (McLaren, 1998; Morgan, 2000; Ford, 2015, 2016a, 2017) and the visual media framing of education (Allweiss et al., 2014; Cabalin & Antezana, 2016; Feuerstein, 2015). By visually illustrating the pedagogical nature of the student movement, we can better understand “spaces of social engagement, encounter, creation, and transformation” (Delgado & Ross, 2016, p. 145). This article also extends O’Malley and Nelson’s (2013) argument that the student protests in Chile were pedagogical events aimed at social transformation. In this vein, there are three takeaways from this article that I would like to highlight.

First, I illustrated that the 2011 Chilean student movement consisted of protest events that were pedagogical in one of three ways. For instance, a photograph depicting a peaceful protest illustrated learning in conceived space. In such pre-configured space, student protesters could be observed peacefully marching with signs in tow down a major street in Santiago, Chile. This type of protesting is very much accommodated by the neoliberal order. In fact, I would argue that it is built into the neoliberal system as a whole, providing for acceptable dissent and contestation while the underlying structural mechanisms of the democratic-capitalist system are left intact. And it is at this point that studying in lived space makes its contribution as a disrupting force. Studying was illustrated by the perpetual activity of protesters in the street as they challenged the legitimacy of conceived space, and it is this perpetual activity that threatens the political-

economic order of neoliberalism. Businesses closed their doors, and this evoked state repression with armored trucks, tear gas, and water cannons. In this sense, studying disrupts capital and its processes of exchange and accumulation. Here, the way the teacher perceives space plays an important role in not only balancing learning and studying but by also using this balancing act as an intervening force to disrupt neoliberalism.

Second, media photographs of the 2011 Chilean student movement helped to visualize spatial educational theory as a pedagogy for space. In this respect, visuals are important framing devices (Allweiss et al., 2014; Cabalin & Antezana, 2016; Feuerstein, 2015; Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011), and visually framing spatial educational theory helps to bridge the theoretical-practical divide in a distinctly pedagogical way. This divide creates a distinction between theorists (those that think) and practitioners (those that do). Visuals are helpful in addressing this artificial division, allowing theory to be observed as it is practiced. In this article, spatial educational theory was observed as it was practiced in the streets during the 2011 Chilean student movement.

In conclusion, studying in lived space is often interpreted as a protest event turned into a riot that must be brought under state control and avoided at all cost. Ford's (2015, 2016a, 2017) spatial educational theory provided a pedagogical framework for understanding that studying in the streets (e.g., wandering within and beyond prescribed boundaries, throwing tear gas canisters back at riot police, etc.) was just as pedagogical as learning or teaching. In fact, as Ford (2016c) argues, studying is an essential pedagogical activity (along with learning and teaching) for the transformation to a more human-oriented society, that at the least, seeks to maximize the advantage for the most

disadvantaged (Wubbena, 2015). Indeed, Einstein (1949/1998) referred to this human-oriented society as socialism, because the “real purpose of socialism is precisely to overcome and advance beyond the predatory phase [i.e., capitalism] of human development” (p. 2). In this regard, although under Pinochet’s dictatorship Chile was one of the first countries to embrace neoliberal reforms, it has also become one of the first countries to begin transitioning away from neoliberal reforms for education (even as market-oriented educational reforms remain at the top of the policy agenda in countries like the United States). In sum, this article has attempted to illustrate the pedagogical nature of the 2011 Chilean student movement—a movement simultaneously for space and against capital—for public education as a social right.

