

Conceptual metaphors about Chilean education and students represented by 2006-2018 online English-speaking newspapers

Claudio Díaz Larenas

email: claudiodiaz@udec.cl
Universidad de Concepción. Chile

Claudia Huaracoi

email: claudiahuaracoi@udec.cl
Universidad de Concepción. Chile

Paulina Beroíza

email: pberoiza@udec.cl
Universidad de Concepción. Chile

Paola Alarcón

email: palarco@udec.cl
Universidad de Concepción. Chile

Abstract: This investigation aims to find how Chilean education is perceived by 69 English-speaking online newspaper articles from 12 different countries. A qualitative study coherent with metaphoric analysis was carried out to identify metaphors about education and students. Conceptual metaphors found in the 99 fragments taken from these news articles are organized into two dimensions. Each dimension deals with a different topic related to education in Chile and how it is represented by online media: *Chilean education system*, and *student role and education conflict*. Most of the newspapers scrutinized focused on the commercial and conflictive side of Chilean education, making the categories of *Commercialism* and *War* the most frequent ones. The most mentioned topic was *the student conflict* as the main subject of analysis. Chilean education can be defined as *in conflict* due to the contrasting viewpoints of the stakeholders involved in it and the inability to come to terms with each party. This unchanging state of affairs has led to ceaseless protests and general unrest from the Chilean population.

Keywords: Conceptual metaphor; online newspapers; student conflict; demonstrations.

Recibido / Received: 12/06/2019

Aceptado / Accepted: 05/01/2020

1. Introduction

The media has always played an important role in society given its nature of providing information in varied topics that impact on people's lives. The most recurrent communication means when someone suggests the idea of informing people is through newspapers. With the arrival of an era that has mostly been referred as the technological age, the classic format of newspapers has been in a constant process of adapting its intrinsic essence to technological means, overcoming some difficulties such as the tendency to focus on events relevant to a particular place, leaving worldwide significant events aside. Due to the social function attributed to internet nowadays, the possibility of using online platforms in order to inform people of recent happenings has become part of the current reality.

Considering the characteristics of digital media, an analysis of newspapers from different parts of the world has been conducted in this research. The topic of these news items was Chilean education and students and how they are perceived by different countries' cyber journalism. 69 news articles of a variety of sources were considered for this study after being scrutinized according to the criteria established for the investigation. The first criterion chosen was its pertinence to the topic range, which included any stakeholder involved in the educational process. The second referred to the period in which news items were published (2006-2018). This was especially relevant since a vast number of public demonstrations and protests arose after a general discontent with the educational model left by the dictatorship and later administered by the different governments after the return to democracy without any deep changes. The last criterion was the presence of conceptual metaphors that were related to the topic addressed.

The reasons behind the genesis of this study rely on the conception of language as a means of construction of reality, considering that this reality forges the cornerstone of any society. Another reason hinges on the current interdependence of different cultures around the world as one of the consequences of globalization. Since newspapers narrate the affairs of a certain society in a certain period, they are a reflection of the cultural and social scene, and they have a great impact on connecting and communicating cultures, which generates key and global interdependence relations.

1.1. *Contextualizing the study*

As for the social context in which this study is conducted, Chile is a developing country that has, over the years, gained a reputation for its macroeconomic development, which has certainly not reached education and many other fields of Chileans' daily life. The current Chilean educational system was founded over the period of the military dictatorship in the 80s and under the logic of strong neoliberalism policies that have implied the privatization of wide domains of Chilean education. Based on the works of Núñez (2007), Cornejo *et al.* (2015), Fardella & Sisto (2015) and Sisto (2012), three different periods can be identified in the development of the educational system: (a) the dictatorship, (b) the return to democracy and (c) the education reforms as a response to social demands.

Over the period of the dictatorship (1973-1990), and, with the birth of the 1981 national Constitution, education stopped being regarded as a social right and all public Chilean schools were transferred from the State to the different municipalities as a way to decentralize education and the schools' funding was regulated by state subsidies that were assigned based on educational demand. This type of voucher-like funding aimed at stimulating competitiveness and the search for resources among schools. At the same time, in addition to municipal schools, a second type of schools was born, private-subsidized educational establishments, which were more competitive than municipal ones and, supposedly offered better education quality. Besides, teacher preparation stopped being an exclusive university activity, but professional institutes were also allowed to prepare teachers. Due to the schools' transfer to municipalities, Chilean teachers then lost the status of a state employer. This scenario legitimized the technical conception of the teaching profession.

From 1991 to 2006, when democracy returned to Chile, the educational system grew bigger, but under the same neoliberal logic set by the dictatorship. Therefore, private- subsidized schools expanded to the detriment of municipal schools, which resulted in school segregation. The number of newly qualified teachers increased significantly due to the fact that more higher education institutions were graduating them. This came together with a deterioration of teachers' working conditions. Besides, during this period, a National System of Quality Education Measurement was set to assess students' academic performance in certain educational levels in the form of standardized exams. This system is a core mechanism to monitor inservice teachers' school performance and, up to the present, it is the parameter used to introduce new regulations to the teaching profession. The return to the democracy period attempted, on the one hand, to restore teachers' rights and working conditions, and, on the other, introduced new private sector policies aimed at evaluating teachers' work individually and in a standardized way to associate their performance with economic incentives and consequences as a way to make teaching professionals accountable for their actions.

The reforms introduced to the educational system over the 2008-2011 period were a response to the widespread social discontent, led by students, at Chilean education. This was the first apparent fissure of the Chilean neoliberal model, and ended with a new regulatory framework for education. However, studies conducted by Cornejo & Insunza (2013), Biscarra *et al.* (2015) and Cornejo *et al.* (2015) concluded that the new framework just perfected and consolidated the neoliberal model in Chilean education because standardized measurements of education quality for students and teachers have persisted, teachers' accountability has increased and their working stability and full time contracts have weakened.

This long history of a neoliberal model being strongly engraved on the educational system is just a sample of what happens in all other sectors of the Chilean society, which see that health, pensions, minimum wages, transportation, food, and many others, are all permeated by free-market policies that have weakened the role of the state in Chileans' daily life to such a point that have led to an outrageous loss of social rights. This explains the new and explosive 2019 social outbreak that claims for the restoring of Chileans' most basic rights in a society marked by inequalities

and stratified into social classes, in which only a few enjoy privileges just because they have the money to do so (Sisto, 2012).

Then some limitations found in this research study are related to the topic explored. As education in Chile is not a worldwide issue, it was difficult to find news articles that were both about education and contained fragments that could be analyzed applying a conceptual metaphor framework.

2. Theoretical framework

This research uses conceptual metaphors to analyze underlying ideas in different news items. However, it is necessary to understand the area from which this concept stems from, which is known as Cognitive Linguistics. Cognitive Linguistics is defined as a branch in Linguistics that focuses on the study of the cognitive function of language. The word *cognitive* refers to the role that language plays when intermediating informational structures in our interactions with the world. Consequently, language is seen as a repository in which world knowledge is stored in meaningful categories that help people to understand new experiences according to their personal perspectives (Aytan, 2014; Johnson, 1987). Therefore, language itself imposes a structure in the world rather than represent the reality objectively since the organization of world knowledge is influenced by the individuals' needs, experiences, interests and cultures.

2.1. Conceptual metaphor

Conceptual metaphor is defined as the interpretation of one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain. The domains that participate in conceptual metaphors have specific names. The conceptual domain that provides us with metaphorical expressions to assimilate another conceptual domain is called *source domain*, while the one that is illustrated through these expressions is called *target domain*. Conceptual metaphors frequently use a concrete or tangible concept as their source, and an abstract one as their target since an individual's experiences in the world work as a logical and natural foundation to understand abstract concepts (Kövecses, 2010; Antonova, 2014).

Conceptual metaphors should be comprehended as products resulting from perception and cognition in relation to the interaction of a certain individual with his environment. This type of metaphors can be found in all cultures, therefore, in all languages. A clear example of their presence in language systems is the combination of different lexical items like collocations and idioms as well as other grammatical constructs. Therefore, this condition is believed to be an inherent predisposition of human nature in order to obtain an instance to assimilate abstract mental concepts in simplified terms that vary according to each particular case or person (Gibbs, 2005; Khosravini, 2010).

Other authors in the field define conceptual metaphors as a systematic correspondence established between two conceptual domains (Sidorkin, 2007). The concept of metaphor may seem to be related to metaphoric language. However, metaphoric language only reflects underlying concepts and the logic that connects

them. The correspondences found in conceptual metaphors are the product obtained after the mapping or projection of elements, particular features and relationships of a domain related to concrete and tangible experiences, which is known as the *source domain*, to an abstract domain known as the *target domain* (Grady, 2007; Lakoff, 1993; Soriano, 2012). A different logic arises in each particular case or correspondence between two domains.

Since conceptual metaphors are part of Cognitive Linguistics, different perspectives from linguists in this field could overlap and cause confusion as to how a metaphor of this kind could be identified in discourse. For this reason, there are five relevant characteristics to be considered when identifying a conceptual metaphor (Soriano, 2012; Tannen, 2012). The first characteristic corresponds to *Embodiment*, which is also known as the principle of dualism between mind and body. In other words, this feature correlates with the image projection from an abstract domain to a concrete domain constructed according to an individual's experience, language and mind.

The second characteristic is known as *Inheritance hierarchy*, which means that conceptual metaphors tend to be a specific part of general metaphors. The author illustrates this feature with the example of LIFE IS A JOURNEY as a specific case under the general case of ACTIVITIES WITH A LONG-TERM OBJECTIVE ARE JOURNEYS. Another aspect is the characteristic of *Partial projections*, which implies that not all the knowledge about a concrete domain can be applied to an abstract one. The example given for this aspect is that of UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING SOMETHING (I see what you mean) since not all the information about SEEING can be applied to UNDERSTANDING (Trčková, 2012).

Unidirectionality is illustrated as the fourth characteristic through the exemplification of the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY. Time can be conceived as money; however, money cannot be conceived as time. In other words, it can be said that a source domain is projected on the target domain but not the other way around. The last aspect emphasized by the author is *Automaticity*. The condition of automaticity is related to how most people do not realize they use metaphors daily because it is an automatic and unconscious behavior (Tyler, 2008).

2.2. Cyber-journalism

News is «the information published in newspaper, broadcasted on radio, played on television, and reported on the Internet about current events taking place in a particular area or in the country or in the world» (Xie, 2018, p. 399). Although many authors cannot agree on a single definition of what news is, the former definition proves to be the most accurate for the purpose of this study. News plays a very important role in contemporary society by providing its audience knowledge of the world in a timely way (Purdy, Wong & Harris, 2017; Mitchell & Holcomb, 2016; Salaverria, 2016).

It is also undeniable that the internet evolves and expands at an impressive speed. Since 1994 it has been expanded to serve millions of users and a multitude of purposes in all parts of the world. It is easy to understand why internet users would find it more practical to access news from their devices rather than paper

due to the inherently faster update speed. On the other hand, access to the internet has improved rapidly in most countries. These factors have been key for the growth of digital native news websites aimed at digital citizens. This development «ushered a new global media revolution, launching a communication paradigm that is characterized by convergence, many-to-many communication and interactivity» (Rafeeq, 2014, p.29). Dynamic interactivity is what differentiates cyber-newspapers from printed ones: it allows media resources such as video, audio and interactive advertising (Montecino, 2011). The participation of readers through comments in the appropriate section of each news article also fosters interactivity between writers and other readers. These characteristics make online newspapers a big threat to traditional newspapers, since the former are usually free of charge, which, in turn, poses a challenge for information quality.