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## APPENDIX A

### Creative Common License

#### Summary [\[edit\]](#)

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| Date        | 14 July 2011   |
| Source      | Own work   |
| Author      | Nicolás15  |

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## APPENDIX B

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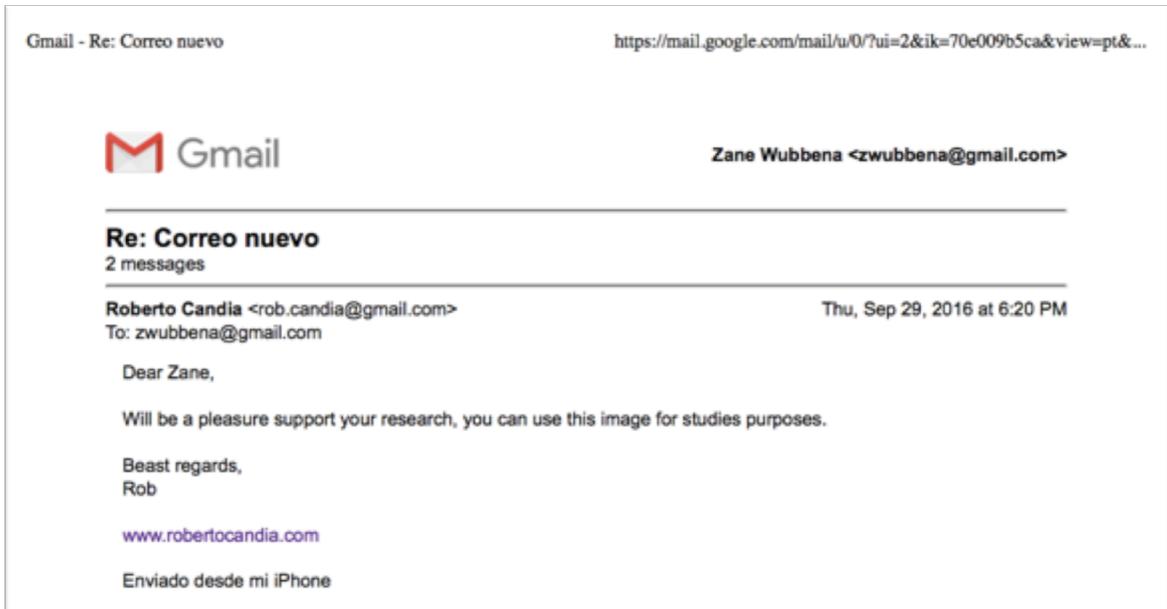
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Santiago. CHILE.  
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+569 8429 3154  
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## APPENDIX C

### Permission to Reprint



## APPENDIX D

### Manuscript Acceptance

Gmail - Policy Futures in Education - Decision on Manuscript ID P...

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1 message

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**Policy Futures in Education** <[onbehalfof+derekford+depauw.edu@manuscriptcentral.com](mailto:onbehalfof+derekford+depauw.edu@manuscriptcentral.com)>

Sat, Dec 17, 2016  
at 3:58 PM

Reply-To: [derekford@depauw.edu](mailto:derekford@depauw.edu)

To: [zwubbena@txstate.edu](mailto:zwubbena@txstate.edu)

17-Dec-2016

Dear Dr. Wubbena:

It is a pleasure to accept your manuscript entitled "A Pedagogy <i>for</i> Space: Visually Framing the 2011 Chilean Student Movement" in its current form for publication in Policy Futures in Education. The comments of the reviewer(s) who reviewed your manuscript are included at the foot of this letter.

Thank you for your fine contribution. On behalf of the Editors of Policy Futures in Education, we look forward to your continued contributions to the Journal.

Kind Regards,  
Dr. Derek Ford  
Editor-in-chief, Policy Futures in Education  
[derekford@depauw.edu](mailto:derekford@depauw.edu)

## APPENDIX E

### Invitation to Submit Full Manuscript

Gmail - PFIE issue https://mail.google.com/mail/u/0/?ui=2&ik=70e009b5ca&view=pt...

 **Zane Wubbena <zwubbena@gmail.com>**

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**PFIE issue**

---

**Derek Robert Ford** <drford@syr.edu> Tue, Mar 29, 2016 at 11:28 AM  
To: Zane Wubbena <zwubbena@gmail.com>

Hey!-this looks fantastic. I can't wait to read it!

Due date is October 1 and you can upload it right to PFIE. I'm happy to look over a draft if you'd like.  
How is everything else?  
D

**Derek R. Ford**  
[www.derekrford.com](http://www.derekrford.com)

## APPENDIX F

### Call for Papers: Special Issue

#### Policy Futures in Education

##### CALL FOR PAPERS:

Special issue of *Policy Futures in Education*

##### Lefebvre's teachings

Guest editor: Derek R. Ford, PhD

Although the person of Henri Lefebvre has been gone since 1991, the exploration of the implications of his thought for a variety of disciplines and social movements is still in its infancy. And it is likely to be a long life, as Lefebvre wrote over 60 books throughout his life, in addition to numerous articles, edited volumes, and lectures. Not only is the translation of his work into English still incomplete, but new manuscripts are still being discovered, *Towards an Architecture of Enjoyment* being the most recent.

Lefebvre's thought has been most influential in geography and urban studies, animating key debates around, for example, the primary and secondary circuits of capital, industrialism versus urbanism, and spatial production more generally. It is primarily this body of secondary literature that has helped Lefebvre's thought spread outward. Relatedly, his work on the right to the city has sparked a whole host of academic debates and policy formulations, and even some political coalitions. The growing importance of struggles over space in protest, social, and resistance movements across the globe has, to be sure, energized this interest.

Educational theory, research, and policy, however, have yet to engage with Lefebvre's vast body of work in a sustained manner. There are just a handful of articles deeply engaging Lefebvre (e.g., Atasay and Delavan, 2012; Christie, 2013; Ford, 2013, in press; Taylor and Helfenbein, 2009) and one dedicated monograph (Middleton, 2013), although his work is referenced in and gestured toward quite a bit more often, primarily in sociology of education.

This special issue of *Policy Futures in Education* will be the first journal issue to focus specifically on Lefebvre's thought and its import for educational theory, research, and policy. While authors need not be in the field of education proper, we seek submissions that represent sustained educational encounters with Lefebvre. Papers might examine Lefebvre's work on everyday life and sociology, the state, rhythmanalysis, architecture, Marxism, dialectical materialism, Nietzsche, modernity, cities, space, or urbanism, and how this work relates to educational philosophies, practices, research, and policies. We are open to papers that explore Lefebvre's relevance for education as well as papers that explore education's relevance for Lefebvrian thought. If you are unsure if your topic will fit with the issue, please e-mail the editor for feedback.

## APPENDIX F (CONT.)

### Policy Futures in Education

#### Timeline:

An early expression of interest and a 200-300 word abstract is preferred by April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016. Manuscripts—which should adhere to normal journal requirements—will be due October 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016. The expression of interest and abstract should be sent to [drford@syr.edu](mailto:drford@syr.edu). Authors of successful expressions of interest/abstracts will be directed to submit full manuscripts at <http://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/pfie>.

#### About the guest editor:

Derek R. Ford is a teacher, organizer, and writer living in Philadelphia, PA, USA. He received his PhD in cultural foundations of education from Syracuse University in 2015. He has published several articles on Lefebvre and education and recently co-edited a special journal issue on education and the right to the city. His most recent books are *Marx, capital, and education: Towards a critical pedagogy of becoming* (with Curry Malott) and *Leaders in critical pedagogy: Narratives for understanding and solidarity* (with Brad Porfilio). His latest book, *The secret and struggle of study: Political economy, alterity, pedagogy*, will be published this year by Lexington Books.

#### References:

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## V. CONCLUSION

The primary purpose of this dissertation was to examine the relationship between education and the news media. By examining this relationship, this dissertation made a trifold contribution to previous literature. It also helped to formalize my research agenda on education *in* the news media.<sup>1</sup> In particular, I examined this relationship in three, self-contained empirical journal articles. In the remainder of this chapter, I provide an overview of the dissertation. I then review some of the important findings from each of the three articles (i.e., chapters II, III, and IV). Lastly, I discuss some directions for future research before outlining a culminating digital project, stemming from this dissertation, aimed at cultivating and sustaining interest on education in the news media.