But this does not necessarily mean that printed newspapers will become irrelevant in Iberoamerica. As Salaverría (2016, p. 14) also mentioned «one of the distinctive tones of the region's cyber-journalism was the leadership of digital media derived from printed newspapers». This fact brings up an entirely different subject that both journalism and cyber-journalism face: objectivity. Unabridged objectiveness is hard to achieve when writing news if we consider that the ideological content and value orientation of news providers is also involved in its broadcasting. The general audience is usually unaware of these hidden messages in news discourse. News discourse analysis, as proposed by Van Dijk three decades ago in *News as discourse*, accounts for the most comprehensive approach to the study of news. News discourse is the intent on persuading audiences that the truth is being reported (Van Dijk, 1988). This is achieved by journalists substantiating their assertions with statements from reliable sources, that in many cases are representatives of well-established institutions.

When comparing cybermedia with radio, TV and written press, Bonvin (2007, p. 44) claims that «the only news media that presents characteristics of hypertextuality, multimodality, interactivity and simultaneity at a high level is online press. Radio and TV show high levels of simultaneity and today, thanks to internet, these two means of communication have increased in terms of interactivity, which is attributed to phone calls and surveys, according to Bonvin (2007). Currently, radio and TV audiences contribute to message construction through information immediacy when they make use of the social networks designed by the different means of communication (Maier, 2010).

For Bonvin (2007), online press can provide inexhaustible information through hyperlinks that break the linearity of written texts and offer multimedia resources. Other characteristics of digital texts are hypertextuality, multimodality, interactivity, simultaneity, reusability and recoverability. Digital texts can also be updated through the adding and modifying of information, which is not possible in written media. Digital media has exceeded written media in use, particularly among young people (d'Haenens, Jankowski & Heuvelman, 2004).

Online news is full of short phrases and its main characteristic is language economy and the frequent use of noun phrases and the moderate use of noun and adjective subordination. The language economy principle is not restricted to the endless possibilities of updating and widening of any information through hyperlinks

(Bonvin, 2007). Clarity is another feature of online news that allows audiences to immediately assimilate news. Clarity is lexically based on the use of denotative, referential and accurate words that avoid ambiguity. The use of jargon is also avoided so as to not interfere with the reading of someone who is not a specialist (Tewari, 2016). Our study, however, shows that the use of metaphors is frequent.

Since Internet is the most global communication network (Schoenbach, de Waal & Lauf, 2005), it is no surprise that demonstrations and protests about education in Chile have spread as international news all over the world, drawing international press and media attention, which have frequently used recurrent metaphors. Conceptual metaphor is then an inevitable and pervasive language and thought phenomenon. A great number of metaphors in this study are based on human experiences related to health, market, among others, which make these metaphors part of the repertoire of speakers from different languages. It is then common that journalism professionals turn to metaphors because they allow them to explain and communicate abstract concepts. Metaphors contribute to message clarity.

Collecting and analyzing data from newspapers to find different conceptual frameworks interacting has been done before by multiple research studies before. Xia (2009), for example, investigated the use of conceptual metaphors in economic discourse in two English economic newspapers. The aim of the study was to provide a cognitive analysis on how abstract concepts of economics are structured through metaphors and the functions they have in economy-related texts. After the analysis, the author concluded that the most common source domains in the mappings found in the analysis were human beings, a machine, a plant and a building. The explanation attributed to the previous result is that abstract terms that are complex to discern are grounded in people's actual experience and interaction with their environment. Moreover, it is mentioned that the recurrent use of the mappings identified has become an indispensable part in economic texts since the use of some source domains started to be part of people's conceptual framework.

A research study on conceptual metaphors in presidential inaugural speeches was conducted by Xu in 2010. Its aim was to be able to apply the conceptual metaphor theory in political discourse to define, catalogue and explain the metaphors found in the said texts. After the analysis of six inaugurals delivered by different presidents of the United States, the paper focused on the most recurrent metaphors often related to journey, human and war. The study concluded that the frequency of the metaphors used is a consequence of the desire of presidents to establish a bond with the people of the country. Therefore, presidents used the aid of metaphors in order to explain and describe certain concepts and their arguments in terms that are understandable to people. Additionally, another conclusion stated that metaphors had three main functions defined as simplification, persuasion and motivation. Trčková (2012) examined the social and cognitive functions that metaphors fulfill when describing natural disasters in newspaper articles. Its main objective was to clarify if the metaphors found in discourse are product of language or function as a conceptual tool that facilitated the comprehension of the actual events. The first conclusion of the study revealed that the representation of the natural catastrophes was primarily metaphorical and tended to rely on three major themes or source

domains defined as animate beings, monsters and war. The author concluded that the above-mentioned themes were used due to its familiarity with readers as well as their condition as a tool that helped people make sense of the events.

3. Research design

3.1. Type of study

This investigation aims to analyze written news articles about education in online newspapers. This investigation constitutes a qualitative study coherent with metaphoric analysis from Cognitive Linguistics. The news items must fulfill certain criteria, such as being written in English and addressing topics related to education in Chile. These journalistic writings had their publication date between 2006 and 2018. From this analysis we intend to find cognitive devices, specifically conceptual metaphors, in order to identify a possible relation between them.

3.2. Research objective

To identify and analyze the conceptual metaphors about Chilean education and students that are built by online English-speaking news articles.

3.3. Corpus

This research selected news articles from several online newspapers from 12 different countries, being USA (38%) and United Kingdom (26%) the ones that provided most news items. It was not the aim of this study to analyze the political stand of the online newspapers because to do so, a greater corpus would have been analyzed. The research focus was metaphors. Every piece of news article complied with the requirements of being related to Chilean education from 2006 to 2018. Sixty nine news items were analyzed, from which 99 extracts were taken as separate analyzable pieces. These extracts corresponded to single metaphors found in the news articles selected, sometimes more than one metaphor was found in a sole news article.

3.4. Analysis procedure

The *first stage* of this study aimed at examining different pieces of news articles in order to identify those containing an abstract concept related to the education sphere in Chile explained in terms of another abstract concept. The steps to carry out this analysis began by looking for news articles with the keywords: education, Chile, students and demonstrations. Then, the news articles were examined to find conceptual metaphors in which target and source domains could be labelled. This analysis was meant to identify whether the term found was part of a different conceptual framework and if the relationships between these frameworks intertwined.