### Overview and Findings

Regarding the relationship between education and the news media, education served as the subject for this dissertation. I focused on a range of subject matter relevant to education (see chapter II); and, I also narrowed in on a particular area concerning the Chilean educational system (chapters III and IV). I chose Chile's educational system because it provides a political and economic context and historical background from a comparative perspective for understanding educational policy and pedagogy in the United States. I also focused on Chile because as a doctoral student I served as a 100,000 Strong—Gabriela Mistral scholar, where I traveled to and conducted research in Chile with a team of doctoral students led by Professor Michael O'Malley. I do not claim,

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<sup>1</sup> “The phrase “education in the news media” represents a conceptual unit that seems to capture the field of research. This phrase is represented in the title (i.e., *False Equivalency: Think Tank References on Education in the News Media*) of Haas (2007).

however, to be an expert on the Chilean educational system. Instead, this dissertation works toward refining my expertise on the interdisciplinary relationship between education and the news media, especially in the areas of market-oriented educational policies (e.g., school choice) and framing theory. This relationship is important because it contributes to our understanding of how the news media have served as a policy actor through which market-oriented educational discourses have permeated society. It is also important because how the news media frame information can shift individuals' preferences toward educational policy issues and reforms.

The discursive portrayal of education is very much governed by the news media. Therefore, in this dissertation the news media served as the object of analysis. The news media are important, because they fulfill multiple purposes in the construction of a cohesive class-based society (Becker, 1984). They serve as the disseminators of elite opinion and thought, as power is very much dependent on the news media and the news media is very much dependent on its sources for the transmission and circulation of dominant educational discourses representing bourgeois interests. They also serve as one of the primary means by which the mass public get and/or stay informed about educational policy issues and reforms existing beyond their own personal experiences (West, Whitehurst, & Dionne, 2011; Rosenstiel, Mitchell, Purcell, & Rainie, 2011). In this sense, the news media contribute to the circulation of global educational discourses directing not only *what* people think about education, but also *how* people think about education. And, the inclusion of certain educational content (i.e., policies, issues, and reforms) in the news media provides a structure or framework for the exclusion of what people do not think. As Noam Chomsky tells us, "it's about imposing constraints that are

supportive of power that just become second nature. Just like the air you breathe, so you can't question it" (Wubbena, 2015, p. 5). By developing a research agenda on education in the news media, this dissertation works toward breaking down the discursive constraints that have very much accompanied educational change and school improvement in terms of educational policy and pedagogy, not only in the United States, but also throughout much of the world, as illustrated in this dissertation.

Based on the subject and object of analysis, in the introduction to this dissertation I stated three research questions, which I have restated below for re-emphasis (RQ1-3):

- RQ1: What are the underlying factors and common findings from research on education in the news media?
- RQ2: How have news media in the United States framed the Chilean market-based educational system over time?
- RQ3: How can news media visuals be understood to represent the pedagogical nature of the 2011 Chilean student movement?

By designing this dissertation in a three-article format, I addressed the three research questions. That is, each question was addressed in a separate article. And, each article was designed and written for publication in a different scholarly journal. Each article also made an original contribution to our knowledge concerning the field of education in the news media. Now, I turn to review each article's specific contribution to the field.

In the first article (chapter II), I conducted the first systematic literature review of the research that has examined education in the news media. I did not, however, examine every piece of literature relevant to the field of education in the news media. Rather, I examined research that relied solely on the news media as the data source. This review

article revealed some interesting findings regarding previous research. These findings hold topical, theoretical, and methodological importance for the field. For example, this article identified most (if not all) of the educationally relevant topics that have been examined by previous research, such as teachers, test scores, and charter schools among many others. It also found that critical discourse theory and framing theory are two of the dominant perspectives underpinning this previous research, and that critical discourse analysis and content analysis represent two of the main methodological approaches for examining the news content about education. The findings also provided a thematic understanding for the conclusions that can be drawn from the field of research dedicated to the portrayal of education in the news media. These conclusions include the news media's ability to bind the educational debate and public discourse about education. In addition, the news media help to assign causal blame and responsibility for educational problems while also providing policy recommendations for fixing education.

In the second article (chapter III), I examined how the mainstream U.S. news media have framed the Chilean educational system. I selected the Chilean educational system because it provides an instructive and cautionary tale for the consequences of market-based educational policies overtime. The article also provides insight into the comparative indifference of policy deliberation between Chile and the United States, notably because market-oriented education reforms remain at the top of the policy agenda in the United States while they have been tempered to some degree in Chile. I examined the news media in terms of the issues, sources, and thematic episodic frames that have been used to portray the Chilean educational system to the American public. This article

identified the dominant news frames used when informing the public. The findings of this article have implications for further experimental research concerning media effects.

In the third article (chapter IV), I examined how news media images could be used to represent the pedagogical nature of the 2011 Chilean student movement. This student movement reconstituted the city as a classroom for gaining control over the right to free public education, because educational inequities have restricted not only educational opportunities but also one's ability to move within and throughout the social spaces of daily life. I underpinned my interpretation of three media images using spatial educational theory. This theory broadens the spaces and forms of how education has been traditionally conceptualized. It was used to represent the pedagogical nature of the student movement in terms of learning in conceived space, studying in lived space, and teaching in perceived space. This article also problematizes the common notion of peaceful protesting in a democratic society. That is, peaceful protesting in a democratic society allows for acceptable forms of dissent and contestation that allow the underlying structural mechanisms of capitalism to remain intact. In this article, I ultimately argue for the dissolution of capitalism and its accompanying democratic order in order to reimagine a more human-oriented society. It is here that the spatial-educational triad—teaching, studying, and learning—makes its contribution to transforming the direction of society.

The three articles, combined with a selection of my previous publications, cohere into a research agenda on education in the news media. These three articles extend my previous research in this field. For instance, I published an interview with Noam Chomsky, where he speaks about the purpose of education and the purpose of the news media (Wubben, 2015). In addition, I have published a co-edited book titled, *News*

*Media and the Neoliberal Privatization of Education* (Wubbena, Ford, & Porfilio, 2016). The edited volume includes 10 chapters written by scholars from Canada, the United States, and Chile. These scholars examine a variety of different educational topics in the news media, such as charter schools, think tanks, and Teach For America, among others. This edited volume also included my introductory chapter titled *A Fight for Education and Against Capital: Neoliberalism, News Media, and Educational Policy* (Wubbena, 2016). In this introductory chapter, like in the introduction to this dissertation, I traced the historical background and context of neoliberalism as a political and economic framework in which to situate our understanding of the relationship between education and the news media. This dissertation helps establish and formalize my research agenda on education in the news media. In order to continue with this line of scholarly inquiry, I now turn to provide some recommendations as a starting point for future research.

### **Directions for Future Research**

This dissertation, particularly the results from the three separate articles, provides many directions for future research. In this section, I will draw attention to several future areas for research. These recommendations help to further not only my own research agenda but they also provide some guiding directions for the scholarly community.

First, regarding the systematic review of research article (see chapter II), future research should refine our understanding of both the literature included in this review and the literature excluded from this review. In regard to the literature included in the review, there were multiple educational topics and theoretical perspectives examined by previous research. Future research should refine our understanding of these areas using a similar, systematic literature review method. Research could, for instance, provide a more in-

depth examination of the research concerned with the representation or portrayal of teachers in the news media. The systematic review conducted in this dissertation only provides a broad approximation and orientation toward how teachers have been portrayed. Of course, future research could also examine other topics that were identified in the review, such as international testing or the role of influential policy actors (e.g., think tanks) in helping to set and shape the education debates portrayed in the news media. What I have done in this systematic review is colligate relevant references largely based on the established inclusion criteria. Unfortunately, some of the relevant literature identified during the search was excluded. Future research may want to apply a systematic literature review method to examine this other research for comparison purposes, such as gray literature that includes dissertations and theses or the many conceptual and theoretical articles that were not reviewed.