The *second stage* began after a considerable amount of abstract terms were identified in different online newspapers. This part focused on a frequency analysis.

Therefore, the attention was on keeping an account of all the mappings found and the number of times they repeated throughout this stage. The third stage centered on a conceptual analysis using the data organized in the previous phase. The focus of this stage correlates with the primary purpose of conceptual analysis, which is broadly defined as an examination of the occurrence of specific words in different texts. The specific steps followed were:

(1) Name of the metaphor: it refers to the name associated to a certain concept or conceptual relation depending on the case.

(2) Basic schema: the purpose of this stage is to pinpoint the primary relation that is the origin of the underlying structure of the metaphor associated to source domains.

(3) Schematic logic: this step focuses on defining key relationships according to the basic schema.

(4) Conceptual domain: the central idea is to identify the concepts linked by their own internal dynamics and the role they take in the mapping of metaphors.

(5) Correspondences: this is the product of the previous steps. Correspondences are described as active or conceptual relations that originate the metaphor that is actually seen in a text.

When all the words that are part of the target domain are finally defined, the process of categorization begins. The categorization occurs two times; the first categorization occurs to group target domains under the label of two dimensions and the second one occurs to arrange target domains that have some semantic relationship among them.

4. Findings and analysis

Data analysis will be addressed from a top-down perspective introducing each dimension along with their respective categories. For each category there will be at least one of the most remarkable metaphors analyzed in detail. Dimensions refer to the major themes identified from the metaphors found on the corpus. Categories, on the other hand, refer exclusively to the common theme amid the source domains inside each dimension.

4.1. First dimension: Metaphors on the Chilean education system¹

Many interpretations of the educational system arise due to its constant presence in news and social media. As education itself, the educational system is a remarkably complex and multifaceted topic to define. In an attempt to describe the term educational system as a concept, it is understood as everything influencing school students at the state or community level, for example, laws, policies, funding, regulations, human resources and other contributing elements. Figure 1 organizes metaphors according to the theme of their source domains.

¹ Examples of metaphors from the news items have been written in italics.

Figure 1. Categories: Common topics for the educational system.

Categories	Metaphors	Frequency
Commercialism	Education is a consumer good.	19
Building	Education is a building.	5
Health	Education is a sick organism.	2
Opposition	The education system is a competition.	2
Plant	Education is a rose.	2

4.1.1. First category of metaphors: Commercialism

Commercialism in education has a very strong incidence in this category. This occurrence proves to be more than a coincidence given its number of mentions. Chilean educational history proves to be a useful reference to understand the reason behind this situation, as was contextualized in the introduction section.

As Power (2006, p. 101) mentions in her review of «Higher Education in Chile Thirty Years after Salvador Allende»: «They survey the *modernization* of higher education, which meant the proliferation of private universities, a trend that continues today». While this trend has increased the number of universities and most young Chileans can attend college «the education they receive in them is inferior and does not prepare them to obtain either a financially rewarding or personally fulfilling career». The modernization of the Chilean education system refers to the endorsement to the neoliberal economic policy initiated by Augusto Pinochet during the military dictatorship. In the article «No to Profit. Fighting Privatization in Chile», published by the *Boston Review* in May 16 (2013), the following extract pictures this model:

His 1979 Presidential Directive on National Education, which set out his entire educational program, stipulates that while primary education is necessary, secondary and university education should be regarded as atypical and even luxurious: these are «the exception for young people» Pinochet wrote, «and those who enjoy [secondary or higher education] must earn it with effort and pay for it» or compensate the «national community» in some other way.

The source domain in this analysis indicates that education must be a product. Specifically, it refers to a consumer good because it is directed to a market that is in urgent need of its acquisition. Regarding secondary and higher education as a good that is 'atypical and luxurious', contradicts its main purpose: being an integral function of society.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights claims that «everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages» (United Nations, 1948, Article 26). It is also mentioned that access to higher education shall be made generally available and equally accessible to all, based on merit. However, what is observed in Chile is a neoliberal system that has considered education as a consumer good since the dictatorship and has remained like this from the return to democracy up to these days. Until today this has caused general uneasiness among the Chilean population and latest students' uprisings. The metaphor of *Education is a consumer good* highlights the boundary between what is literal and what is metaphoric, because Chile's economic model is so grounded that to pay for education has been naturalized as a consumer good.

4.1.2. Second category of metaphors: Building

The dynamics that follows the presence and the use of a building as a source domain is related to buildings as structures located in a place with walls and a roof and their inherent characteristic of having a structure that is developed through the process of a construction, although the latter is more frequently found. In this first subdivision, there is one example for each case. In the extract below from «Students March for 'Quality' Public Education» (*News from TelesurTV*, Venezuela, September 5, 2017), the source domain of building is used to apply the characteristics of its construction to the formation of education: «We want a law that truly strengthens state universities, and for that we have to listen, so that it is legislated based on the criteria that define those *who build public higher education day by day in Chile*, CONFECH concluded».

The Chilean Confederation of Students (CONFECH) is the biggest student organization that gathers different university students' federations in the country. CONFECH has led protests against Chilean educational policies and, in 2017, called for demonstrations to make student and society discontent visible against the Higher Education law passed by former President Bachelet on July, 2016. As shown in the extract above, CONFECH understands the educational system as a construction in which all involved stakeholders must participate.

The source domain in this case was identified as raw material. This term is understood as a crude or processed element that can be modified through a manufacture or combination process into a new and effective product. In this extract, education correlates with the concept of raw material that is linked to the domain of building. At the same time, in the same extract it is implied that there is the need of a group of people, in this case students and teachers, to work on said raw material.

The mapping on students and teachers as the people who are going to participate in the process of transformation of raw material is interesting since it showcases a paradigm shift in Chile. Decades before, only the government could have taken part in this process as it happened during Pinochet's dictatorship when people could not participate in making the decisions that did have an impact on them. This situation overlaps with what students have been protesting because one of their desires is to be able to participate and have a rightful place when the time of discussion about the current state of education arrives. Despite the extract not being classified as either positive or negative, it should be highlighted that this change of paradigm is prone to be noted as positive if the use of this kind of mappings continues increasing.

The other case of the source domain use is contextualized by 2011 students' demonstrations, which correspond to a series of nationwide protests led by secondary and university students in 2011. They have been regarded as some of the most important demonstrations over the last years and some of the biggest ones after the return to democracy. Student federations called for successive mass demonstrations in the main cities of the country demanding reforms to the Chilean educational system so as to strengthen the role of the State in education. The description of the employment of building as a source domain was found in an extract from «Students March for a Better Chile» (*News from The Guardian*, United Kingdom, June 22, 2011), as can be seen below:

The current education system is founded upon neoliberalism, privatization, a climate of over-expectation and promises of social mobility. However, Chilean society is stratified, with a small group holding all the privileges. There is no real room for meritocracy or equal opportunities. For instance, the unemployment rate among young people (15.2%) is more than double the national average. Most young people are building up frustration by seeing how their hopes for the future clash with the sad reality.

No definition associated exactly to building can be used as a reference here because of the sense in which building is used in this extract. This excerpt is classified in this category due to the use of foundations as an essential part of a building rather than the concept of building itself. Foundations are defined as layers of bricks or concrete that form a base structure placed in the underground to construct a building. These said foundations correlate with abstract concepts named as neoliberalism, privatization, climate of over-expectation and promises of social mobility. At the same time, these foundations were used as a base for a building, an image that correlates with education in this case.

It is implied that education is already built in this case. However, talking about its foundations lets us wonder about how possible it is to modify the infrastructure even though this structure is conceived as something already consolidated by the Chilean population. This could explain part of the schematic logic in relation to how strong a structure can be, implying the rigid schema that opposes to the ideals of the present generation students and that presents an obstacle to their desire of changing paradigms.

4.1.3. Third category of metaphors: Health

Society is often thought of as a living being when it comes to explain a problem that affects many people in a certain context. As society plays the role of an individual, problems immediately take the form of threats that may cause damage to the little organisms that are part of an individual who is able to live without any complication. When this association happens, it is when we talk about health, or the lack of it, in the mapping of conceptual metaphors.

The next excerpt from «Lessons from Students» (News from *The Independent*, United Kingdom, February 24, 2012) addresses the student demonstrations in 2011 and includes a conceptual metaphor that incorporates the theme of health in its mapping: «*Some of the protesters want the government to remedy this perceived unfairness by taking a much larger role in Chile's economy.* That would be a mistake. The country's success stems in large part from being a low-tax economy that has nurtured private investment and initiative».

Despite sick organism is not a single word, the concept itself can be understood as someone sick. Sickness in this case, is understood as an external and public mode of being sick or unhealthy. It is also illustrated as a status negotiated by the individual that is called sick and the society which is willing to accept them as someone sick and support them. This use goes in line with the general reasoning behind the use of illness-related words, which are commonly used in order to facilitate

the understanding of an unknown and presumably negative phenomenon affecting someone or something. In this case, the sick organism correlates with education while the protests that made students' discontent about education public, are the action of seeking a remedy to recover a proper state of health.

It should be noted that the illness in this instance can be associated to unfairness. Given the context of the piece of news, it could be assumed that it is a reference to the social unfairness which is a well-known characteristic in the Chilean education. Social unfairness might not be directly linked with education; however, it is related to students and their opportunities to access quality education, which is one of the many reasons they started to organize demonstrations to be heard by the government. The context in which this metaphor is found let us think that this could be considered as a negative remark due to the image it projects in readers' mind of someone unhealthy and continuously looking for help to recover.

4.1.4. Fourth category of metaphors: Competition

Competition is mentioned again as a category, this time with two repetitions that are very similar to each other. Knowing this concept is key for understanding the metaphor involved in the following extract: «Education: Three years after Chile's penguin revolution», published by the USA newspaper *The Quarterly* in the Fall of 2009:

Although formal education is compulsory up to middle school, this gap in quality severely limits the ability of students in the lower socioeconomic classes *to compete for admission to higher education institutions—the grand prize where human capital investment returns are most concentrated*. A recent study by Claudio Sapelli of the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile shows that as of 2006 students who completed middle school earned between 9 percent and 12 percent more than those who did not.

The source domain identified in this metaphor compares education with a competition among students. Competition will be understood as «the activity or condition of striving to gain or win something by defeating or establishing superiority over others» (Oxford Dictionaries, 2018). In this definition of competition, the essence of two forces competing for a prize is revealed. Under this concept, being a prize winner falls into the positive side of this binary system while losing it falls into the negative one. Admission to higher education is the grand prize that students strive to acquire but are unable to easily do so. In this sense, it is important to narrow down that not all students struggle in the same way, the extract points out only students of lower socioeconomic classes.

However, the educational system itself cannot favor from winning this prize or not: admitting students into higher education institutions only benefits universities and professional institutes. It is important to remember that neither side is the winner

after barricading the entrance of certain students to the system. Considering that students could somehow win this prize allows for some part of this competition to be pure luck. This idea contradicts the fact that education in Chile should be a right as claimed by the Chilean Political Constitution (Article 10, Chapter III, 1980, p. 23) and should be accessible for everyone based on merit (United Nations, Article 26, 1948). Merit, which does not equal monetary income, is attainable through one's own effort or one's own social status. In this sense, being worthy of acquiring the prize is completely up to whether students had the right preparation or not and this is undoubtedly a money issue.

4.1.5. *Fifth category of metaphors: Plant*

A reason for the use of plants in the field of conceptual metaphors might be their constant presence in our environment and the undeniable ties and features that plants share with human beings. While Lakoff & Johnson (1980) analyzed the comprehension of abstract ideas through the projection of the domain of plants in ordinary language, Kövecses (2002) focused on the use of the domain of plants to explain the operation and dynamics of complex abstract systems such as scientific disciplines and social organizations among other sets of ideas. The following extract from «Chile's Student Activists: A Course in Democracy» (News from *The Washington Post*, United States, November 24, 2006) reminisce the mappings Kövecses (2002) explored:

The students' actions turned them into the most powerful social movement since the strict military dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet was replaced by democracy 16 years ago. They forced the government to increase education spending and – more important for many of the protesters – prompted it *to reexamine the roots of an educational system* flawed by vast inequalities between the country's rich and poor populations.