Moreover, future research might take a more theoretically focused approach. For instance, one of the dominant theoretical perspectives employed by previous research was framing theory. However, framing theory is not a monolithic theory. As Cacciatore, Scheufele, and Iyengar (2016) argue, “Yet despite the attention paid to the concept, framing is arguably less clear now than at any point in its history” (p. 8). Cacciatore et al. go as far as to “suggest that scholars abandon the general ‘framing’ label altogether and rely on more specific terminology when discussing their work and the media effects models underlying it” (p. 9). Although they may have overstated their case, they do go on to suggest that scholars “must do a much better job of distinguishing between different types of framing, most notably emphasis and equivalence framing” (p. 9). Therefore, further research should refine our understanding of how education researchers have

employed the framing concept to examine education in the news media. This recommendation might also use a systematic literature review method for examining studies that have employed the framing theory in order to identify the dominant news frames used in the media coverage of education.

Second, following from and related to the previous recommendation, future research should examine the effects of different news frames on audience members. This type of research has been termed media effects (B. Scheufele, 2004; D. Scheufele, 1999; Valkenburg, Peter, & Walther, 2016). This recommendation requires scholars to employ experimental research methods. Concerning the descriptive research included in the review (see chapter II), there has been relatively much less research concerned with measuring the direct effects of news content on individuals' preferences. The systematic review identified at least five media effects studies (Brewer & Gross, 2005; Feuerstein, 2015; Jacobs & Eccles, 1985; Liu, 2014; Liu & Tsao, 2013). Feuerstein's (2014, 2015) research provides a model approach for future research. First, Feuerstein conducted a qualitative content analysis of U.S. news media coverage of charter schools. By employing an inductive approach, Feuerstein identified two dominant news frames. Feuerstein then conducted an experimental study where he measured the news frame effects on participants' attitudes toward charter schools in the United States. Feuerstein's studies illustrate the importance for researchers to examine the entire empirical cycle.

This media effects recommendation is a logical step forward from the descriptive studies that were reviewed and conducted as part of this dissertation. This need is grounded in the tendency for researchers to assume an audience effect from a descriptive analysis of news content. Many studies made this claim, which is empirical in nature.

This dissertation helps move future research from descriptive accounts to media effects. Thus, future research could examine the effects of the U.S. news media framing of the Chilean educational system on audience members' attribution of responsibility for educational problems and their solutions as they relate to Chile and to the United States.

The last recommendation concerns how research in the field of education in the news media is signified for search and identification purposes. Although I did not report the keywords extracted from the studies included in the review of research (chapter II), I found great variation in the keywords used that requires an additional recommendation. Most studies used mutually exclusive keywords to signify that their research was relevant to education in the news media. Future research might indicate their intent to contribute to the field of research this dissertation has helped to formalize by using the following general key phrase: *education in the news media*. Using this key phrase in future research may help researchers track new publications, especially because, as I found in chapter two, the research on education in the news media is not so much burgeoning as it is fragmented, spread across multiple journals from different academic disciplines.

### **Culminating Project**

These potential avenues for future research can make a unique contribution to the field of literature. This dissertation does just that. It works toward building a research agenda on education in the news media. According to Reedy (2009), "A research agenda helps you orient yourself toward both short-and long-term goals; it will ... help you decide which academic conferences (and within those, which specific divisions) to engage in, and steer you in recruiting mentors and research collaborators" (para. 1).

To help further my research agenda, the dissertation has informed a culminating project I am currently working on called the “Education in the News Media Project”. This project will serve as a digital resource for the scholarly community and myself. It is located at the following URL: [www.educationinthemedia.org](http://www.educationinthemedia.org). This website will include a searchable database based on the matrix used for data extraction (see chapter II). This matrix will allow researchers who want to make a contribution to the field to search through previous research. It will also allow researchers to register and add their studies to the database, making a contribution and helping to further this field of study. This website will be freely available to both researchers and the general public, and it will also include different resources and links, media literacy material, and plain language descriptions of previous studies accompanied by short videos created by their authors.

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