It is key to highlight the importance of the 2006 student movement, which involved mass participation and demonstrations led by Chilean secondary school students in favor of the right to education and as a response to the privatization of the Chilean educational system. The movement was known as *Penguin Revolution* as a clear allusion to a Chilean way to refer to primary and secondary school students, based on the color of the Chilean school uniform (dark blue, grey and white).

In this case, education is explained in terms of a plant flawed by different factors while the ones who examine it correlate with students, who are the ones that pose their discontent and proposals to change this situation. As was said before, roots are known as the first interface with soil and the most important part of a plant since it is the first interface which is in charge of receiving all the necessary nutrients for the plant (Polverigiani, Kelderer & Neri, 2014). If roots cannot fulfill their primary objective of maintaining proper conditions for the plant to grow normally, it could be assumed that there is a problem that might be reflected on the appearance or growth of the plant.

The use of the plant in the mapping of this conceptual metaphor implies the time invested in the growth of this plant that does not look good and worries an important part of the present society. In addition, it implies that the process of growth included a considerable amount of time from the dictatorship to the time of writing this analysis, a period that could be considered more than enough to notice there was something not functioning at its fullest. Following the logic of this mapping, the ones witnessing how this plant might be at risk of withering are looking for a solution by looking back at one of the most important parts of the plant: the roots. Consequently, they hypothesize about the possible causes of this problem and strive to come up with a solution to keep this plant instead of getting rid of it.

4.2. Second dimension: Metaphors on the students' role and education conflict

In this section, all mappings have as their target domain the student protests experienced since 2006 onwards, as well as the participants of these demonstrations. The above-mentioned context surrounding the excerpts grouped, are linked to the massive street protests in which mostly students and teachers demanded an ending of for-profit universities, free higher education and improvements in the quality of the Chilean educational system (Scherman, Arriagada & Valenzuela, 2014). Figure 2 organizes the themes of the source domains found in the mapping of conceptual metaphors under the education conflict dimension.

Figure 2. Categories: common topics for the education conflict

Categories	Metaphors	Frequency
Opposition	Student protests are a war.	28
Natural Disaster	Student protests are natural disasters.	7
Building	Students are repairmen.	5
Health	Student protests are an illness.	3
Commercialism	Students are customers.	2

4.2.1. First category of metaphors: War

Conflict presents itself as the basis of this dimension and its category. The reason behind the *Education Conflict* is no other than the opposition of forces between students and the government. Students ask for structural changes while the government strives for immediate solutions to the current problem at their feet. This is the primordial difference between both sides during first (Penguin Revolution) and second (Chilean Winter) educational conflicts' eras. A disagreement of this magnitude is what the following extract from «Chilean Student Leader backs Bachelet's Reform», published by *The New Zealand Herald* (New Zealand, November 22, 2013), alludes: «Vallejo said the run-up to the vote will be major challenge as *they race against the clock to convince others to support the education reform that she fought for in the streets*. But she said she's confident that Bachelet and her coalition will score nothing but a "rotund victory"».

War, understood as a series of misunderstandings that lead to battles between sides, is fundamentally what has been occurring in Chile between students and the

government since 2006. At least 28 of our 99 extracts deal with protests as battles and several other war-like concepts are used to describe students, allies and police officers. In this extract a student leader (Camila Vallejo) is seen recruiting people for the campaign seeking support for the education reform. Students and allies are a key part of her fight against the authorities. Protestors are unafraid to take part of demonstrations and this could be because they are «the first generation to be born after the dictatorship, and had not experienced repression like the previous generation but rather had a space to vocalize their discontent through participatory democracy» (Scorpio, 2013, p. 42).

4.2.2. *Second category of metaphors: Natural disaster*

Natural disasters are defined as phenomena that can be clearly witnessed and that can impact negatively on the welfare of a region. Floods, droughts, hurricanes and earthquakes are examples of natural disasters, also called natural catastrophes. Surprisingly enough, the reference of natural disasters as source domains was a recurrent topic. There were different types of natural disasters cited, but the examples grouped in this category show a tendency to be related to earthquakes, which are common in the Chilean context, being the 2010 earthquake one of the strongest ones, to the point that it became international news. The extract from the «Chilean Student Movement against Neoliberalism» (News from *The Bullet*, Canada, October 6, 2011) is an example of this tendency:

To this end, five hundred thousand students organized a general strike that combined street mobilizations and high school seizures, shaking the Bachelet government. Eventually the movement faded, as its leadership became trapped in negotiations with the government. Nevertheless, the students forced the Bachelet administration to recognize the crisis in education was real, as well as the deeply authoritarian character of the education laws inherited from the military.

It should be noted that even though the excerpt is from a Canadian online newspaper, it uses concrete references that are familiar to Chileans, which serve the purpose of both explaining an abstract term clearly and spreading a domain that is part of the general of understanding of the Chilean population. *Earthquake* is used in the mapping of conceptual metaphors to explain the effect and consequences of student protests.

In this case, student protests correlate with earthquakes, while the government is the one that correlates with a building that is shaken after an earthquake. The concept of earthquake is depicted as a violent shaking of the ground that is unpredictable and causes damages to large areas as a result of some sort of shift in the earth's crust or volcanic action. According to the nature of earthquake and the definition provided, it is expected that whenever an upheaval takes place, a large area is going to be damaged by it. The same logic applies whenever a student protest takes place at a national level. Concrete and abstract damages are expected after a protest due to its faculty of breaking the present scheme because a group of people is addressing

an issue that might apply for other groups among the Chilean population. In addition, encountering these shifts in common schemes is what correlates with the upheavals that affect the government as the course of actions decided by them is constantly defied by a relevant group of people that belongs to those who are supposed to follow the established order.

4.2.3. *Third category of metaphors: Commercialism*

The activity of commerce in education has been mentioned twice in this study and more specifically in metaphors about the Chilean education system, a similar concept was introduced. Nevertheless, the view of commercialism in this category contrasts with the latter because the focus relies on the consequences derived from the conflict. The following extract from «Chile: Students Push Bachelet to Deepen Education Reforms», published by the *Green Left Weekly*, Australia (March 22, 2015) illustrates exactly this point:

Most for-profit subsidised schools also charge tuition, and select students based on their socio-economic status, test scores, and performance. *As a result, each student buys the education that he or she can afford*, and 44% of students – largely from poor neighbourhoods and villages – do not complete high school.

Education as a consumer good and students as customers are metaphors that appear frequently together in this study. The concept of product and buyer in regards of education, along with other ideas that transform this right into a commodity, is where the conflict lies. Students found themselves being part of this cycle of economic exchange with a renewed sense of agency claiming their rights back. A study by OPECH (Observatorio de Políticas Educativas de la Universidad de Chile) points out that the atomized, indebted working masses have just begun to question the meta-narrative of the market-consumption as a possibility of salvation (Cornejo, González & Caldichoury, 2007). Teenagers, aged between 15 and 18, took the streets to demonstrate their discontent with this meta-narrative and proposed solutions to end with the neoliberal model inherited from dictatorship.

The schematic logic states: the amount of money paid for a product is directly proportional to its quality. Quality of education was one of the main priorities for students on a second stage of the conflict with the government. They were aware of the inequality of the system they were facing. These students «fought against a system in which those with access to private education are afforded opportunities which are not available to those who study in public schools» (Cabalin, 2012, p. 223). Students *buying the education they could afford* led to the perpetuation of this system that left poorer students in disadvantage when they could access the labor market.

5. Final considerations

The research carried out in pursuit of finding how Chilean education is portrayed by different media resulted in a wide network of conceptual metaphors. Multiple

metaphors were related to one another in terms of thematic relativity across each stage of the educational process. The reason behind the study of metaphors is a matter of identifying the internal structure and ideology that online newspapers try to impose on their readers. All newspapers take a political and social stand when they construct a piece of news, even if they claim that they are trying to be objective. The happenings, facts and stakeholders they choose or do not consider as part of their protagonists in news reflect a certain view that is communicated and so do metaphors. The selection of metaphors in online media intends to help audiences look at reality from a certain angle and follow a particular line of reasoning. Informed audiences contrast and reflect on the views of different newspapers to finally arrive at their own conclusions of what may be going on.

Most metaphors pointed out that Chilean education was mainly recognized for the opposition between students and the government. With metaphors called STUDENT PROTESTS ARE WAR, STUDENTS ARE WARRIORS and SCHOOLS ARE CAPTORS, it is common to assume the general discontent with education. The second most recurrent metaphor was EDUCATION IS A CONSUMER GOOD, which can be explained roughly by the neoliberal education model introduced by former dictator Pinochet and perpetuated by later democratic governments over more thirty years. This metaphor becomes recurrent because the three levels of school education offered in Chile are tightly aligned with standards of quality. The more Chilean citizens pay for education, the better education they may opt to. Therefore, the general tendency is to have high class students attending costly private schools, middle class students going for more accessible semi-private schools and low class students attending free of charge public schools. This results in segregation because public school students have fewer options to pursue higher education, and then fewer options to find a decent job. On the contrary, high class students enter higher education and are later employed in companies that allow them to build a professional career. This a cycle that reproduces again over time.

The online newspapers from USA were the ones that contained most news articles with metaphorical representations about education. A total of 26 news articles from different newspapers in the United States referred to education in Chile in a consistent manner. It was the case of all newspapers scrutinized that their authors agreed on the way the content was presented, at least from the point of view of the metaphors found in them.

During the process of investigation, conceptual metaphors about the Chilean education sphere were gathered to give insight of the different perspectives. These perspectives could be explained focusing on the most mentioned target domain as well as the topic with the most references in relation to the source domains. Concerning the target domains, those related to students (students and student protests) were the most mentioned due to the active role they have had during the past years. Therefore, it can be assumed that the actual overseas image of Chilean education has been built through students' actions. On this regard, Chilean students have had a leading role as vehicle of change for education. They have put key themes in the national agenda and have strongly resisted the neoliberal effects of Chilean education against political groups that have also resisted strongly to make

deep and radical changes on the field. On the contrary, the political world, regardless of its wing, has an active participation in the *educational* business in Chile.

Further research should include a more profound exploration of the range of source domains applied to describe concepts such as education, students and teacher. Having a deeper understanding of the logic behind the employment of the most common source domains can provide insightful suggestions in education affairs. These could be used in the future to reshape and perhaps improve the role and status of education, teachers and students in Chilean society. Future studies can work on how the perspective of foreign journalists about this issue can help pre-service teachers perceive and reflect about their own role as a teacher and an agent of change in society.

6. References

- Antonova, T. (2014). Social conflict through conceptual metaphor in media discourse. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 154, 368-373. doi: 10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.10.165
- Aytan, T. (2014). An investigation of metaphors on the concept of teacher among pre-service Turkish teachers. *Revista de Cercetare Intervenire Sociala*, 46, 65-84.
- Biscarra, C., Giaconi, C., & Assaél, J. (2015). El docente en la legislación educacional chilena. *Psicoperspectivas*, 14(3), 80-92.
- Bonvin-Faura, M. (2007). *La prensa digital: lenguaje y características* (Tesis doctoral). Departamento de Lengua Española, Universidad de Granada. Retrieved from <https://hera.ugr.es/tesisugr/17116880.pdf>
- Cabalin, C. (2012). Neoliberal education and student movements in Chile: Inequalities and malaise. *Policy Futures in Education*, 10(2), 219-228. doi: 10.2304/pfie.2012.10.2.219
- Cornejo, R., González, J., & Caldichoury, J. (2007). *Participación e incidencia de la sociedad civil en las políticas educativas: el caso chileno*. Buenos Aires: Colección de libros del Foro Latinoamericano de Políticas Educativas. FLAPE.
- Cornejo, R., & Insunza, J. (2013). El sujeto docente ausente de las movilizaciones educativas: Un análisis del discurso docente. *Psicoperspectivas*, 12(2), 72-82. doi:10.5027/PSICOPERSPECTIVAS-VOL12-ISSUE2-FULLTEXT-282
- Cornejo, R., Albornoz, N., Castañeda, L., Palacios, D., Etcheberrigaray, G., Fernández, R., & Lagos, J.I. (2015). Las prescripciones del trabajo docente en el nuevo marco regulatorio de políticas educativas en Chile. *Psicoperspectivas*, 14(2), 72-83. doi: 10.5027/PSICOPERSPECTIVAS-VOL14-ISSUE2-FULLTEXT-580
- Fardella, C., & Sisto, V. (2015). Nuevas regulaciones del trabajo docente en Chile. Discurso, subjetividad y resistencia. *Psicología & Soceidade*, 27(1), 68-79.

- Grady J. (2007). Metaphor. In Geeraerts, D., & Cuyckens, H. (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Cognitive Linguistics* (pp. 188-213) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gibbs, R. (2005). *Embodiment and cognitive science*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- d'Haenens, L., Jankowski, N., & Heuvelman, A. (2004). News in online and print newspapers: Differences in reader consumption and recall. *New Media & Society*, 6(3), 363-382. doi: 10.1177/1461444804042520
- Johnson, M. (1987). *The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Khosravini, M. (2010). The representation of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in British newspapers: A critical discourse analysis. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 9(1), 1-28. doi: 10.1075/jlp.9.1.01kho.
- Kövecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Kövecses, Z. (2010). *Metaphor: A practical introduction (2nd ed.)*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1993). The contemporary theory of metaphor. In Ortony, A. (Ed.), *Metaphor and thought* (pp. 202-251). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Maier, S. (2010). Newspapers offer more news than do major online Sites. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 31(1), 6-19. doi: 10.1177/073953291003100102.
- Mitchell, A., Holcomb, J., & Weisel, R. (2016). *State of the news media 2016*. Pew Research Center.
- Montecino, L. (2011). ¿Por qué marchan los estudiantes en Chile?: Discurso electrónico y poder en un ciberperiódico chileno. *Cadernos de Linguagem e Sociedade*, 12(2), 179-209. doi: <https://doi.org/10.26512/les.v12i2.11510>.
- Núñez, I. (2007). La profesión docente en Chile: saberes e identidades en su historia. *Revista Pensamiento Educativo*, 41(2), 149-164.
- Polverigiani, S., Kelderer, M., & Neri, D. (2014). Growth of 'M9' apple root in five Central Europe replanted soils. *Plant Root*, 8, 55-63.
- Power, M. (2006). The cultural legacy of the military dictatorship in Chile. *Illinois: A Contra Corriente*. 3(3), 96-106.
- Purdy, S., Wong, P., & Harris, P. (2017). *Stop the presses!*. Delaware: KPMG.

- Rafeeq, A. (2014). Online journalism: A case study of interactivity of mainstream online news websites of the Maldives. *The Maldives National Journal of Research*, 2(1), 29-47.
- Salaverría, R. (2016). *Ciberperiodismo en Iberoamérica*. (F. Telefónica, Ed.). Madrid: Ariel.
- Scherman, A., Arriagada, A., & Valenzuela, S. (2014) Student and environmental protest in Chile: The role of social media. *Politics*, 35(2), 151-171. doi: 10.1111/1467-9256.12072.
- Schoenbach, K., de Waal, E., & Lauf, E. (2005). Research note: online and print newspapers. Their impact on the extent of the perceived public agenda. *European Journal of Communication*. 20(2), 245–258. doi: 10.1177/0267323105052300.
- Scorpio, C. (2013). *What caused the Chilean winter? Exploring social movement emergence and the Chilean student movement* (Tesis de magíster). Honors Capstone, University Honors in International Studies. Retrieved from <https://dra.american.edu/islandora/object/1213capstones%3A213/datastream/PDF/view>
- Sidorkin, A. (2007). Is schooling a consumer good? A case against school choice, but not the one you had in mind. *Philosophy of Education*, 75-83.
- Sisto, V. (2012). Identidades desafiadas. Individualización, managerialismo y trabajo docente en el Chile actual. *Psykhé*, 21(2), 35-46. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7764/psykhe.21.2.542>.
- Soriano, C. (2012). *La metáfora conceptual*. In Ibarretxe-Anturano, I., & Valenzuela, J. (Eds.), *Lingüística cognitiva* (pp. 97-121). Barcelona: Anthropos.
- Tannen, D. (2012). *Discourse analysis: What speakers do in conversation*. Washington, DC: Linguistics Society of America. Retrieved from <https://www.linguisticsociety.org/resource/discourse-analysis-what-speakers-do-conversation>.
- Tewari, P. (2016). Is print readers declining? A survey of Indian online newspaper readers. *Journal of Socialomics*, 5(4), 1-4. doi: 10.4172/2471-8726.1000177
- Trčková, D. (2012). Multi-functionality of metaphor in newspaper discourse. *Brno Studies in English*, 37(1), 1-9. doi: 10.5817/BSE2011-1-9.
- Tyler, A. (2008). *Applied Cognitive Linguistics: Putting Linguistics back into second language teaching*. Washington DC: Georgetown University.
- Van Dijk, T. (1988). *News as discourse*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum.
- Xia, J. (2009). *Economic metaphors in English newspapers*. Kristianstad, Sweden: Kristianstad University.
- Xie, Q. (2018). Critical discourse analysis of news discourse. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 8(4), 399-403. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17507/tpls.0804.06>

Xu, H. (2010). *A study on conceptual metaphors in presidential inaugural speeches*. Kristianstad, Sweden: Kristianstad University.

7. Acknowledgments

This article is inserted in the context of the FONDECYT project N° 1171416 *The social representations of Chilean teachers in cyberjournals. A discourse analysis in Cognitive Linguistics*.